

Shresthi Kasturbhai Lalbhai Series-2



Studies in Jain Literature

The Collected Papers Contributed by
Prof. V. M. Kulkarni

Shresthi Kasturbhai Lalbhai Smarak Nidhi
Ahmedabad.

About the work

The major characteristics of Dr. V. M. Kulkarni's work can be summarised as :

For the first time Prakrit poetry has been evaluated in the light of known theories of aesthetics and its substantial contribution is competently assessed by a competent authority. **For the first time** *Abhinavabhāratī* Ch. VII, which was till recently believed by eminent scholars to have been lost, has been recovered. **For the first time** abundant fresh light has been shed on Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*, the earliest known Prakrit epic, (now lost), which has been highly appreciated by leading literary critics. **For the first time** the full significance of *Sāttvikabhāvas* has been fully explained in his characteristic style.

For the first time Hemacandra has been evaluated from an impartial point of view which a fair-minded scholar alone can do. **For the first time** in *Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics* the great importance of restoring Prakrit verses has been emphasised by reconstructing over 1600 corrupt verses from a score of major works on *Alamkārasāstra*.

The supreme importance of *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and *Kalpalatāviveka* for restoring corrupt passages by scores from works on poetics has been brought **for the first time** to the notice of scholars.

□ □ □

STUDIES IN JAIN LITERATURE

(The Collected Papers Contributed by Prof. V. M. Kulkarni)

नम्र सूचन

इस ग्रन्थ के अभ्यास का कार्य पूर्ण होते ही नियत
समयावधि में शीघ्र वापस करने की कृपा करें,
जिससे अन्य वाचकगण इसका उपयोग कर सकें.

**SHRESTHI KASTURBHAI LALBHAI
COLLECTED RESEARCH - ARTICLES SERIES
VOLUME-2**

General Editor
Jitendra B. Shah

Studies in Jain Literature

(The Collected Papers Contributed by Prof. V. M. Kulkarni)

Shresthi Kasturbhai Lalbhai Smarak Nidhi
C/o. Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre
'Darshan' Opp. Ranakpur Society
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Dedicated
to
The Late Dr. A. N. Upadhye
The Late Prof. Dalsukh D. Malvania
The Late Dr. H. C. Bhayani
and
Dr. A. M. Ghatage

Publisher's Note

We feel happy to publish this second Volume in the series of the Research Articles' Volumes. It contains papers, articles, and related material earlier contributed by Prof. V. M. Kulkarni to various research journals as well as felicitation volumes. These embody the results of his researches in Prakrit and Jaina literature. These were then well received by the scholarly world : Hence the publication of their collection is well-justified and deservedly in place.

Collecting these articles had proven a rather cumbersome task, as the material was scattered through various journals etcetera and published at different periods. When, however, some four years ago, Prof. M. A. Dhaky and I visited him in Mumbai and requested him to provide us the copies of his earlier articles for publishing them in a compact and comprehensive Volume, to our delight, his response was positive. He subsequently sent to us the total material. In the beginning, we had not considered the scheme of instituting a Series of such volumes. But later we gave more serious thought and began working in that direction. Now, it has been planned to publish the volumes of collected research articles and papers by renowned scholars on Indological / Jainological topics, in a definite regularly published Series. The purpose behind instituting this Series is to make available the published writings of eminent scholars in those fields.

We are indeed grateful to Prof. Kulkarni for according his consent to our proposal. We would next like to thank our type-setters—Shri Akhilesh Mishra and Purviben Shah—for preparing the manuscript of this Volume. We also wish to thank Shri Naranbhai Patel, our proof-reader, and Shri Chandraprakashbhai, Administrator of the Centre, for the efficient assistance both of them extended. We likewise are indebted to Su. Śrī Manjulaben Joshi in preparing this volume.

We hope that the scholarly world of the concerned field of studies will find this Volume useful as a reference work and for further researches.

Ahmedabad
2001

J. B. Shah



PREFACE

The present volume is a collection of essays, research articles and critical reviews in the branches of Jain Literature relating to Dharma, Purāṇas, poetry and poetics (Alaṃkāraśāstra). The work consists of two parts. Part I pertains to Dharma and Purāṇas and part II to non-religious (or secular) literature. It is now for the discerning readers and critics to judge their worth. I will feel amply rewarded if they derive satisfaction by reading these writings which I wrote during the last five decades. I take this opportunity to express my grateful thanks to all those authorities, directors of Research Institute/Centres, and editors of Oriental Research Journals for giving me permission to include in the present volume the several essays (introductions), research articles and reviews first published by them.

I extend my warm thanks to Dr. Jitendra B. Shah, Director, Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, Ahmedabad, but for whose persistent and pressing requests during the last three-four years I would not have exerted myself in collecting and duly arranging and editing these writings spread over fifty years. In fact I must thank him doubly for accepting this work for publication by Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, Ahmedabad. I express my heartfelt thanks to my friends, Dr. G. S. Bedagkar, Prof. Dalsukhbhai Malvania, Dr. H. C. Bhayani who took keen interest in my work, alas ! they are no more. I sincerely thank Mrs. Mrudula Joshi for editorial assistance and for taking pains to prepare the Indexes, and Mrs. S. R. Vaswani, erstwhile Dy. Librarian of the Asiatic Society of Bombay for making books readily available to me whenever asked for.

I appreciate the services rendered by—Vikram Makwana and Chirag Shah for Data-entry and Typesetting, Naranbhai Patel and Chandraprakash Shah for proofreading, Akhilesh Mishra for final typesetting and butter-prints, and the Navbharat Printing Press.

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V. M. Kulkarni

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[Note : Articles marked with asterisks (*) are unpublished, though they were read at seminars.]



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CHARACTER OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

1. RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

Religion and mythology are always intimately connected with each other. “Works on mythology clothe with flesh and blood, the bony framework of spiritual truths and ethical code as set forth in sacred literature. Without such a body of flesh and bone, the mere life-force of the sacred texts cannot function with effect. It is of course, equally true that without such life-force the mere mass of flesh and bone will decay.” The Purāṇas popularize the truths taught in the sacred books by presenting them in relation to individual men and women and to the events of their lives. They explain, illustrate and inculcate the moral principles stated in them.

2. THE DEFINITION OF MAHĀ-PURĀṆA

Jinasena, the author of the Ādi-Purāṇa, says : “I shall describe the narrative of 63 ancient persons, viz., the (24) Tīrthakaras, the (12) Cakravartins, (9) Baladevas, (9) Ardha-Cakravartins (i. e., Vāsudevas) and their enemies (i. e., Prativāsudevas). The word Purāṇa meant ‘old or ancient narrative’. It is called ‘great’ because it relates to the great (personages), or because it is narrated by the great (Tīrthakaras, Gaṇadharas or Ācāryas) or because it teaches (the way to) supreme bliss. Other learned men say that it is called Purāṇa because it originates with an old poet and it is called great because of its intrinsic greatness. The great ṛṣis called it a Mahāpurāṇa as it relates to great men and teaches (the way to) supreme bliss.” And he adds that “the Mahā-Purāṇa is regarded ‘Ārṣa’ because it was composed by ṛṣis, ‘Sūkta’ as it expounds truth and ‘Dharma-śāstra’ as it declares Dharma. It is also looked upon as Itihāsa, Itivṛtta, or Aitiḥya or Āmnāya as it contains many stories about ‘Iti-h-āsa’ (-‘so it has been’ i. e., ‘traditional history’)². Thus according to Jinasena, Purāṇa and Itihāsa are synonymous terms. A Ṭippaṇa-Kāra of Puṣpadanta’s Mahāpurāṇa, however, makes a distinction between the two, saying that Itihāsa means the narrative of a single individual while Purāṇa means the narratives of 63 great men of the

Jain faith³. The *Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra* (I. 5) in its definition of *Itihāsa* enumerates 'Purāṇa' and 'Itivṛtta' as belonging to the content of *Itihāsa*. As *Itivṛtta* can only mean a 'historical event', *Purāṇa* probably means 'mythological and legendary lore'.

3. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

It is believed that Jainism is comparatively of a later origin. Jain works speak of 24 Tīrthakaras. A majority of eminent scholars, however, accept that Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha (and Neminātha too, according to a few,) were historical personages and they consider the rest of the Tīrthakaras to be mythical figures⁴. Jainism received great impetus under Mahāvīra's religious leadership. A few centuries after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, the Jains felt the necessity of having their own mythology which would provide an excellent means for reaching popular thought and propagating their own views, ideals and doctrines. To meet the requirement the religious teachers and masters of Jainism invented myths, accepted popular legends with necessary modifications and borrowed the most popular stories from the Hindu Mythology—adapting them so as to make them suitable vehicles to convey the truths of their own religion, philosophy and ethics. Jain Mythology centres in the personalities of sixty three great figures. The material for their lives is found partly in the *Kalpa-sūtra* and, in its basic elements, in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* and *Āvaśyakabhāṣya*. These lives have assumed a definite pattern, though the extent of details and poetic descriptions etc., differ from author to author. The names of all the Tīrthakaras are handed down with a multitude of details. "Yet the minutiae are precisely the same for each with changes of name and place, and with variation as to the details of complexion and stature, as well as the designations of the attendant spirits, who are a Yakṣa and a Yakṣiṇī, of the *gaṇadhara* (leader of disciples), and of the Āryā (first woman convert)." A minor alteration here and there is remarkable : thus the 20th Tīrthakara, Muni Suvrata and twenty-second, Ariṣṭanemi⁵ are said to have been of the *Harivamśa*, and not like all the others, of the *Ikṣvāku* family; such alterations we find in a few cases regarding the place where some Tīrthakaras attained Mokṣa or perfect knowledge or the posture at the time of final release. But for the most part the Jain narratives include precisely the same miracles in regard to the birth and other events in the lives of the Tīrthakaras.

The Jain tradition traces the origin of the Purāṇas to Lord Mahāvīra himself and provides a succession of teachers through whom they were handed down, some of whom cannot be said to be historical personages. The traditions as recorded in the different Purāṇas of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras

differ considerably and are conflicting. It is possible that the origin is traced to Mahāvīra in order to invest the Purāṇa concerned with sanctity and authority—in the present state of our knowledge we cannot summarily brush aside their claim that they were given in the Pūrva texts which are irretrievably lost to us—but this much we can say that ‘strings of names’ (Nāmāvali), such as are found in the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*, were contained in the Pūrvas and their oral exposition from his teacher was received by Vimala Sūri who composed the earliest extant Jain epic—Purāṇa—the *Pauma-cariya*—written according to his own statement 530 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra.

Modern scholars like Jacobi, Glasenapp and Winternitz hold that *the mythology of the Jains is to a great extent derivative*. The *Mahābhārata* attributed to Vyāsa and the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki—these two epics of the Hindus were very popular and had made a deep impression on the lives of millions of people in the land. Again some of the oldest Purāṇas, which tradition attributes to Vyāsa, must have been widely prevalent in those days. Especially the exploits of Rāma and of Kṛṣṇa were such as made the Hindus look upon them as the Avatāras of God Viṣṇu. The Jain writers, coming later, may have wished to make a popular appeal to rival the influence of Brahmanical works on the masses and therefore could not ignore the great heroes—Rāma and Kṛṣṇa—and their lives. It was thus natural for the Jains to adopt the Rāma story and the Kṛṣṇa-legend and to give them a Jain background and atmosphere.

Besides adopting the legends of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa they incorporated a large number of popular legends in their mythology in order to propagate Jain virtues. These legends have their counterparts in Hindu and Buddhist literature : e. g., the well-known legends of Bharata, Sagara—the descent of Gaṅgā and the destruction of 60000 sons of Sagara—Brahmadatta, Śreṇika and Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. They also introduced a number of purely Jain legends in their mythology. To this category belong the biographies of the first 22 Tīrthakaras (for the last two are historical ones), of some of the Cakravartins and some of the 27 heroes (Baladevas etc.). Not only the Tīrthakaras themselves but other holy men too have been glorified in their works by the Jains, e. g. Śālibhadra, a famous legendary hero, Jīvandhara, who is celebrated first in the *Uttarapurāṇa* and then in many later works in Sanskrit and Tamil, Yaśodhara, Karakaṇḍu, Nāgakumāra and Śrīpāla. Thus we have the Jain Mythology built up out of considerable borrowings from the Hindu epics and mythology, popular legends from the common stock of Indian literature and pure Jain legends created to give Jainism a background of ancient tradition and to propagate Jain virtues of Ahimsā, Satya, etc.

4. THE SIXTYTHREE GREAT FIGURES OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

Sixtythree śalākāpuruṣas : As already remarked it is mainly the lives of the sixtythree excellent men (śalākāpuruṣas) that form the subjectmatter of Jain mythology. These prominent personages are classified into five groups : (i) 24 Tīrthakaras, (ii) 12 Cakravartins—sovereign rulers of the world, (iii) 9 Baladevas, (iv) 9 Vāsudevas and (v) 9 Prativāsudevas.

Now let us first give a clear idea as to what these words signify. The word śalākāpuruṣa is taken to mean by all as 'Pravarapuruṣa', 'Uttamapuruṣa' or 'mahāpuruṣa'⁶ i.e., great or eminent or prominent personages. But how the word came to be equated with mahāpuruṣa is not properly explained by any writer. The commentary on *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* III. 364 explains thus : 'śalākāpuruṣaḥ puruṣeṣu jātarekhā ityarthāḥ', meaning thereby probably—"Those who are marked, characterised, distinguished (by 'mukti') from amongst the people at large"⁷. Śalākā means, 'a small bamboo stick' which a Buddhist monk used as an identity badge. Śalākāpuruṣa would probably mean "legitimised, characterised men" so that śalākāpuruṣa and lakṣaṇapuruṣa are synonymous. *Abhidhānarājendra*, however, explains the term differently⁸. The interpretation of the word as 'Men characterised by mukti-liberation' seems to be more correct. Another meaning may be suggested here. In ancient days lines were drawn for counting 'number'. So śalākāpuruṣas were those distinguished men whose number would be counted by drawing lines.

The word Tīrthakara or Tīrthamkara means 'saviour', 'spiritual guide', 'one who shows the way to cross the ocean of worldly existence', or to follow tradition, one who establishes the four-fold order of the Jains consisting of (i) 'Sādhu', (ii) Sādhvī, (iii) Śrāvaka and (iv) Śrāvikā. The two words, viz. Jina and Arhat are often used as synonyms of Tīrthakara. Jina means "one who subduing love or hatred towards *saṃsāra*, has been liberated" and Arhat—one who deserves to be honoured and worshipped (by even Indra and other gods etc.). Tīrthakaras are the prophets of Jainism, they promulgate *dharma* and by their precept and example help their followers to attain *mukti*.

The word *cakravartin* or *cakrin* means 'one who rules over the six Khaṇḍas of Bhāratavarṣa'. He possesses a wondrous cakra (disc) whereby he is called a 'cakrin'. Dr. Ghatage gives the explanatory gloss as :

"The classical Indian idea of a Cakravartin is that of a universal monarch, a paramount ruler. Vedic literature knows the word *Sam-rāt* but *Cakravartin* comes into vogue only in the later parts of the epics. In the popular literature such rulers are also assigned to the Vidyādharas, semi-divine beings,

as in the case of Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana and the hero of the *Bṛhat-Kathā*. The original meaning appears to be a king, whose chariot-wheel meets no obstacle in his conquests.

With the Buddhists the Cakravartin got associated with a disc, a jewel, which precedes him and procures for him success. He represents the secular authority as the Buddha does the spiritual power. It is said of Buddha 'धम्मचक्रं पवत्ति'. The Jain idea of a Cakravartin is similar and he is said to win 14 *ratnas*, including the *cakra* disc. These ideas are all developments from the popular identification of the *cakra* with the disc in the hand of Viṣṇu, a solar symbol. There are twelve such universal monarchs in Jain Mythology. They have further created the category of Bharatārdha-cakravartins who rule only half the Bharata country, and who are having the nine Vāsudevas with them.

Scholars have explained the word चक्रवर्तिन् in different ways. Wilson considered it to mean 'one who abides in (वर्तते) a large territory called a चक्र.' Kern takes वर्तिन् to mean वर्तयति 'who rules'. Senart regards him to be one who owns a चक्रवाल while Jacobi thinks that चक्र here stands for the political term मण्डल."

The word *Baladeva* (also *Balabhadra*) or *Haladhara* or *Halin* is used for the elder step-brother of Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, who is a mighty human king ruling over three parts of the earth. For example, in the story of Rāma, Padma (another name of Rāma) is the Baladeva and Lakṣmaṇa is the Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva; and Rāvaṇa who is antagonistic to Vāsudeva is called Prativāsudeva.

According to one tradition there are 54 great men only, as it does not count the Prativāsudevas in the list of 'Uttamapuruṣas'. This tradition is recorded in the *Samavāyāṅgasūtra* and Śīlācārya too speaks of 54 great men.

It is to be noted that *all these 63 śalākāpuruṣas are "great men" and are bereft of any divine element*. In the Hindu Mythology Nārāyaṇa is an epithet of Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra or Baladeva (or Balarāma) is the name of the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa is the supreme God and Baladeva too is sometimes regarded as an incarnation of the serpent Śeṣa and sometimes as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu. And so also the Hindus regard Rāma as the Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa as the incarnation of Ananta (the serpent Śeṣa). Now the Jains agree with the Hindus in regarding Kṛṣṇa as Nārāyaṇa and Balarāma as Baladeva; they however, invert their order in the case of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa whom they regard as Baladeva and Nārāyaṇa respectively. It appears they deliberately introduced this change for the sake of uniformity—for in the case of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa the elder brother is Baladeva and the younger one Nārāyaṇa and it is not unlikely that the name 'Rāma' was to some extent responsible for his being

regarded as Baladeva.

With these preliminary remarks we now take up a detailed consideration of these five groups of great men of Jainism :

The Twenty-four Tīrthakaras : Besides the 24 Tīrthāṅkaras belonging to the present age, Jain Mythology takes account also of a past and future age and to each of the aeons are assigned 24 Tīrthakaras. And further, they are said to be born in ten different regions of Jain cosmography such as Bharata-Kṣetra, Haimavata-Kṣetra and the like. Thus we have in all 720 Tīrthakaras. The 24 of the present aeon are, however, described with great details. Their biographies follow a uniform pattern. The lives of the two famous Tīrthakaras-Pārśva and Mahāvīra are described in Jain works with a wealth of detail and in the case of others only remarkable events are recorded. As a rule, in the case of each Tīrthakara, the following particulars are mentioned.

(1) The previous births, (2) the name of the heavenly region from which he descends, (3) his parents' names, (4) birth-place, (5) 'Nakṣatra' or the Zodiacal sign of his birth, (6) his height, (7) his colour, (8) his age, (9) the tree under which he obtains Kevala or perfect knowledge, (10) his place of Nirvāṇa, (11) the number of his *gaṇadhara*s or chief disciples, and of *sādhus*, *sādhvīs*, *śrāvaka*s and *śrāvika*s, (12) the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī that wait upon him, (13) the interval between him and his predecessor and (14) the periods of time during which he lived as a householder, etc., and the date of his Nirvāṇa. The names of 24 Tīrthakaras are :

1. Rṣabha, 2. Ajita 3. Sambhava, 4. Abhinandana, 5. Sumati, 6. Padma-prabha, 7. Supārśva, 8. Candraprabha, 9. Puṣpadanta, 10. Śītala, 11. Śreyāṃsa, 12. Vasupūjya, 13. Vimala, 14. Ananta, 15. Dharmanātha, 16. Śāntinātha, 17. Kunthu, 18. Aranātha, 19. Malli, 20. Muni Suvrata, 21. Naminātha, 22. Nemi (or Ariṣṭanemi), 23. Pārśva and 24. Mahāvīra. Excepting the last two (or three) who are historical persons, others are from the sphere of Jain Mythology.

The twelve Cakravartins are the sovereign rulers over six parts of the Bharata country. Like the biographies of the Tīrthakaras, those of the Cakravartins too follow a uniform pattern. As a reward of the good Karman done in the previous births or as a result of 'Nidāna' (an evil resolution to utilise the merit of one's penance to get the desired object in the next life) they are born as Cakravartins in the dynasty of the Ikṣvāku, etc. They expand their empire on the strength of their superior valour. They are handsome mighty heroes; defeating their enemies they rule over the Bharata country—when gods descend from heaven, they bestow encomium on them and coronate them as "Emperor".

They rule for a very long time over the country—enjoying pleasures in the company of women and the glory due to an Emperor. What is extraordinary about them is their possession of 14 'ratnas' and 9 'nidhis'. The *ratnas* or gems are : 1. Cakra (disc), 2. Daṇḍa (a staff), 3. Khaḍga (sword), 4. Chatra (Parasol) 5. Carma (Marvellous hide), 6. Maṇi (jewel), 7. Kākiṇī and 8. Senāpati, 9. Gṛhpati, 10. Vārdhakī, 11. Purohita, 12. Gaja (Elephant) 13. Aśva (Horse) and 14. Strī (woman). The 'nidhis', which they possess, are, according to some, a work treating of nine lores while according to others, treasures kept in Caskets. Their names are : 1. Naisarpa (mansion), 2. Pāṇḍuka (food-grains), 3. Pingalaka (ornaments), 4. Sarvārathaka (14 jewels), 5. Mahāpadma (other jewels), 6. Kāla (astrology), 7. Mahākāla (mines of metals and gems), 8. Mānavaka (the art of war) and 9. Śaṅkha (Poetry, dramatic sciences and music). We do not get an exact idea about the nature of 9 'nidhis'.

The names of the twelve Cakravartins are :

1. Bharata, 2. Sagara, 3. Maghavan, 4. Sanatkumāra, 5. Śāntinātha, 6. Kunthunātha, 7. Ara(ha)nātha, 8. Subhuma, 9. Padmanābha, 10. Hariṣeṇa, 11. Jayasena and 12. Brahmadata.

Of these, the names of Bharata, Sagara, Maghavan and Brahmadata are celebrated in Hindu Epics and Purāṇas.

The 9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas : Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva are great heroes, born as contemporaries. Baladeva and Vāsudeva are step-brothers and Prativāsudeva is antagonistic to them. The complexion of Baladeva is white and he wears blue garment. His banner is emblazoned with a palm-tree. He possesses four Āyudhas : 1. Dhanus (Bow), 2. Gadā (Mace), 3. Musala (Pestle) and, 4. Hala (Plough). According to Digambara tradition he has all these except the first for which they substitute 'Ratnamālā'. His birth is indicated by four dreams which his mother sees.

Vāsudeva, also called Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, is the younger step-brother of Baladeva. He plays a very active role in the narrative and may be looked upon as the hero of the story. It is he who finally kills the Prativāsudeva. He is rather hot-tempered whereas his elder step-brother is very pious and gentle by nature. His is a dark complexion and he wears a yellow garment. He bears on his chest the sign of Śrīvatsa. He possesses a white parasol and chowries and his banner is marked with the figure of 'eagle'. He possesses seven Āyudhas : 1. a Pāñcājanya conch, 2. Sudarśana (Disc), 3. Kaumodakī-mace, 4. Śārṅga bow, 5. Nandaka sword, 6. Vanamālā, a garland of wild flowers and, 7. Kaustubha jewel. According to the Digambara tradition he possesses all the seven except the

last two for which they substitute Daṇḍa and Śakti. From the number of Āyudhas and also from the number of dreams—7 according to the Śvetāmbaras and 5 according to the Digāmbaras—which appear to his mother and announce his birth, it can be seen that the Jains represent him to be more powerful than his elder step-brother.

Prativāsudeva is a mighty hero, no doubt, but he is portrayed as a tyrant. His birth is announced by 1-4 dreams, dreamt by his mother. Baladeva and Vāsudeva are deeply attached to each other and for one reason or the other the two entertain hostility to the Prativāsudeva, who is an Ardha-Cakrin—one who rules three parts of the earth. In the war it is Vāsudeva who kills the Prativāsudeva; the latter after death, sinks into hell as a result of his sinful deeds. Vāsudeva then becomes an Ardha-Cakrin, enjoys the pleasures of kingdom for a long time and after death goes to hell as a result of 'himsā' that he has committed in war etc., and to counteract which he has not performed *tapas* after entering the ascetic order. After, the death of Vāsudeva, Baladeva finds no joy in Saṃsāra, enters the ascetic order, practises austerities and finally obtains heaven or attains to Nirvāṇa.

The names of these heroes are :

<i>Baladeva</i>	<i>Vāsudeva</i>	<i>Prativāsudeva</i>
1. Vijaya	Triprṣṭa	Aśvagrīva
2. Acala	Dviprṣṭa	Tāraka
3. Dharmaprabha or Bhadra	Svayambhu	Meraka
4. Suprabha	Puruṣottama	Madhu-Kaiṭabha
5. Sudarśana	Puruṣasimha	Niśumbha
6. Ānanda	Puṇḍarīka	Balin
7. Nandana	Datta	Prahlāda
8. Padma (Rāma)	Lakṣmaṇa	Rāvaṇa
9. (Bala-) Rāma	Kṛṣṇa	Jarāsandha

From amongst these heroes we note that some are glorified in the Hindu Mythology and the Epics, e.g., the 8th and the 9th sets of Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Prativāsudevas. Thus these 63 great men form the backbone, as it were, of Jain Mythology. From the schematic treatment of the lives of these heroes we note that *the Jain Mythology has all the appearance of a purely constructed system*. At the same time it must be admitted that the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of Kṛṣṇa-story may not have been absolutely fictitious characters. Reputed and

eminent scholars of the Hindu Epic and Purānas do hold that Rāma, Kṛṣṇa etc., may have lived as actual human beings.

5. THE EXTENT OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

The narrative literature of the Jains is very vast in extent and varied in scope. The Purānas, the Mahā-Purānas, and the 'Caritras' together form one of its main types⁹. They are written in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa. They treat of the biographies of the 63 Eminent Men (śalākāpuruṣas) that is to say the 24 Tīrthakaras and their contemporaries, the 12 Cakravartins or rulers of the world and the 27 heroes—9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas of antiquity. These works are usually called 'Purānas' by the Digambaras while 'Caritras' by the the Śvetāmbaras. The Mahā-Purāna contains the lives of all the 63 prominent personalities, whereas a Purāna or Carita generally deals with the life of a single Jina or some other hero¹⁰. The number of these works is very large and a few of them are very wide in their scope, while others confine themselves to narrow limits.

Winternitz, in his *History of Indian Literature*¹¹, briefly reviews the well-known Digambara Purānas (Padma-Harivaṃśa-, Triṣaṣṭīlakṣaṇa-, Mahā- and Uttara-Purāna) and Śvetāmbara Caritas like Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭī-Śalākāpuruṣa-Carita. The Jains adopted almost all the favourite popular themes from Brahmanical and general Indian Literature to offer their coreligionists all that they could find elsewhere too. They also created poems of their own, which were to serve the Jain Community as a substitute for the great epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*.

6. THE SUBJECT MATTER OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY.

Besides the lives of the sixty three great figures the Purānas expound various topics such as the 'Anāditva' of the universe, the origin of different races, genealogies and accounts of kings, the duties of a Śrāvaka and of a Śramaṇa, philosophy, ethics, metaphysics, criticism of the cult of animal sacrifice and of the priestly religion. No single work treats of all these subjects but, taken collectively, they may justly be described as a popular encyclopaedia of Jainism representing all phases, religious, philosophical, historical, and cultural. The Purānas claim to expound also the four subjects which comprise all human endeavour—Dharma (righteousness), Artha (wealth), Kāma (love) and Mokṣa (liberation)¹². Certain Purānas claim to give a 'history of the world' and present at the same time an encyclopaedia of all that is edifying to the pious Jain and that is worthy of his study. Thus, for example, the Ādi-Purāna describes the Saṃskāras¹³, which accompany the life of an individual from conception to

death, the interpretation of dreams¹⁴, and short treatises on town planning and the duties of the warrior¹⁵ and the art of governing (Nīti)¹⁶—besides ornate descriptions of cities, mountains, rivers and the like in accordance with the rules laid down by Ālamkārīkas for a Mahākāvya. The same Ādi-Purāṇa mentions eight topics or subjects which a Purāṇa ought to deal with : (i) the universe (Loka), (ii) the country with its mountains, sea etc., (Deśa), (iii) the city or capital (Pura), (iv) Kingdom (Rājyam), (v) the life of a Jina which acts as a ford to cross the ocean of Saṃsāra (Tīrtha), (vi) giving of alms and donations and austerities (Dāna-tapas), (vii) the four conditions of existence such as hells etc., and (viii) the fruit of 'punya' and 'pāpa', the highest reward being 'mokṣa'¹⁷.

7. A COMPARISON WITH THE HINDU EPICS AND PURĀṆAS

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and some of the oldest Purāṇas are undoubtedly older than the Jain Purāṇas. And these served the Jains as a model—though not a perfect one—in composing their epics about Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Purāṇas of the 63 prominent personalities. Broadly speaking the Jain Purāṇas and the Hindu Epics and Purāṇas treat of a large number of common subjects including biographies of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, origin of the universe, dissolution and recreation of the universe, the divisions of time assigned to Manus (Kulakaras), ancient royal genealogies, and accounts of persons mentioned therein; religious instruction, the four Puruṣārthas, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa, the Tīrthas and the benefits which they confer on pilgrims, medicine, architecture, astrology, grammar, the rights and duties of a king, gnostic sayings both on morality and on worldly wisdom and the like.

The method of presentation adopted by the Jains is the same as that of the Hindus. The legends of the Tīrthakaras and others are presented in the style of ornate epic following the compilers of the Hindu Purāṇas. Each Purāṇa is constructed as a discourse delivered by some person of authority to one or more hearers¹⁸ : the subjects are expounded, often in the form of question and answer and not always methodically : and into the narration are woven stories and discourses uttered by other persons. These Purāṇas are mainly in verse. Like the Hindu Epics and Purāṇas which afford us insight into all aspects and phases of mediaeval Hinduism, the Jain Purāṇas too constitute a popular encyclopaedia of mediaeval Jainism—religious, philosophical, historical, social and cultural.

8. THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

The Hindus have got besides the 18 Purāṇas proper, an equal number of secondary works of the same class called Upapurāṇas, the Jains have nothing to correspond to these Upapurāṇas. While the Hindu Purāṇas are primarily an

extension, amplification and illustration of the spiritual truths stated in the Vedas in the form of injunctions and commands, the Jain Purāṇas criticise and condemn the Vedic cult of animal sacrifice and the priestly religion, and amplify and illustrate the Jain ethics, the duties of a Jain householder, and of a Jain monk; in unequivocal words they condemn the incredible legends and doings of the Hindu Purāṇic deities; they illustrate the inexorable law of Karman that governs everyone's destiny and there is no place for any god bestowing favours and meting out punishments. There are, however, a few stories and incidents in which semi-divine or heavenly (to be distinguished from the liberated) beings come to the rescue of Jain devout souls at crucial moments in their life. Exceptional sanctity is bestowed on life and Ahimsā is the highest moral principle guiding all human affairs. Śramaṇic ideology is always kept in the forefront. Tīrthakaras and *munis* are introduced who give discourses on Jain ethics, dogmatics and philosophy, preach the worthlessness of worldly pleasures and inculcate love for liberation. The principal heroes and important personages are shown to have accepted the duties of a Jain householder or entered the ascetic order and in the end attaining to heaven or liberation. Whereas the heroes of the Hindu epics move in an entirely Brahmanical atmosphere in the Jain Purāṇas the *dharma* preached by the Jinas is everywhere very much to the fore. No doubt the Hindu epics and Purāṇas speak of belief in transmigration and refer to past births but in the Jain epics and Purāṇas the past and future lives of the heroes are told with a great wealth of detail. Whereas the epics and the Purāṇas of the Hindus regard Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as human beings who walked the earth veiling their supreme divine glory—incarnations of God Viṣṇu and glorify the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa and many other deities, the Jain Purāṇas rid the stories of their divine elements—to them Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are no divine incarnations and gods such as Indra etc., do not shine prominently in their mythology. It is the 63 śalākā-puruṣas that are celebrated in the Jain epics and Purāṇas. These śalākāpuruṣas include the Tīrthakaras whom the Jains venerate and worship as the Hindus do their gods—theoretically the Jains refuse to recognise gods and although their Jinas bear the appearance of deities on account of the irresistible Brahmanical influence, the Jinas are still bereft of the power of creation and destruction of the universe, of punishment or forgiveness of sins. Although all the Vedic gods do not retain their prominent position in the Brahmanical Epics and Purāṇas still a few of them such as Indra, Agni, Varuna, the Sūrya etc., hold important positions. The Jain Purāṇas do refer to a few Vedic deities such as Indra, Varuṇa etc., but they do not occupy places of supreme importance—they are subordinated to the great Tīrthakaras. Some of the godlings mentioned in the R̥gveda are termed as a class of Vyantaras and given comparatively greater prominence.

Notes and References :

1. तीर्थेशामपि चकेशां हलिनामर्धचक्रिणाम् । त्रिषष्टिलक्षणं वक्ष्ये पुराणं तदिदृशामपि ॥
पुरातनं पुराणं स्यात् तन्महन्महदाश्रयात् । महद्भिरुपदिष्टत्वात् महाश्रेयोऽनुशासनात् ॥
कवि पुराणमाश्रित्य प्रसृतत्वात् पुराणता । महत्त्वं स्वमहिम्नैव तस्येत्यन्यैर्निरुच्यते ॥
महापुरुषसम्बन्धि महाभ्युदयशासनम् । महापुराणमाप्नातमत एतन्महर्षिभिः ॥—Jinasena. Ādipurāṇa I. 20-23
2. ऋषिप्रणीतमार्षं स्यात् सूक्तं सूनुतशासनात् । धर्मानुशासनाच्चेदं धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ।
इतिहास इतीष्टं तद् इति हासीदिति श्रुतेः । इतिवृत्तमथैतिह्यमाम्नायञ्चामनन्ति तत् ॥
—Jinasena. Ibid I. 24-25
3. Puṣpadanta—Mahāpurāṇa Vol. I, P. 9.
The definitions of Purāṇa found in the Hindu Purāṇas may be noted here :
सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैवं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
The *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, however, says that the five *lakṣaṇas* are only for the *Upapurāṇas*, while *Mahāpurāṇas* (“the great Purāṇas”) have “ten *lakṣaṇas*” including “praise of Viṣṇu and the gods individually”. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* likewise mentions “ten *lakṣaṇas*” of the Purāṇa in two places (II. 10.1 and XII. 7. 8 ff.)
4. Jacobi. Winternitz, Glasenapp, to mention a few only.
5. The word अग्निनेमि occurs in R̥gveda I, 89. 6, but it has nothing to do with the Jain Tīrthakara.
6. For example of the title of Śīlācārya's work—“Caupannamahāpurīṣacariya” or the word ‘Uttamapurīṣa’ used in this connection in the *Samavāyāṅga*.
7. Winternitz (Hist. of Indian Lit. Vol. II, p. 505) translates it as “which form as it were lines of demarcation among the monks”.
8. कस्यचिद् वस्तुनोऽनेकभेदज्ञापनार्थं कोष्ठकरेखासु २४ तीर्थकराः १२ चक्रिणः ९ बलदेवाः ९ वासुदेवाः ९ प्रतिवासुदेवाश्चेति त्रयष्षष्टि शलाकापुरुषाः ।
9. See Dr. Upadhye's Introduction to *Bṛhatkathākośa* and Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature Vol.II*.
10. For example, the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena or the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra and *Pārśvanāthacaritra* of Bhāvadeva Sūri.
11. Vol. II. pp. 486-519.
12. see, e.g., Pc. 118.111
13. Chs. 38-40.
14. Ch. 41.
15. Ch. 16
16. Ch. 42
17. J. M. P. 4. 3.
18. e.g., Gautama expounds the *Paūmacariya* to king Śreṇika on his request.



SOME ASPECTS OF PAÜMACARIYA

Corresponding to the great epic of Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa in Sanskrit the Jains have a number of Rāmāyaṇas composed in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa languages. The earliest among these is the Prakrit epic *Paümacariya* (Pc) (Padmacarita). Padma is the name of Rāma in this epic. It is written by Vimalasūri (Vimala) in the Prakrit called Jain Māhārāṣṭrī by modern scholars. Scholars like H. Jacobi place it in the third century A. D. or somewhat later. In this brief account light is thrown on some of its aspects :

(i) Its form : A Purāṇa

The narrative literature of the Jains is vast in extent and varied in scope¹. It is generally divided into four broad categories as follows : (a) the Purāṇas and the Mahāpurāṇas, (b) the Caritras, Kathās and Ākhyānas, (c) the Prabandhas and (d) the Kathākośas. We are here concerned with the first category only as the work under study calls itself a Purāṇa (I. 32, CXVIII.III). The term Purāṇa originally meant nothing but 'Purāṇam Ākhyānam', i. e., 'old narrative'. Then in the course of time it came to denote 'a species of literature' comprising works of religious and didactic contents in which were collected ancient traditions of the creation, the deeds of the gods, heroes, saints, and distant ancestors of the human race, the beginnings of the famous royal families and so on. The term Purāṇa is defined in Hindu literature as follows² :

A Purāṇa treats of five subjects : (1) Sarga, 'Creation', (2) Pratisarga, 're-creation', i. e., the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds, (3) Vamśa, 'account of the genealogy', viz, of the gods and the Rṣis, (4) Manvantaras, 'Epochs between the Manus'—the great periods, each of which has a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race, and (5) Vamśānucarita, 'the history of the dynasties whose origin is traced back to the Sun (solar dynasty) and the Moon (lunar dynasty)'. The *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, however, says that the five 'lakṣaṇas' are only for the 'Purāṇas' and the 'Upapurāṇas', while the Mahāpurāṇas (the great Purāṇas) have ten 'lakṣaṇas' including praise of Viṣṇu

and the gods individually³. Vimāla does not define either Purāṇa or a Mahāpurāṇa. Among the Jain authors, Jinasena is probably the first to define Purāṇa and Mahāpurāṇa. Says he : "I shall describe the narrative of sixty-three ancient persons. viz., the (24) Tīrthamkaras, the (12) Cakravartins, (9) Baladevas, (9) Ardha-Cakravartins (i.e., Vāsudevas), and their (9) enemies (i.e., Prativāsudevas). The word Purāṇa means 'old or ancient narrative'. It is called 'great' because it concerns the great (figures), or because it is narrated by the great (Tīrthamkaras, Gaṇadharas, Ācāryas) or because it teaches the way to supreme bliss. Other learned scholars say that it is called Purāṇa because it originates with an old poet and it is called great because of its intrinsic greatness. The great Ṛṣis called it a Mahāpurāṇa as it relates to great men and teaches the way to the highest bliss⁴. Further he adds that the "Mahāpurāṇa" is regarded as Ārṣa because it was composed by Ṛṣis, 'Sūkta' because it expounds truth and 'Dharmaśāstra' because it declares Dharma. It is also looked upon as Itihāsa, Itivṛtta, or Aitihya or Āmnāya as it contains many stories about 'Iti-hāsa' ('so it happened', i. e., 'traditional history')"⁵.

Thus according to Jinasena Purāṇa and Itihāsa are synonymous terms⁶. The Ṭippanakāra of Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa, makes however, a distinction between the two, saying that Itihāsa means the narrative of a single individual while Purāṇa means the narratives of sixty-three great men of the Jain faith⁷. In its definition of Itihāsa Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra (1.5) enumerates Purāṇa and Itivṛtta as belonging to the content of Itihāsa. As Itivṛtta can only mean 'a historical event' Purāṇa probably means 'mythological legendary lore'.

The Hindu definition of Purāṇa (or Mahāpurāṇa) is applicable only partly to the work of Vimāla. He speaks of seven Adhikāras (subjects, topics) as constituting his *Paūmacariya*, viz., (1) The eternal nature of the Universe which was never, created, (2) the origin of the dynasties, (3) Rāma's departure to the forest, (4) War between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, (5) The birth of Lava and Aṅkuṣa, (6) the liberation from worldly existence, and (7) The various existences (past as well as future)⁸ etc. Out of these seven topics, Rāma's departure to the forest, the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa and the birth of Lava and Kuṣa (Aṅkuṣa) are peculiar to a Rāma Carita or Purāṇa. The remaining four topics are some of the general features distinguishing Jain Purāṇas. A study of the contents of the *Paūmacariya* reveals that it describes, though briefly, the lives of the Tīrthamkaras Ṛṣabha, Ajitanātha, Munisuvrata and Mahāvīra, and of the sovereign rulers Bharata, Sagara and Hariṣeṇa, besides mentioning the names of the sixty three great figures, their places of birth, their parents, their span of life, their respective trees, places of liberation, etc. It describes also the fourteen

Kulakaras, the Kalpa-Vṛkṣas the duties of a Jain monk, the horrors of hell, the joys of heavenly worlds, the *jina-pūjā*, the *jinābhiṣeka*, the *jinavandanabhakti*, the origin of the four castes, the condemnation of Vedic sacrifice and of the Brāhmaṇas, the dreadful consequences of killing and of the eating of meat. Most of these topics are generally found to be dealt with in all the Jain Purāṇas. None of the definitions of a Purāṇa or Mahāpurāṇa given above covers fully these various topics. The *Ādipurāṇa* attempts to cover some of these topics when it lays down that a Purāṇa ought to deal with the eight topics or subjects given below :

(1) The universe, (2) the country with its mountains, sea etc., (3) the city or capital, (4) the kingdom, (5) the life of a Jina which acts as a ford for crossing the ocean of *samsāra*, (6) liberality, munificence and austerities, (7) the four conditions of existence such as hells, etc., and (8) the fruit of Puṇya and Pāpa (meritorious deeds and sinful deeds)⁹.

Although the *Paūmacariya* is undoubtedly a Purāṇa, it answers some of the salient features of a *mahākāvya*. The subject-matter is the lives of great figures of antiquity. The work is composed in Cantos (*uddeśa*, *samuddeśa* or *parvan*); it is chiefly in the Āryā metre but as the definition of an epic requires, the concluding stanzas of each canto are composed in a variety of metres. He interweaves his name (*nāmamudrā*) in the closing verse of every canto. It contains many descriptions of towns, mountains, seasons, the rising and setting of the sun and moon, water-sports, love-sports, separation, marriage, battles and the triumphs of the hero. It is embellished with figures of speech such as *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Utpreksā*, *Arthāntaranyāsa*, etc. in the poetic portion of the work. The principal sentiment is that of renunciation and quietude, although in some cantos the sentiments of Śṅgāra, Vīra, Karuṇa, Hāsya, Bībhatsa and *Adbhuta*, are portrayed. The style of the work is, on the whole, fluent and in descriptive passages only reveals long compounds. In short, the *Paūmacariya* may be rightly and justly described as partly exhibiting the features of a Purāṇa and partly of a *mahākāvya*. A modern scholar describes it as a 'Dharmakāvya'.

(ii) THE TITLE PAÛMACARIYA

The present work is known as *Paūmacariya*. The poet mentions this title in his work, not always but frequently¹⁰. The title means 'The Life of Padma' (another name for Rāma). Rāma was so called because he was '*Paūmuppadalaccho*' (possessed of eyes as the petals of a lotus) and "*Viyasiya-vara-paumasarisamuham*' (having a face like an excellent blooming lotus)¹¹. In the course of the work the poet often refers to Paūma as Rāma, Rāhava, Rāmadeva, Sīri, Halahara, etc. It is, therefore, obvious that the various names *Rāhavacariya*,

Rāmacariya and *Halahaṛacariya* used in the work stand for the *Paūmacariya* and by no stretch of imagination can we ever speak that the *Rāhavacariya* was a work quite different from the *Paūmacariya* of Vimala. Professor K. H. Dhruva, however, appears to have advanced this highly fanciful hypothesis of two separate works called *Rāhavacariya* and *Paūmacariya*¹² to suit his late dating of *Paūmacariya* based on grounds of 'late' metres and 'modern' Prakrit.

No doubt, the poem deals with the life-story of Rāma, but it also deals with the life of Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa at great length. That is Vimala presents to his readers the lives of three of the great figures (viz., the 8th Baladeva, Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, and Pratinārāyaṇa or Prati-vāsudeva). Although Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa are with Rāma, *śalākā-puruṣas*, they are spiritually inferior to him for he alone at the end of his life here attains Nirvāṇa and the other two sink in hell. This consideration might have weighed with the poet when he named his work as *Paūmacariya*. In the popular story of Rāma, he being the first and foremost hero, the work is naturally named after him (e.g. the *Rāmāyaṇa*); and it is not unlikely that this factor too might have influenced the poet in calling his poem *Paūmacariya*. As the date of the *Padmapurāṇa* of the Hindus is not known definitely we cannot say that this name *Padmapurāṇa* might have influenced Vimala in naming his Purāṇa dealing with the life of Rāma.

(iii) THE EXTENT OF THE PAŪMACARIYA

The *Paūmacariya* is divided into 118 chapters or cantos, the first thirty-five of which are called *Uddeśas* (*Uddeśakas*, or occasionally *Samuddeśakas*) and the rest *Parvans*¹³. In the extent of individual cantos there is great disparity : the shortest is the 60th canto with nine stanzas only and the longest is the eighth with 286 stanzas. Comparatively speaking, the cantos in the first half of the poem are longer whereas those in the second half are shorter. The total number of stanzas comprising the work is 8651¹⁴.

(iv) VIMALA'S AIM IN WRITING THE PAŪMACARIYA

Vimala holds that the *Rāmāyaṇa* stories (of the Hindu poets) are most certainly lies; he thinks that the absurdities which are related regarding the life of Rāma, Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarna and others are not worthy of belief, and that the poets who composed *Rāmāyaṇa* were liars¹⁵. Through the mouth of Śreṇika and Gautama the poet gives expression to all this :

"How is it possible that the great Rākṣasa heroes, though very strong, were killed by the Vānaras (monkeys) ? It is reported in the popular scriptures

that all the Rākṣasas led by Rāvaṇa used to eat meat and drink blood and marrow, and that Rāvaṇa's brother Kumbhakarna used to sleep for six months without a break; even though his body would be crushed by big elephants and his ears filled with pots of oil he would not wake up; he would not hear the sound of drums beaten near him nor would he get up from his bed if the period of six months was not over ! When he got up, being overpowered with fierce hunger he would devour whatever would be near him at the time, such as elephants and buffaloes. Having filled his belly by devouring gods, men, elephants and the like he would again go to bed for another six months...". Again, it is said that Indra, when defeated in battle by Rāvaṇa, was bound in chains and taken to Lankā. How can anyone take Indra captive—Indra who rules over Jambūdvīpa with its gods and men ? One would be reduced to heaps of ashes at the mere thought of attacking him, who has Airāvata, the elephant-jewel and Vajra, the thunderbolt at his command ! At that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by the deer, the elephant by the dog ! Further, it is reported that Rāma during his sojourn in the forest killed a (wondrous) golden deer and that (at Kiṣkindhā) Rāma treacherously killed Vālin in order to oblige (his ally) Sugrīva and win (Su-) Tārā for him (Sugrīva). It is also said that the Vānaras constructed a bridge across the ocean."¹⁶

It is with a view to removing all such absurdities, inconsistencies and incredible elements found in the popular Rāmāyaṇa stories that Vimāla undertakes the composition of the Paūmacariya. It is the poet's intention to present faithfully the life of Rāma as was proclaimed by Lord Mahāvīra himself¹⁷. That the poet is intent on the propagation of the teachings of the Jinās is evident to every reader of the Purāṇa or Carita. In the concluding portion of his work Vimāla exhorts his readers (or hearers) to practise the Dharma as expounded by the Jinās :

बहुएण किं व कीरइ, अच्चो भणियच्चएण लोयम्मि ।
 एकपयम्मि वि बुद्धह रमह सया जिणवरमयम्मि ॥
 जिणसासणाणुरत्ता होऊणं कुणह उत्तमं धम्मं ।
 जेण अविग्घं पावह, बलदेवाई गया जत्थ ॥—CXVIII. 112-113

It is thus very clear that Vimāla aims mainly at propagation of Jain Dharma through his Paūmacariya.

(V) VIMALA'S CONCEPTION OF RĀKṢASAS AND VĀNARAS

Vimāla's conception of Rākṣasas and Vānaras is markedly different from that of Vālmīki. The Rākṣasas are not man-eating demons with fearful and hideous appearances. Nor are the Vānaras animals having long tails living on

fruits etc., and using their nails and teeth as their weapons. They are, in reality, a race of the Vidyādhara, "A class of beings endowed with many supernatural qualities, if not human beings in the correct sense of the term. Bestly and uncouth behaviour and appearances are not therein attributed to them. On the other hand, they are depicted as having been highly civilized, who, far from killing and devouring all animals that they could obtain, strictly adhered to the vow of Ahimsā."¹⁸ The dynasty of Vidyādhara at Laṅkā came to be called Rākṣasas after the great and celebrated Vidyādhara hero named Rākṣasa¹⁹. The author gives also another explanation as to why the Vidyādhara were Rākṣasas :

रक्वति रक्खसा खलु, दीवा पुण्णेण रक्खिया जेण ।
तेणं चिय खयरणं, रक्खसनामं कयं लोए ॥ —V. 257.

The Vidyādhara of Kiṣkindhipura received the name of Vānaras because of their custom of wearing the pictures of monkeys as symbols or totems on their banners and crowns²⁰.

This conception of Vimala about the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras is born of the growing spirit of rationalism of his age. The fanciful and highly exaggerated poetic descriptions of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras given in the popular Rāmāyaṇa stories were unacceptable to Vimala, a champion of rationalism. He, therefore, portrays the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras as Vidyādhara, possessed of supernatural powers and are thus, capable of the heroic exploits attributed to them. He gives a realistic interpretation of the epithet of Rāvaṇa when he writes : Rāvaṇa's mother hangs around his neck a wondrous necklace of Ratnas, in which his face is reflected nine times, hence his epithet of Daśamukha "The man with ten faces" (VII 95-96) :

.....।
सो जणणीएँ पिणद्धो, कंठे बालस्स वरहारो ॥
रयणकिरणेसु एत्तो मुहाइ नव निययवयणसरिसाई ।
हारे दिट्ठाईँ फुडं, तेण फुडं दहमुहो नामं ॥

(vi) CHARACTERISATION IN PAŪMACARIYA

Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa is generally regarded as one of the most beautiful and moving of all stories in literature. One very important factor contributing to its greatness and beauty is its unique characterization. The story of Rāma presented by Vimala agrees only partly with Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa and considerably differs from it on account of the many omissions, additions and modifications effected by him. These changes powerfully affect the

characterization in *Paūmacariya*. Consideration of space prevents us from undertaking here a review of the characters of the important men and women that play a conspicuous part in the story. We rest content by pointing only to some of the more noteworthy aspects of the characterization in *Paūmacariya*. Vimala's aim at elevating his character is very obvious. According to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kaikeyī is a selfish, greedy and intriguing woman. Rāma kills Vālin treacherously and is guilty of killing Śambūka. Rāvaṇa is a tyrant, an oppressor of mankind violently obstructing sacrifices, and he abducts women. Vālin is a usurper, and unlawfully takes possession of his brother's wife and kingdom. Vimala takes a very sympathetic view of these characters and attempts to clear them of blame. He represents Kaikeyī as a mother par excellence who is prepared to let her husband accept asceticism but desperately tries to retain her loving son. She does not demand Rāma's exile. Vālin, a mighty Vidyādhara hero, though capable of inflicting a crushing defeat on Rāvaṇa, voluntarily appoints Sugrīva to the throne and himself becomes a monk. This account acquits Vālin of the shameful charge of living with his brother's wife, and Rāma of the charge of treacherously slaying Vālin, who had done no harm to him. Lakṣmaṇa kills Śambūka by accident and this exonerates Rāma completely from the guilt of slaying a man who, though a *śūdra*, was a *tapasvin*. Rāvaṇa is a pious and devout Jain. He restores ruined Jain shrines. As far as possible he avoids *himsā*, whenever he has to fight. In his world-conquest he is shown to have subdued his enemies whom he later on sets free and restores to them their kingdoms. His only weakness is his passion for Sītā. Vimala is probably the first poet to represent Rāvaṇa as a hero eminently suited to a great tragic play of the western type. The poet presents Kumbhakaraṇa and other Rākṣasa heroes as very pious souls devoid of all the ugly and ferocious traits attributed to them in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Another remarkable aspect of the characterization in the *Paūmacariya* is to be seen in the large number of wives of some principal characters. According to Vimala, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumat had 8000, 16000 and 1000 wives respectively. Sagara and Hariṣeṇa, two sovereign rulers had each 64000 wives. Rāvaṇa at a time had married 6000 wives. Vimala probably believed that the greater the number of wives a person has, the greater is his glory ! According to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma was devoted and faithful to his only wife Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa was married to Urmilā only and Hanumat was celibate. One more noteworthy aspect of the characterisation in the *Paūmacariya* is that all the principal characters in the *Paūmacariya* barring Lakṣmaṇa (and Rāvaṇa) are pious Jain laymen who retire from the world at the end and become Jain monks and attain to liberation or heaven. Lakṣmaṇa is shown to have sunk into hell after death for having failed to adopt Jain Dharma. Kaikeyī,

Sītā etc., become Jain nuns. Again, in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma is the central figure but in the *Paūmacariya* Lakṣmaṇa plays a leading part. It is he, not Rāma, who kills Rāvaṇa.

(vii) VIMALA : AS POET

Vimala calls his work a "Purāṇa" in the introduction (Canto I. 32) and at the end (Canto CXVIII. 111). His real aim is edification and instruction. He is full of burning enthusiasm for the Jain faith. He writes with an eye to the liberation of mankind by means of Jainism. He delights in singing the glory and greatness of Jainism. The *Paūmacariya* is to him only a means to propagate the doctrines of his faith. He is primarily a preacher and only secondarily a poet. Naturally, he touches on the various aspects of Jain ethics, philosophy, dogma, mythology, cosmography, the dreadful consequences of killing and of the eating of flesh, the gruesome torments of hell, the worthlessness of this worldly existence, the denigration of women, the doctrine of Karma, the past and future births of various characters figuring in the narrative, and thus renders his work open to the charge of "the extreme difficulty in making anything picturesque out of the dry and scholastic Jain tenets and the somewhat narrow views of life prevalent in Jain circles" (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Keith, p. 295) or that it is "of the type of respectable dullness" or that "it does not attain the level of literature". Jacobi observes that "it (the *Paūmacariya*) has very little poetic value". This observation of Jacobi is true only so far as this portion of the work is concerned. It is, however, extremely unfair to Vimala to condemn the whole work as poetically worthless.

It is equally unjust to Vimala to institute any comparison between him and Vālmīki, the Ādikavi whose *Rāmāyaṇa* is a popular epic and *ornate poetry* at the same time. It is idle to compare him with Kālidāsa, Bhāravi or Māgha. Their *mahākāvya*s are chiefly meant to give pleasure, whereas the Purāṇas like the present one are mainly intended to serve the purpose of instruction. A close and careful study of the *Paūmacariya* shows that we cannot claim for Vimala rich poetical genius of high descriptive powers. It is, indeed, very difficult to point to any single canto in the whole work which is poetically of high merit. We, however, come across many pretty and beautiful descriptions of towns, rivers, mountains, seasons, water-sports, love-scenes, etc. in the work which demonstrate that Vimala is capable of some moderately good poetry. The attention of readers is particularly drawn to the descriptions of the water-sports at Canto X.36-44, of the rainy-season at Canto XI. 119, of the evening at Canto XVI.46-54, of Sītā at Canto XXVI. 98-102, of old age at Canto XXIX. 21-28, of the

winter season at Canto XXXI. 41-47, of the Vānara warriors visiting the marble palace of wondrous beauty at Canto LXVIII. 5-15, of the fire-flames produced on the occasion of Sītā's fire-ordeal at Canto CII. 7-12, and of the cremation ground at Canto CV. 52-61. These descriptions will bear out the statement made above regarding Vimala's poetic abilities. Vimala shows his high proficiency in the expression of pithy observations on life, religion and morals. He ever and ever again flings at the reader beautiful *subhāṣitas* touching various aspects of human life. Only a few of them may be referred to here : Canto I. 17-27 dealing with various limbs of the human body : Canto IV. 26, 50, LXXV. 18, LXXXVI. 60, CIII. 52, 72, CVIII. 38 CXIII. 71, CXVII. 42 dealing with 'dharma' : III. 46-47 with 'dāna'; CII. 177 with knowledge, XII. 81; LXII.22, LXV. 30, LXXIII. 17 with good men; XXXV. 66 with the importance of wealth; III. 123-125, LXXVII-15, CVI.41-42 with the nature of worldly existence; LXXVII.13, CV.39-40, CX.11 with the karma doctrine; CIII. 73, CVI. 38, CVII. 31, CXVIII. 107 with the pleasures of senses; LXXIII. 14, and CVIII. 25 with Death; LXXXIV. 80-84 with the lot of a servant; and XVII. 33-34, LXIX.39, LXXXIII. 35-36 with women.

Vimala, now and then, sprinkles his narrative with *subhāṣitas*.

- (i) किं वज्जसूइभिन्ने, न रियइ तंतू महारयणे²¹ । -I—13b
- (ii) नक्खेण जं विलुप्पइ तत्थ य परसूण किं कज्जं ।—XII. 101b
- (iii) नट्टं हियं च भदे ! न सोइयव्वं बुहजणेण²² ।—XXX. 35
- (iv) तुल्लवत्थाण जए, होइ सिणेहो नराण निययं पि ।—XLVII. 5
- (v) पत्ते विणासकाले, नासइ बुद्धी नराण निक्खुत्तं²³ ।—LII. 138b
- (vi) किं दिणयरस्स दीवो, दिज्जइ वि हु मग्गणड्ढाए ।—LXX. 27
- (vii) किं रासहस्स सोहइ, देहे रइया विजयघंटा ।—LXXI. 54
- (viii) मरणंताइं हवंति वेराणि²⁴ ।—LXXV. 1
- (ix) सग्गसरिसो वि देसो, पियविरहे रणसणिहो होइ²⁵ ।—LXXVII. 42a
- (x) भिच्चस्स जीवियाओ, कुक्कुरजीयं वरं हवइ ।—XCIV. 80
- (xi) सव्वस्स वि कोउयं सरिसं ।—C. 53d
- (xii) जह सय्यं तह पया सव्वा²⁶ ।—CV. 106d
- (xiii) जायस्स धुवं मरणं²⁷—CVI. 26a

He uses a few proverbial and colloquial expressions occasionally :

- (i) न य गेहम्मि पलित्ते, कूवो खण्णइ सुतूरमाणेहिं ।

- धाहाविए ण दम्मइ, आसो च्चिय तक्खणं चेव²⁸ ।—V. 249
 (पज्जलियम्मि य भवणे, कूवतलायस्स खणणमारम्भो ।
 अहिणा दट्ठस्स जए, को कालो मंतजवणंमि ॥—LXXXVI. 60)
- (ii)वेज्जनरिदाण मित्तपुरिसाणं । आहाणओ य लोए, एयाणं फुडं कहेयव्वं ॥—XII. 17
- (iii) किं वा तुसेसु कीरइ, तंदुलसारम्मि संगहिए ।—XII. 138
- (iv) दुसहं हवइ समक्खं चिय उब्भवे जणवयस्स ।
 गयवेयणं तु पच्छा, जणम्मि एसा सुई भमई ॥—XXVI. 239
- (v) तो दहरहस्स नामं, पियरस्स फुडं न गेण्हामि ।—LXXXVI. 9
- (vi) को सयलजणस्स इहं करेइ मुहबंधणं पुरिसो ।—XCIV. 70b
- (vii) वीरपुरिसाण भोज्जा, वसुहा किं एत्थ विद्धेहि ।—XCVIII. 22
- (viii) रयणं तु पुहइमोळं, दिन्नं चिय सागमुट्ठीए ।—CIII. 110
- (ix) असमिक्खियकारीणं पुरिसाणं एत्थ पावहिययाणं ।
 सयमेव कयं कम्मं, परितावयरं हवइ पच्छ²⁹ ॥—CX. 11
- (x) सलिले मंथिज्जते सुट्ठु वि न य होइ नवणीयं ।
 सिकयाए पीलियाए, कुत्तो च्चिय जायए तेळं ॥—CXIII. 33
- (xi) वालगगकोडिमत्तं, दोसं पेच्छसि परस्स अइसिग्घं ।
 मंदरमेत्तं पि तुमं, न य पेच्छसि अत्तणो दोसं³⁰ ।—CXIII. 40
- (xii) सरिसा सरिसेसु सया, रज्जंति सुई जणे एसा ।—CXII. 41b

He is very fond of paraphrasing proper names for example, Bhānukarṇa = Bhānu-Śravaṇa, Ghana-vāhana = Megha-vāhana, Ākhaṇḍalabhūti = Indra-bhūti, Vajrakarṇa = Kuliśa-śravaṇa, etc.

He uses a very large number of Deśī words with a view to making Prakrit more readily intelligible to the common people. As the work was of a religious and propagandistic nature and meant for a large number of readers and the masses ('lokabhogya'), he did not hesitate to use the non-Prakritic forms and idioms—so-called vulgarisms from the popular speech of his days—Apabhraṁśa. He is very fond of onomatopoeic words too.

The figures of speech which are commonly met with in this work are Upamā and Rūpaka. Some other figures which we come across in the work are Utprekṣā, Atiśayokti, and Arthāntaranyāsa. Anuprāsa and Yamaka are found to be rarely used. Vimala, no doubt, delineates the sentiments in the narration of the principal story and in the romantic episodes that he has added. The fact, however, remains that his supreme interest lies in the development of *vairāgya*

that leads the various characters in the story to the renunciation of worldly life and acceptance of Jain order.

Vimala's style is lucid and fluent and, wherever necessary, forceful. The Purāna portion of the work, although otherwise important, makes extremely dull reading, but the style of this portion of the work too is quite simple and easy. In the course of his narration when he chooses to give poetic descriptions we come across comparatively long compounds but they are not difficult to understand.

Vimala devotes 106 pages out of a total of 335 pages to narrating the background of the principal narrative. This certainly detracts from his merit as a story-teller. He increases the bulk of the story by adding many legendary stories and romantic episodes; some of these, e.g., the episodes of Bhāmaṇḍala and Viṭasugrīva, are indeed quite beautiful. He claims at the end of his work that his *Paūmacariya* is '*visuddha-laliyakkharaheūjuttam*' and *akkhāṇesu vivihesu nibaddha-attham*'. This claim is partially just and legitimate as the language of the work is not pure and chaste but shows many unprakritic forms and idioms. Jacobi rightly observes that the work "is very fluently written, in an easy epic style". Uddyotanasūri pays a handsome tribute to Vimala as follows :

जारिसयं विमलंको विमलं को तारिसं लहइ अत्थं ।
अमयमइयं च सरसं सरसं चिय पाइयं जस्स ॥ —*Kuvalayamālā*

This high compliment Vimala richly deserves.

Notes and References :

1. See Winternitz : *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II (pp. 475 onwards); Dr. A. N. Upadhye Introduction to *Brhatkathākośa* (pp. 17-30).
2. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥ —*Matsyapurāna* LXV. 63.
3. एतद्रूपपुराणानां लक्षणञ्च विदुर्बुधाः ।
महताञ्च पुराणानां लक्षणं कथयामि ते ॥
सृष्टिश्चापि विसृष्टिश्चेत् स्थितिस्तेषाञ्च पालनम् ।
कर्मणां वासना वार्ता चामूनाञ्च क्रमेण च ॥
वर्णनं प्रलयानाञ्च मोक्षस्य च निरूपणम् ।
उत्कीर्तनं हरेरेव देवानाञ्च पृथक् पृथक् ॥
दशाधिकं लक्षणञ्च महतां परिकीर्तितम् ।
संख्यानञ्च पुराणानां निबोध कथयामि ते ॥

Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāna likewise mentions the ten topics of Mahāpurāna as

follows :

अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं षोषणमूतयः ।

मन्वन्तेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥—Skandha II, Adhyāya 10, v. 1

and

सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षान्तराणि च ।

वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥

दशभिलक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।

केचित्पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥—Skandha XII, Adhyāya 7. vv. 9-10.

4. तीर्थेशामपि चक्रेशां हलिनामर्धचक्रिणाम् ।

त्रिषष्टिलक्षणं वक्ष्ये पुराणं तदिदृशामपि ॥

पुरातनं पुराणं स्यात् तन्महम्महदाश्रयात् ।

महद्भिरुपदिष्टत्वात् महाश्रेयोऽनुशासनात् ॥

कविं पुराणमाश्रित्य प्रसूतत्वात् पुराणता ।

महत्त्वं स्वमहिम्नैव तस्येत्यन्यैर्निरुच्यते ॥

महापुरुषसम्बन्धि महाभ्युदयशासनम् ।

महापुराणमान्नातमत एतन्महर्षिभिः ॥ —Ādipurāṇa I-20-23.

5. ऋषिप्रणीतमार्षं स्यात् सूक्तं सुनृतशासनात् ।

धर्मानुशासनाच्चेदं धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥

इतिहास इतीष्टं तद् इति हासीदिति श्रुतेः ।

इतिवृत्तमथैतिह्यमाध्यायञ्चामनन्ति तत् ॥ —Ādipurāṇa I-24-25.

6. पुराणमितिहासाख्यं यत्रोवाच गणाधिपः । —Ādipurāṇa I. 26a.

7. See Puspadanta's Mahāpurāṇa (edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya) Vol. I (p. 9).

8. टिड्वंससमुप्पत्ती पत्थाणरणं लवंकुसुप्पत्ती ।

निज्जाणमणेयभवा, सत्त पुराणेत्थ अहिगार ॥

9. लोको देशः पुरं राज्यं तीर्थं दानतपोऽन्वयम् ।

पुराणेष्वष्टधाख्येयं गतयः फलमित्यपि ॥

In the article called Jain-Purāṇa (Jain Siddhānta Bhāskara, Vol. VIII, part I, p.4, June 1941) Pandit K. Bhujabali Shastri mentions the eight topics of a Jain Purāṇa according to the view of Pampa, a great Kannada poet :

(१) लोकाकार-कथन (२) देशनिवेशोपदेश (३) नगरसम्पत्परिवर्धन (४) राज्यरमणीयकाख्यान (५)

तीर्थमहिमासमर्थन (६) चतुर्गतिस्वरूपनिरूपण (७) तपोदानविधानवर्णन (८) तत्फलप्राप्तिप्रकटन

It is very obvious that Pampa's source is Jinasena.

10.चरियं वोच्छामि पउमचरियं....। (I. 8)

को वणिणऊण तीरइ नीसेसं पउमचरियसंबंधं । (I. 9)

अह पउमचरियतुंगे, वीरमहागयवरेण निम्मविए । (I. 29)

सुत्ताणुसार-सरसं रइयं गाहाहि पायडफुडत्थं ।

विमलेण पउमचरियं संखेवेणं निसामेह ॥ (I. 31)

पउमस्स चेद्वियमिणं.... (I, 33)

एयं अट्टमरामदेवचरियं (I, 90)

पउमचरियंमि एतो (II, 105)

पउमचरियं महायस, अहयं इच्छामि परिफुडं सोउं । (III, 8)

...महइमहापुरिसाण य चरियं च जहक्कमं सुणसु । (III, 17)

एयं राहवचरियं पुरिसो जो पढइ सुणइ भावियकरणो । (CIII, 175)

एयं हलहरचरियं निययं जो पढइ सुद्धभावेणं । (CXVIII, 93)

दुब्भासियाई...। नासंति पउमकित्तणकहाएँ दूरं समत्थाई । (GXVIII, 97)

एयं रामारविदचरियं तु सुयं समत्थं, नासेइ दुग्गइपहं...। (CXVIII, 101)

एयं वीरजिणेण रामचरियं सिट्ठं महत्थं पुर । (CXVIII, 102)

....इमं चरियं (CXVIII, 103)

एयं राहवचरियं... । (CXVIII, 104)

...इयं राहवचरियं... । (CXVIII, 118)

11. अवराइया कयाई, गुरुभारा सोहणे तिहिमुहुत्ते ।

पुत्तं चैव पसूया, वियसियवरपउमसरिसमुहं ॥

जम्मूसवो महंतो तस्स कओ दसरहेण तुट्ठेणं ।

नामं च विरइयं से, पउमो पउमुप्पलदलच्छे ॥ —(XXV. 7-8.)

From these stanzas embodying the circumstance or factor responsible for the name Paüma it will be evident to the readers that the following statement of Dr. Jyotiprasad Jain is erroneous :

महाराजा रामचन्द्र का मुनि अवस्था का नाम पदा था, अतः जैन परंपरा में रामकथा का पद्यचरित या पद्यपुराण नाम ही रूढ हुआ ।

—(Vimalārya Aura Unakā Paümacariyañ, p. 438).

12. See Introduction (pp. 7-8) to *Paümacariyañ* (Cha. 27 and 28), edited by Śrī S. C. Upādhyāya.

13. Why the poet uses two words for 'a chapter' or 'a canto' and not one consistently we cannot say.

14. The *upodghāta* to the Bhavanagar edition gives the total number to be approximately 9000 stanzas (*Āsanna-nava-sahasra-śloka-pramitam*). Pandit Premi states the total number of verses, to be 10000 *Anuṣṭup Ślokas* (*Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa*, p. 89 of the revised edition). Professors Gore and Laddu remark in their edition that the poem contains more than 9000 stanzas. This statement needs to be corrected.

15. अलियं पि सव्वमेयं, उववत्तिविरुद्धपच्चयगुणेहिं ।

न य सदहंति पुरिसा, हवंति जे पंडिया लोए ॥ —II 117.

16. Cf. Canto II. 105-107, III. 8-15 (and VII.58-60).

17. तो भणइ गणहरिंदो, सुणेहि नखसह दिन्नकण्णमणो ।

जह केवलीण सिट्ठं अहमवि तुमहं परिकहेमि ॥

न य रक्खसो त्ति भण्णइ, दसाणणेणे येय आमिसाहारे ।

अलियं ति सव्वमेयं, भणंति जं कुकुइणो मूढा ॥ —III. 14-15.

18. "Tradition about Vānaras and Rākṣasas"—Chakravarti C. in I. H. Q. Vol. I (1925).

19. See V. 251-252

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20. जं जस्स हवइ निययं नरस्स लोमम्मि लक्खणावयवं ।
 तं तस्स होइ नामं, गुणोस्सि गुणसच्चयनिमित्तं ॥
 खग्गेण खसाधारी धम्महेयं धणुधरो पडेण पडी ।
 आसेण आसवारो हत्थायेहो य हत्थीणं ॥
 इक्खूण य इक्खागो जाओ विज्जाहराण विज्जाए ।
 तह वाणराण वंसो, वाणरच्चिधेण निव्वडिओ ॥
 वाणरच्चिधेण इमे, छत्ताइनिवेसिया कई जेण ।
 विज्जाहरा जणेणं बुच्चंति हु वाणरा तेणं ॥ —VI. 86-89.
21. Cf. मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः । —*Raghu*. I. 13b.
22. Cf. गतं न शोच्यम् ।
23. Cf. विनाशकाले विपरीतबुद्धिः ।
24. Cf. मरणान्तानि वैराणि । —*Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. c 112 v. 25.
25. Cf. गृहं तु गृहिणीं विना कान्तारादतिरिच्यते ।
26. Cf. यथा राजा तथा प्रजा ।
27. Cf. जातस्य वि ध्रुवो मृत्युः । —*Bhagavadgītā*. II. 27a.
28. Cf. संदीप्ते भवने तु कूपखननं प्रत्युद्यमः कीदृशः । —*Bhartṛhari, Vairāgyasāta*. 75
29. Cf. अतिरभसकृतानां कर्मणामाविपत्तेर्भवति हृदयदाही शल्यतुल्यो विपाकः । *Bhartṛhari, Nītiśataka*, 95 cd.
30. Cf. खलः सर्षपमात्राणि परिच्छेद्राणि पश्यति ।
 आत्मनो बिल्वमात्राणि पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति ॥ —*Bhārata* I. 3069.



ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF RĀMA IN JAIN LITERATURE

I. THE DIFFERENT JAIN FORMS OF THE STORY OF RĀMA : THEIR INTERRELATION

Among the various Jain adaptations of the Rāma legend Vimala's *Paūmacariya* stands, chronologically speaking, first. The study of the different Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* clearly reveals that Raviṣeṇa, Svayambhū, Śīlācārya, Bhadreśvara, Hemacandra and Dhaneśvara, follow Vimala. Raviṣeṇa does not state that his *Padmapurāṇa* is based on Vimala's *Paūmacariya*. A comparative study of the two versions establishes firmly that Raviṣeṇa is heavily indebted to Vimala. Svayambhū expressly states to have followed *Raviṣeṇa* in composing his *Paūmacariya*. At the end of his version of the Rāma story Śīlācārya states : "Thus is narrated in brief the life history of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa which is described at length in works like the *Paūmacariya*". From this statement it follows that he has used Vimala's work in preparing his abridged version. Bhadreśvara does not indicate his source but the study of his *Rāmāyaṇa* version proves beyond any shadow of doubt that he adopts the story of Rāma as given by Vimala and frequently also borrows phrases and lines from him. Hemacandra does not care to mention his source for his two *Rāmāyaṇa* versions—one found in his *Yogaśāstra-svopajñā-vṛtti* and the other in his *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*. We have already established by undertaking a comparative study that Hemacandra has based his version mainly on Vimala. Dhaneśvara's version too closely follows the tradition represented by Vimala. Incidentally, we also find that Devavijaya himself says that he is following Hemacandra. Meghavijaya's *Laghu-Triṣaṣṭī* is an abridged version of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*.

Guṇabhadra's version which is largely dependent on Vālmīki contains some features which have their parallels in the Daśaratha-Jātaka and the version of Saṅghadāsa, and some traits peculiar to the Jaina forms of the Rāma legend, and this conglomeration of different elements gives Guṇabhadra's version a new

look and form. It is, therefore, generally regarded—and rightly too, for it has many important divergences with the *Paūmacariya*—as forming another independent version. Puṣpadanta although he does not expressly state so, follows Guṇabhadra. Kṛṣṇadāsa is another writer who follows him. From the number of authors, who follow Vimala, it is evident that his tradition is highly popular among the Jains.

The versions of Saṅghadāsa and Hariṣeṇa, however, are more related to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki or the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata* than to the version of either Vimala or Guṇabhadra.

The different works noticed in the *Jinaratnakośa* but not studied here probably do not contain any new features but reproduce, with some variations, one or the other of the versions treated here. It would not be correct to designate the schools of Vimala and Guṇabhadra as Śvetāmbara and Digambara, for some Digambara writers too follow the so-called Śvetāmbara version of Vimala. The three groups of Jaina Rāmāyaṇas may conveniently be represented in a tabular form as given on the next page.

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE RĀMA STORY IN JAIN LITERATURE

I. The Problem

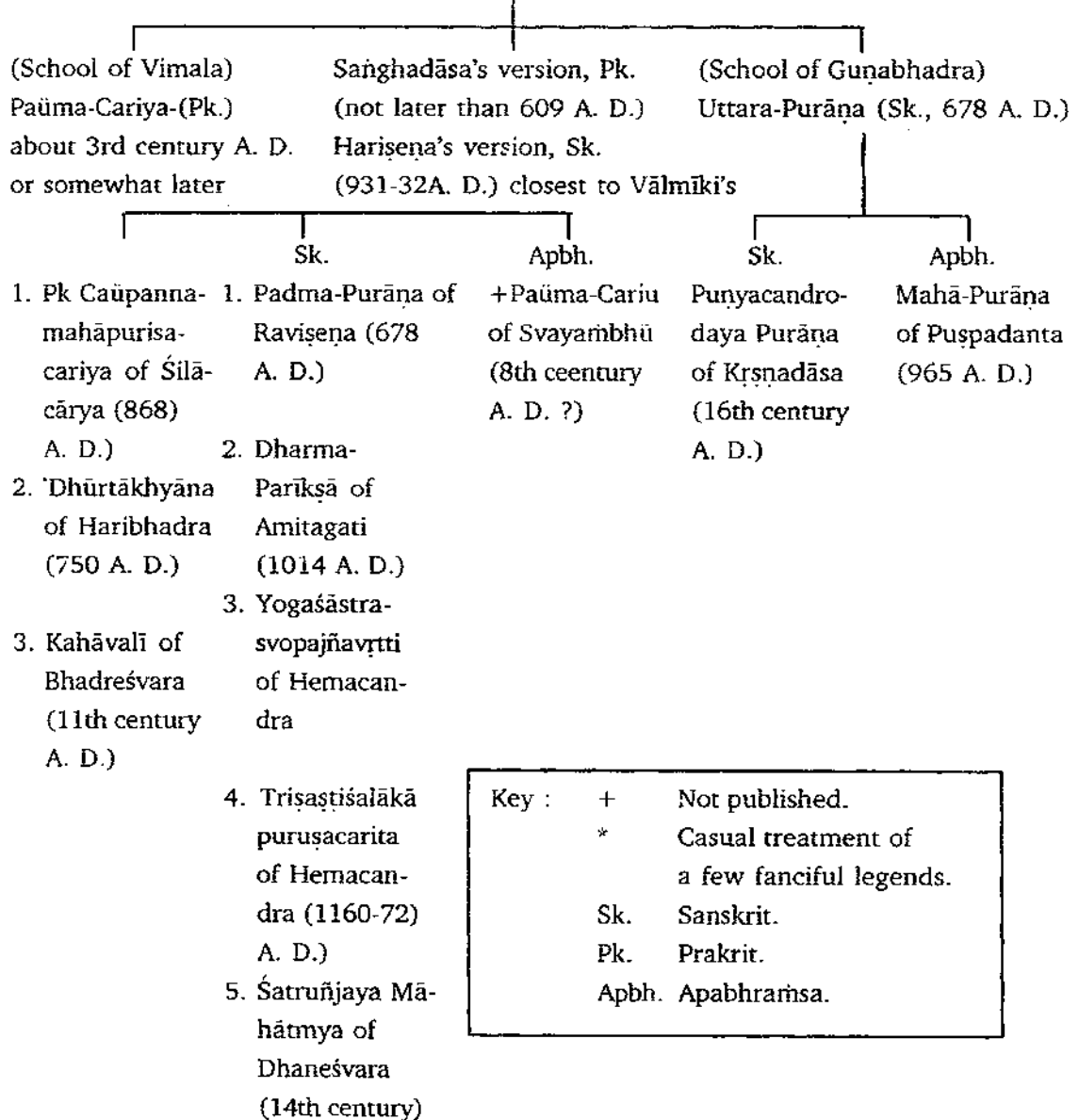
With regard to this problem of the origin of the Rāma story in Jain literature three logically possible answers suggest themselves; the story of Rāma in Jain literature (i) preserves an independent tradition anterior to that of Vālmīki, (ii) is derivative in nature being borrowed from the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa or the Hindu Rāmāyaṇa in general with suitable changes, (iii) partly preserves some features of the very ancient tradition prior to that of Vālmīki and partly borrows some features of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa on account of their vast popularity among the masses. For this purpose it is necessary to investigate the oldest Jaina tradition preserved in the *Paūmacariya*. According to the statement of the poet himself it was composed in 530 A. V. (4 A. D. if we accept the traditional date (527 B. C.) of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, or 64 A. D. according to Dr. Jacobi's date (467 B. C.) of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa). The researches of modern scholars lead us to believe that Vimala cannot be assigned to a later date than second century A. D. Whatever date we choose to accept, the fact remains that the *Paūmacariya* is the earliest extant Jain form of the story of Rāma. Let us now see what this earliest poet of Jain Rāmāyaṇa has to say regarding the origin of the story of Rāma.

2. The tradition regarding the Origin of the *Paūmacariya*

(as recorded by Vimala Sūri himself is as follows :)

The *Paūmacariya* was in the form of a list of names and was handed down in regular succession from teacher to his disciple¹. It was first told by Lord Mahāvīra to Indrabhūti Gautama who retold it to his disciple. It became known to generations of people through a succession of 'Sādhus'². Rāhu was his grand-

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teacher and Vijaya was his teacher. He composed this epic, 530 years after the

Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra, having heard (from his *guru*) the lives of Nārāyaṇa and Baladeva as were given in the *Pūrvas*³.

Scrutiny of this tradition : It is difficult to accept this tradition as founded on facts. It is probably true that the poet had before him a *Nāmāvali* and known its elucidation from his teacher. But that the story was first told by Lord Mahāvīra himself is difficult to believe. For in the Jain Canon we do not find the story of Rāma recorded anywhere, although the story of Kṛṣṇa who lived centuries after Rāma—according to the statement of the Jain writers themselves—occurs in *Antagaḍadasāo*⁴. It is not likely that such a well-known story which admirably illustrates the disastrous consequences of passion for another's wife should find no place in their sacred works. Again, it is very probable that the story of Rāma was not sufficiently popular in the days of Mahāvīra and hence he may not have made use of that story for religious purpose. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that the story of Rāma was popularised by Vālmīki in the 3rd century B.C.⁵. Although it is said that the lives of Nārāyaṇa and Baladeva were given in the *Pūrva* texts, we unfortunately are not in a position to verify the truth of the statements as these *Pūrva* texts are irretrievably lost. Again the traditions recorded by different poets in their *Purāṇas* dealing with the lives of 63 heroes are conflicting. Even the later poets of Jain Rāmāyaṇas (such as Hemacandra) do not appear to have taken this tradition of Vimala seriously. Otherwise how could they effect modifications in the principal narrative which Mahāvīra is said to have told to his pupils ? They would have then remained contented with merely adding poetic descriptions of cities, towns etc., without tampering with the principal narrative of Rāma believed to have been delivered by Mahāvīra. It appears that the poet traces the origin of the story to Lord Mahāvīra in order just to invest it with authority and sanctity and the statement that the lives were given in the *Pūrva*-texts is just intended to induce devout readers to accept the truth of the story⁶ when, he found it necessary to give the followers of Jain faith a worthy substitute for the enormously popular epic of Vālmīki. That Vimalasūri is considerably indebted to Vālmīki and that his *Rāmāyaṇa* was used by him when he composed his own work is quite obvious⁷.

3. The Version of Rāma story attacked by Vimalasūri

The author of the *Paūmacariya* does not specifically mention the name of the poet and the name of his work which, according to him, is full of inconsistencies and lies and absurdities⁸, and to replace which he himself undertakes to narrate the true life of Rāma. But the various points of doubt he

has raised⁹ clearly point to the fact that he has in mind Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The questions or doubts that presume some versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* and the corresponding passages from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki which give rise to these doubts are set forth as follows :

(a) How the great Rākṣasas, though very strong, were killed by the Vānaras—monkeys ? 2. 105

How that mighty hero of the Rākṣasas, viz. Rāvaṇa, was defeated by the Vānaras, who are 'tiryak'-lower animals ? 3.9

Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* does represent the Vānaras as lower animals, e.g., *Yuddhakāṇḍa* Book VI (Canto 4, vv. 63-67) speaks of their 'Kilakila' cries and lashing of their tails, and *Sundarakāṇḍa* Book V (Canto 53, vv. 5-8) speaks of the tail of Hanūmat—the Vānara hero; and Book V (Canto 10, v.55) clearly brings out that he belonged to the monkeyrace : "He struck on the ground his tail, kissed his own tail, rejoiced, jumped about, sang, ran about, went up the pillars and fell down, thus showing in many ways that he belonged to the monkey race".

Rāvaṇa's defeat was due to the valour of Vānara chiefs and Vānara army no less than to the valour of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. This is evident from the description of single combats and battles as given in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. It tells us that Sugrīva killed three of the biggest giants of Rāvaṇa's side viz., Kumbha, Virūpākṣa and Mahodara. Hanūmat brought down Rāvaṇa's son, Akṣa, and among the most important Rākṣasas he killed were Devāntaka, Triśiras and Nikumbha. Nala, Nīla, Aṅgada and other great heroes have also many exploits to their credit. In fact, excepting Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa with his four counsellors, the whole of the army led by them against the Rākṣasas consisted of lower animals who ultimately caused the downfall of Rāvaṇa.

(b) It is reported in the popular scriptures that all the Rākṣasas led by Rāvaṇa used to eat and drink meat, blood and marrow.

Sundarakāṇḍa (V. Canto 5, v. 11 f) tells us of Hanūmat's visit to Rāvaṇa's Banquet hall where he found various kinds of birds' and beasts' flesh kept ready for Rāvaṇa's consumption, and cups of wine. In the *Aranyakāṇḍa* (III. Canto 2 vv. 12-13), the Rākṣasa Virādha himself tells us that he used to seize a saint to make meal of him and that his lips would quaff the blood of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. In *Aranyakāṇḍa* (III. Canto 19, vv. 19-20) we are told of Śūrpaṇakhā's desire to drink the blood of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. *Aranyakāṇḍa* (iii. Canto 38, v.3) speaks of Mārīca as one given to eating the flesh

of ṛṣis. In the *Sundarakāṇḍa* (V. Canto 22, v. 9) Rāvaṇa addresses Sītā as follows : "...if after two months' time you do not bend to your lover's will, my cooks shall mince your limbs and serve you for my morning meal"¹⁰. *Uttarakāṇḍa* (VII. Canto 10, 38-39) tells us that Kumbhakarna had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra.

(c) It is reported that Rāvaṇa's brother named Kumbhakarna used to sleep for six months without a break; even though his body would be crushed by big elephants and his ears filled with potfuls of oil (he would not wake up), he would not hear the sound of drums beaten near him nor would he get up from his bed if the period of six months was not over ! When he got up, being overpowered with fierce hunger he would devour whatever would be near to him at the time, such as elephants and buffaloes. Having filled his belly by devouring gods, men, elephants and the like he would again go to bed for another six months..."

This statement of Vimalasūri is based on *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. Canto 60, vv. 23-64.

(d) It is said that Indra, when defeated in battle by Rāvaṇa, was bound in chains and taken to Laṅkā. How can anyone take Indra captive—Indra who rules over Jambūdvīpa with its gods and men ? (One would be reduced to heaps of ashes at the mere thought of attacking him, who has Airāvata the elephant-jewel and Vajra—the thunder-bolt at his command !) At that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by the deer, the elephant by the dog ! Pc. 2, 113-116.

How Indra was overpowered by Rāvaṇa's son and taken captive to Laṅkā and then Brahmā at the request of gods waited in deputation on Rāvaṇa etc., is described in detail in *Uttarakāṇḍa* Cantos 29-30.

(e) It is reported that Rāma during his sojourn in the forest killed a (wondrous) golden deer. Pc. 3, v. 10.

This incident of the golden deer is described at length by Vālmīki in the *Aranyakāṇḍa*, Cantos 43 and 44.

(f) It is said that Rāma treacherously killed Vālin in order to oblige (his ally) Sugrīva and win Sutārā¹¹ for him (Sugrīva). Pc. 3, v. 10.

Rāma's alliance with Sugrīva and his killing of Vālin with the discharge of a single arrow from a covert position is described in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, Cantos 8-26.

(g) It is said that the Vānaras constructed a bridge across the ocean ! Pc. 3,v. 12.

In the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (VI. Canto 22) we are told by Vālmīki that Nala who inherited a share of his father's—Viśvakarma's—celestial art and skill, with the aid of hosts of Vānaras, who uprooted mountains, rocks, etc., and overthrew them into the ocean, built a bridge of wondrous strength across the sea.

We thus find that the various doubts regarding the life of Rāma raised by Śreṇika have full support in the passages of *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and we, therefore, arrive at the legitimate inference that Vimalasūri had in his mind at the time of composing his *Paūmacariya*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki.

4. Vimalasūri's indebtedness to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*

Vimalasūri puts down Vālmīki as a liar and accuses him of presenting distorted and false account of Rāma's life, and undertakes to narrate the true biography of Rāma as handed down by unbroken tradition. A comparative study of his work with the Hindu epic, however, reveals, in spite of remarkable divergences, alterations, modifications and omissions, a profound influence of Vālmīki over Vimalasūri. He follows Vālmīki as far as the principal features of the story of Rāma are concerned : Rāma's wedding with Sītā. Bharata's appointment to the throne of Ayodhyā by Daśaratha, the exile into forest of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa chief of Laṅkā; the sending of Hanūmat as a messenger to bring the tidings of Sītā after Rāma's alliance with Sugrīva, the fights with Rāvaṇa and his downfall, the bringing home of Sītā, the scandal-mongering in which the citizens of Ayodhyā indulge, the repudiation of Sītā, and the lamentations of Rāma, the birth of twin sons to Sītā—these landmarks in the story of Rāma are common to both the epics, notwithstanding numerous divergences regarding the details. We point here to certain noteworthy 'minor' things which are highly eloquent of Vālmīki's influence over Vimala Sūri :

- (a) Padma is the name of Rāma in the poem, yet the names Rāma, Rāghava, Raghunātha occur very frequently.
- (b) Śrīsāila is the personal name of Hanūmat but the name Hanūmat is very often met with in the poem.
- (c) Pavanāñjaya and Añjanāsundarī were, we are told, the names of Hanūmat's parents but later on the poet uses the names as Pavana and Añjanā.
- (d) The names of Sītā's twin sons were Anaṅga-lavaṇa and Madanāñkuśa but the names Lavaṇa (or Lava) and Añkuśa (which have close affinity with

Lava and Kuśa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) are used frequently enough.

- (e) Bhānukarṇa is the name of Kumbhakarṇa but the poet uses very often the name Kumbhakarṇa.
- (f) Sūtārā is the name of Tārā, the wife of Sugrīva, yet the name Tārā is more often used.
- (g) Indra who, according to Vimalasūri, was the overlord of Vidyādharas and not the chief among gods is often called 'Surendra', 'Surādhipati', 'Devendra' and 'Surapati' (see Cantos 12 and 13).

This one fact alone is a proof of the profound influence which Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* has had on the author of the *Paūmacariya*.

- (h) On a close comparison of verses which treat of the same subject we do not find any remarkable verbal resemblance between the two epics although occasionally we come across rare *subhāṣita*-like lines that seem to be borrowed by Vimala from his predecessor, for example :

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| (1) मरणान्तानि वैराणि... ।— | V. R. VI. 112.25 |
| मरणंताइ हवन्ति वैराणि ।— | Pc. C. 75.v.I. |
| (2) पुत्रकामश्च युवान् वै धनकामो धनानि च । | V. R. VI. 131.107 |
| पुत्रस्थी....पुत्रं । लहइ धणस्थी महाधणं...। | Pc.C. 118. vv. 94-95 |
| (3) समागमं प्रवासान्ते लभते चापि बान्धवैः । | V. R. VI. 131.112 |
| लहइ परदेसगमणे समागमं चेव बंधूणं । | Pc. C. 118. v. 96 |

It is, however, clear that such striking resemblances between the two epics are very rare and that Vimala is not a slavish imitator of his predecessor in point of diction and style.

On the whole, Vimalasūri's work is profoundly influenced by the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki¹².

5. Vimalasūri's aims in the *Paūmacariya*

The poet holds that *Rāmāyaṇa* stories are most certainly lies; he thinks that the absurdities which are related regarding the life of Rāma, Rāvaṇa and others are not worthy of belief, and that the poets who composed *Rāmāyaṇa* were liars. It is with a view to removing all the absurdities, anomalies, inconsistencies and incredible elements that the poet undertakes the composition of the present epic. It is the poet's intention to present faithfully the life of Rāma as was proclaimed by Lord Mahāvīra himself¹³. That the poet is intent on the propagation of the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra is evident to one who throws even a cursory glance at the epic. In the concluding portion of his epic, he exhorts his

readers (or hearers) to practise the Dharma as expounded by the Jinas :

रमह सया जिणवरमयम्मि । —118. 112.

जिणसासणाणुस्ता होऊणं कुणह उत्तमं धम्मं । —118. 113.

It is thus very clear that the poet aims mainly at propagation of Jain doctrines.

This will be further obvious if we bear in mind the changes and modifications made by Vimalasūri in the Rāma story as given by Vālmīki and analyse the motives which most probably inspired these changes. The changes effected by Vimalasūri give the story a totally different form and purpose. These changes, however, cannot be explained by assuming that Vimala has preserved any original and important traits of the Rāma legend anterior to the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*.

For, Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* presents the oldest version of the story of Rāma : "As an epic the *Rāmāyaṇa* is very far removed from the Veda, and even the Rāma legend is only bound to Vedic literature by very slender threads..Neither is there anything to indicate that songs of Rāma and Sītā already existed in the Vedic times."¹⁴ The story of Rāma and Sītā is to be found, for the first time, in the *Rāmopākhyāna*—The Rāma episode—in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. Eminent scholars like Jacobi, Sukthankar and Winternitz hold, in spite of the objections of A. Ludwig and Hopkins, that the Rāma episode is an epitome of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, on the evidence of the numerous verbal agreements between the two poems, and other good reasons¹⁵. 'It is probable', says Winternitz, 'that the original *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed in the third century B. C. by Vālmīki on the basis of ancient ballads'¹⁶.

Now, there are some scholars of eminence who hold that the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki has for its source the story of Rāma as found in the *Daśaratha Jātaka* and a few other *jātakas*¹⁷. But there are equally eminent scholars¹⁸ who hold firmly to the opinion that the *Daśaratha Jātaka* is not really older than the *Rāmāyaṇa* but only a distorted version of the latter. According to Dr. Narasimhachar, it is difficult to decide the problem either way. The case put forth by Jacobi and others, however, appears to be nearer the truth.

In any case, the question of *Daśaratha Jātaka* does not assume importance as the Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* do not show any appreciable acquaintance with the Rāma story as given by the *Jātakas*. And the earliest Jain version of Rāma story available to us belongs to first (or second century) A. D. That is, the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* falls centuries after the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. In fact, Vimala is

prompted to effect these changes in the Rāma story on account of motives more than one. These motives may be enumerated as follows :-

(a) Removing of exaggerated and incredible elements

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki we have an exaggerated account of the Rākṣasas, Vānaras, Rkṣas and so on. For example, Rāvaṇa had ten mouths and twenty hands. It is said that in spite of all efforts to wake up Kumbhakarṇa by loud noises, Kumbhakarṇa used to sleep for half a year, and then after his awakening, would devour elephants etc. and would again slumber for half a year. Then again Indra, though he rules over gods and men, is said to have been taken captive to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa ! Then again it is said that the demon heroes in all their mighty strength were defeated by the monkeys ! Again how can the monkeys build a bridge across the sea by throwing the rocks, hills and trees uprooted by them ? It is these and similar elements that are obviously absurd and exaggerated that Vimala deliberately removes from his story.

(b) Realistic Interpretation

Some of the changes which Vimala brings about are due to his desire of giving realistic form to the story. For example, Rāvaṇa is described by the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa* as a ten-headed monster-Daśagrīva or Daśānana or Daśamukha. According to Vimala, Rāvaṇa's mother hangs around his neck a wondrous string of pearls, in which his face is reflected nine times, hence his epithet of Daśamukha "the man with ten faces". This is obviously a realistic explanation of the epithets of Rāvaṇa. Again, in the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa* the Vānaras are represented as animals having long tails and using their teeth and nails as weapons and living on fruit etc. According to Vimala, "On the monkey island there is the city of Kiṣkindhi-pura. The "Monkeys" (Vānaras) are in reality a race of Vidyādharas, which is so called because these Vidyādharas had monkeys by way of badges on the arches of gates, banners and the like." This interpretation of the term 'Vānaras' is also realistic. Then again, about the Rākṣasas : They are, in the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa*, represented as demons with fearful appearances, and devouring all kinds of animals including even human beings; according to Vimala the Rākṣasas belonged to a race of the Vidyādharas, who, far from killing and devouring animals that they could obtain, strictly adhered to the vow of *ahimsā*. The Rākṣasas were so called because one high-souled 'Rākṣasa' was born in that dynasty of the Vidyādharas¹⁹". This also is a realistic interpretation of the term Rākṣasa. Sītā, in the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa*, comes forth out of the earth, here she is born of Videhā in the natural way. This too is an illustration of the realistic representation ! We can multiply such

instances of realistic representation from Vimala's epic.

(c) Ridding the story of divine elements

Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* represents Rāma as a divine being, an incarnation of god Viṣṇu. The story of Vedavatī in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* leads us to believe that Sītā was Lakṣmī, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna are Amśāvataras of Viṣṇu. The Vānaras, *Rkṣas* etc. too possess some divine element. Jainism does not admit of the supremacy of the trinity of Hindu gods. Naturally Vimala rids the story of Rāma of the divine elements.

(d) Elevation :

According to the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa*, Kaikeyī is a selfish, greedy and intriguing woman. Rāma kills Vālin treacherously and is guilty of killing Śambūka. Rāvaṇa is a tyrant, an oppressor of mankind etc., violently obstructing sacrifices, and he abducts women. Vālin is a usurper, and unlawfully takes possession of his brother's wife and kingdom. Vimalasūri takes a very sympathetic view of these characters, and attempts to clear them of blame. He represents Kaikeyī as a mother *par excellence* who is prepared to let her husband accept asceticism but desperately tries to retain her loving son. She does not demand Rāma's exile. Vālin, a mighty Vidyādhara hero, though capable of inflicting a crushing defeat on Rāvaṇa, voluntarily appoints Sugrīva to the throne and himself becomes a monk. This account acquits Vālin of the shameful charge of living with his brother's wife, and Rāma of the charge of treacherously slaying Vālin, who had done no harm to him. Lakṣmaṇa kills Śambūka by accident and this exonerates Rāma completely from the guilt of slaying Tapasvin. Rāvaṇa is a pious and devout Jain. He restores ruined Jain shrines. As far as possible he avoids 'himsā' whenever he has to fight. In his world-conquest he is shown to have subdued his enemies whom he later on sets free and restores to them their kingdoms. His only weakness is his passion for Sītā !

Thus it will be seen that Vimala is very keen on elevating his characters.

(e) Purging the story of Rāma of its Brahmanical atmosphere :

In the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* the heroes move in an entirely Brahmanical atmosphere. From the beginning to the end the poem breathes this atmosphere. Numerous Brahmanical legends and myths such as those of Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Agastya, Vedavatī, and so on, are inserted in the narrative. The performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice is described with approval. The main characters are represented as *avatāras* of the great Hindu god-Viṣṇu. Vimalasūri, who is out "to give his co-religionists a complete substitute for the Hindu epic",

cannot allow such atmosphere to colour his poem. He simply omits all these legends and *avatāra-kathās* that have no essential connection with the story of Rāma. In certain cases he modifies the legends to suit Jain atmosphere, e.g., the story of Sagara and his 60000 sons. He speaks of the Vedas and animal sacrifices but only to criticise them.

(f) Creating of Jain atmosphere in its place :

Having purged the Rāma-story of its Brahmanical atmosphere, he sets himself to create Jain atmosphere by introducing various *upākhyānas* such as those of Vajrakarṇa, Kapila etc., which show the importance of Jainism, by adding at appropriate places the sermons of Jain *munis*, by explaining the duties of a Jain householder and a monk, by making the main characters of the stories devout followers of Jainism, by describing the existence of Jina shrines at almost all the places and their worship, eulogising the Tīrthāṅkaras etc., by giving the stories of the previous existences of the heroes as is done in all the narrative poems of the Jains, by describing Jain festivals such as Aṣṭāhnikā-Pūjā, by emphasizing the Law of *Karma* and denouncing the entertaining of *nidāna*, by portraying the kings as pious Jains who in their old age retire from the world and become Jain monks, and so on.

(g) Propagation of the special doctrines of Jainism.

“The *Rāmāyaṇa* in India is not—and never will be, let us hope—a dead mythology. It is full of the noblest examples of virtue and truth, of devotion and self-sacrifice. Its characters have been for centuries, and still are, living forces moulding the actions and aspirations of the men and women of India²⁰”. Now long before Vimala flourished, the Rāma story of Vālmīki was immensely popular. Vimala thought that this story would provide an excellent means for reaching the popular thought and propagating Jain views, ideals and doctrines. With this thought he modified the story of Rāma to suit the Jain view of life. Through this story he teaches the Jain ethics, especially emphasizing the doctrine of *ahimsā*, and recommends the reader to take up to asceticism as a sovereign remedy against all ills of *saṃsāra*. He exhorts his reader or hearer to keep *mokṣa* as his highest goal. He fully explains the working of the all-powerful and inexorable law of *karma* and illustrates it with a number of stories. He incidentally points out to us how *nidāna*, a special phase of the law of *Karma*, is a cause of bondage in this *saṃsāra*. He sings the glory of virtues like non-violence, truthfulness etc., and depicts the evil consequences of harassing or molesting a Jain monk or nun. In one word, Vimala presses into service this popular story of Rāma for propagating the tenets of Jainism.

The motives enumerated and illustrated above must have prompted Vimalasūri in effecting the various changes in the story of Rāma as detailed under the heads of omissions, additions and modifications.

(h) Consideration of some of the changes not covered by general discussion

With this general discussion about the motives behind these changes, we do not think it is necessary to account for each and every change introduced by Vimala. We may, however, account here for the striking ones among these changes not covered by the above general discussion :

Omissions :- Vimala omits the famous incident of 'golden deer', for Rāma, who is '*vratastha*', cannot kill a deer. According to Vimala all the principal characters abstain from meat-eating and are pious Jains. The incidents of the Illusory Head of Rāma and the beheading of Māyā-Sītā are left out as they do not fit in with the elevated character of Rāvaṇa.

The fire-ordeal of Sītā at Laṅkā is omitted possibly for this reason that he did not like to show Sītā undergoing the same ordeal twice for establishing her purity and innocence, for in the later history of Rāma she undergoes one fire-ordeal. Or it may be that he is influenced by *Rāmopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata*, where there is no mention of any ordeal.

Instead of Anaraṇya's curse Vimala speaks of a prophecy predicted by an astrologer (Canto 23, vv. 10-11).

The occasion for Nalakūbara's curse on Rāvaṇa (viz., Rāvaṇa's forcibly carrying away of Rambhā, who was proceeding to the house of her lover, Nalakūbara) : does not agree with the character of Rāvaṇa as conceived by Vimala.

Vibhīṣaṇa and Hanumat are gifted with immortality : According to Jainism not even gods are immortal.

Additions :- The pretty episode of Bhāmaṇḍala is a pure invention of Vimala. Lakṣmaṇa's lifting of Koṭiśilā has a faint and distinct parallel in the *Rāmāyaṇa* where Rāma cleaves with a single arrow seven palm trees standing in a row.

The account of Virādhita (the name has some similarity with *Rāmāyaṇa*'s Virādhā !) is an innovation introduced by Vimala with poetic skill. The large number of wives of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa perhaps reflects the idea that the larger the number of queens, the greater would be the glory of that king ! And it is possible that in the days of Vimala it was a custom among Kṣatriya kings to

marry many women.

Modifications :- We have accounted for almost all the modifications in our general discussion. Kauśalyā is called Aparājitā and Vimāla is the first poet who so names her. Śatrughna is born of Kaikeyī whereas in the *Rāmāyaṇa* he is born of Sumitrā. Kharadūṣaṇa is one individual, according to Vimāla, and the husband of Rāvaṇa's sister—Candraṅakhā. This does not agree with Vālmīki's version, where Khara is Rāvaṇa's brother and Dūṣaṇa, one of his generals; and Vidyutjihva is the name of the husband of Rāvaṇa's sister. Indrajit and Meghavāhana are two different persons, both sons of Rāvaṇa. According to Vālmīki, Meghanāda was later named Indrajit. The episode of Viṭa-Sugrīva is an invention by Vimāla to bring together Rāma and Sugrīva.

(i) Vimāla's conception of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras

This is markedly different from that of Vālmīki. "The Rākṣasas are not man-eating demons with fearful and hideous appearances. Nor are the Vānaras animals having long tails, living on fruits etc., and using their nails and teeth as their weapons. They are in reality a race of the Vidyādharas, a class of beings endowed with many supernatural qualities, if not human beings in the correct sense of the term. Beastly and uncouth behaviours and appearances are not therein attributed to them. On the other hand, they are depicted as having been highly civilised, who, far from killing and devouring all animals that they could obtain, strictly adhered to the vow of *ahimsā*²¹. The dynasty of Vidyādharas at Laṅkā came to be called Rākṣasas after the celebrated and great Vidyādharma hero named Rākṣasa. The Vidyādharas of Kiṣkindhipura received the name of Vānaras because of their custom of wearing the pictures of monkeys as symbols on their banners and crowns.

This conception of Vimāla is born of the growing spirit of rationalism of his age. The fanciful and exaggerated poetic descriptions of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras given by the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa* were unacceptable to Vimāla, a champion of rationalism. He, therefore, portrays the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras as Vidyādharas, possessed of supernatural powers and gives realistic interpretations of the appellations 'Rākṣasa' and 'Vānara' and of 'Rāvaṇa's name Daśamukha.

These aims satisfactorily explain the changes effected by Vimāla in the Rāma story of Vālmīki.

Apart, however, from any question of aims, there is one single episode which establishes beyond any shadow of doubt the fact that Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa*

is Vimala's source, and it is that of Indra's defeat by Rāvaṇa.

At the end of Canto 2 Vimala says : "Indra, though he rules over gods and men, is said to have been taken captive to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa ! One will be reduced to a heap of ashes at the mere thought of him who has the best elephant -Airāvata and the unfailing weapon Thunderbolt. At that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by gazelle, the elephant by the dog. The *Rāmāyaṇa* stories are most certainly lies."

Now Vimala in Canto 7 tells us of Indra, the Vidyādhara-chief. Here he describes Indra in such a way as to lead us to believe that he is another Indra (especially read his appointment of four Lokapālas, his elephant Airāvata, his minister Brhaspati, his weapon Vajra, his son Jayanta etc.). But this very Vimala when he describes the fight between Rāvaṇa and Indra, employs so many times such words as 'Suravai', 'Surabhaḍa', 'Surinḍa', 'Surabala', 'Surasenṇa', 'Sakko', 'Suraṇāho', 'Surāhivai', for Indra, the overlord of Vidyādharas. The use of the words Surendra etc. clearly demonstrates the truth of the remark made above that although Vimala professes to give the faithful story of Rāma as handed down by Jain tradition, in actual practice he reveals, though unconsciously, his source viz., *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*. Otherwise how could he condemn in one breath the description of the defeat of the overlord of gods-Indra, and himself describe Indra-the Vidyādhara-chief as Surendra, Surādhīpa and so on ? This description has misled even Dr. Winternitz who writes : Cantos XII and XIII tell of a fight between Rāvaṇa and the God Indra (*History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 492*).

We thus find that the origin of Vimala's *Paūmacariya* which is the earliest Jain form of Rāma story (not later than the third or fourth century A. D.), is the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki.

6. Sen's view about an independent Southern legend of Rāvaṇa

An interesting thesis is, however, advanced by Rai Saheb D. C. Sen regarding an independent Southern legend about Rāvaṇa. This thesis has a bearing on our problem, and it becomes necessary to examine it.

In his celebrated work called "*The Bengali Rāmāyaṇas*", Sen examines the material found in the *Jātakas* such as the *Daśaratha Jātaka* and the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* of Hemacandra and arrives at the conclusion that "there were two distinct legends—an early Northern Āryan legend about Rāma without any connection with the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras and a Southern Dravidian legend in which Rāvaṇa figures, independent of all touch with Rāma. These two distinct legends were at a very remote period of history, much earlier than the 4th

century B. C., when Vālmīki is said to have composed his epic, mixed by the ballad-mongers, who invented the story of the abduction of Sītā, or somehow linked the broken chain of a story of some princess who was abducted, fancying her to be Sītā, and thus bridged the gulf between the two legends now presented as a homogeneous story, and Vālmīki came latterly as the most eloquent exponent of this mixed story." We confine our discussion to the so-called Southern Dravidian legend-especially the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* of Hemacandra.

Sen holds that "Hemacandra's version of Rāma's story, though comparatively modern, gives us a historical clue to the traditions that were extant in the Deccan in the olden times. At the time when this Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* was written, Vālmīki's Epic was known and read all over India. So it is but natural that the story as given in the latter is found incorporated in the Jain work. But the striking feature of this book is the elaborate description to be found in it of the dynasties of Rākṣasas and apes. The story of Rāma is rather short. The descriptions of the Rākṣasas and monkeys occupy a very considerable space, and many legends and stories about them are found in it which are not mentioned in the great epic. This shows that in the Dravidian traditions the Rākṣasas and monkeys had a far greater hold on popular fancy than the story of Rāma himself. The character of Rāvaṇa as given in this book rises to heights not scaled by the Rāvaṇa of our national magnum opus. The *tapasyā* or the austerities...undergone by Rāvaṇa show his high character and a majestic command over passions, worthy of a sage, which unmistakably prove him to be the real hero of the Dravidian legend." Again, "the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* begins with the description of the Rākṣasas and monkeys and introduces Rāma only in the later chapters. This is quite unlike what we find in the great epic. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, as a matter of course, should give the story of Rāma first. The supposition naturally grows strong that in Southern India the story of Rāvaṇa and of the monkeys had been widely known, and the Northern legend was introduced, later on, as a supplementary story." Further, Sen corroborates his stand by adducing evidence from the *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, a Buddhist text composed in the second or third century A. D. and the statement of Dharmakīrti who flourished in the 6th Century A. D.

We have quoted the words of Sen *in extenso* so that the reader should get a complete idea of Sen's view in the matter in his own words.

7. Sen's view regarding the Southern independent Rāvaṇa legend examined

(a) *The narrative method* : Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* begins with the description of the Rākṣasas and Vānaras and introduces Rāma only in the later chapter; and

moreover it gives an elaborate description of the dynasties of Rākṣasas and Vānaras and many stories and legends about them.

The *Uttarakāṇḍa*, although a later addition, was known to the author of *Paūmacariya*, as we have already shown in the preceding section. The *Uttarakāṇḍa* is intended as a supplement and relates only events antecedent and subsequent to those described in the original poem. Thus the early history of Rāvaṇa with the Rākṣasa and Vānara families fills nearly forty cantos in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and we have a full account of Rāvaṇa's wars with the gods and his conquest of Laṅkā, which all happened long before the action of the poem begins; and the latter Cantos continue the narrative of the hero Rāma after his triumphant return to Ayodhyā's kingdom and his coronation and the poem closes with his death and that of his brothers and the founding by their descendants of various kingdoms in different parts of India. Now what Vimalasūri does is that he opens his epic with the description of the universe etc., and the various dynasties of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras, the world-conquest of Rāvaṇa, etc., with a view to furnishing the reader with the proper background and setting of the real story. This way of treatment will only facilitate the understanding of the story by the reader. The narrative method of Vimalasūri follows the chronological method of representing the beginning first, then the middle and finally the end. In *Uttarakāṇḍa* we have events antecedent and subsequent to the main story. One might appreciate Vimala's way of unfolding the story but in itself it does not indicate that the Rākṣasas and Vānaras and their legends were widely known and that the Rāma-story was added later on as a supplement only. We may also point out in this connection that the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata* opens with an account of Rāvaṇa and his family, and the Vānaras. Vimala may have taken a hint from this opening in the *Rāmopākhyāna*.

(b) *The elevated notion about the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas in the Jain Rāmāyaṇas* : Vimalasūri represents the Rākṣasas as and the Vānaras as a class of Vidyādharas and devout followers of Jainism; Rākṣasas are not man-eating demons and the Vānaras are not monkeys with tails, etc.

To this we answer as follows :

The descriptions of the Vānaras in the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* are open to the charge of inconsistency. They are generally represented as semi-divine beings with preternatural powers living in houses and eating and drinking like men; sometimes as monkeys pure and simple, living in woods and eating fruits and roots. The highly exaggerated descriptions of ten-faced Rāvaṇa, etc., are

definitely inconsistent with other descriptions of Rāvaṇa where he is a Rākṣasa with one face and two arms, etc. So too there is sometimes allusion to the eating of human flesh and drinking of human blood by some Rākṣasas. But as a rule, leaving aside these exceptional instances of grossly exaggerated descriptions, the Rākṣasas as a class are not spoken of as cannibals.

Vimalasūri removing the inconsistencies and absurdities in the epic represents them as a class of Vidyādharas and adherents of Jainism. He was inspired probably by the legitimate purpose of representing the Jain faith as superior to the Brahmanical traditions by removing from the legend of Rāma elements which the people may have found difficult to swallow.

(c) *Rāvaṇa depicted as noble and grand* : No doubt Rāvaṇa is represented by Vālmīki as an oppressor of gods and others; he is shown guilty of abducting Sītā; he is also depicted as interrupting the performance of sacrifices. But even according to Vālmīki (or Vyāsa) he is not evil incarnate. Vālmīki (or rather the author of *Uttarakāṇḍa*) tells us how Rāvaṇa and his two brothers perform austere penance for thousands of years and obtain boons from the god Brahmā. He is said to have been born in a celebrated Brahmin family. In spite of his serious weakness he did possess some commendable virtues. He misuses and misdirects his power and might.

Vimala, as we have already pointed out, looks upon Rāvaṇa as a *Śalākā-puruṣa*—a great man, according to Jain tradition; he conceives the character of Rāvaṇa as the noblest man, a devout Jain and ideal king. His only defect is his passion for Sītā which brings about his death. Thus it will be seen that the elevation of Rākṣasa princes is no indication of Rāvaṇa's having been the hero of an independent legend. In fact, so far no legend of Rāvaṇa independent of any connection with the story of Rāma has come to light. Further, we have established that Vimala was acquainted with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and that his work is a special edition of the Hindu story brought out to serve the adherents of Jainism as a substitute for the highly popular *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki.

Thus the differences in the treatment of the character of Rāvaṇa, and in the general account of the Rākṣasa and the Vānara families, as between the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Jain versions of the story, can all be explained as due to difference of purpose and emphasis. It is not necessary to assume the existence of an independent Rāvaṇa legend as a hypothesis to explain these differences, unless there is independent evidence to prove the existence of such a legend. And therefore the view put forward by Sen that there was a Southern Dravidian independent Rāvaṇa legend cannot be accepted.

3. The Digambara Version of Guṇabhadra

Now, in connection with this problem of the origin of the Jain *Rāmāyaṇas*, the 'Digambara' version of Guṇabhadra, deserves to be carefully investigated, for the two versions of Guṇabhadra and Vimalasūri markedly differ from each other in regard to story element, characterisation, etc. Further, we may note that Vimala shows that Hanūmat, Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa were relatives, that Hanūmat had helped Rāvaṇa in his fight against Varuṇa etc., tells of the 'later history of Rāma'—introduces about a dozen *upākhyānas*, gives a detailed history of the dynasties of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras and the Ikṣvāku, narrates the account of Vālin and Sugrīva differently. It is but right then if we say that the two versions should be regarded as independent forms of the story of Rāma.

The first question that comes to mind about Guṇabhadra's version is : "Why was it that Guṇabhadra did not follow Raviṣeṇa, his Digambara predecessor ? Raviṣeṇa was a Digambara. We expect, therefore, Guṇabhadra, a Digambara poet, to follow his predecessor. But our expectation is not fulfilled. As we have stated above, Guṇabhadra's Rāma-story is vastly different from that of Vimalasūri (with whose story that of Raviṣeṇa almost perfectly agrees). So to find an answer to the question raised we may set forth the following logical possibilities :

- (i) Guṇabhadra was not aware of the existence of the epics of Vimala and Raviṣeṇa.
- (ii) Even if he was aware of their existence he did not think the narrative embodied therein to be good enough to be followed by him.
- (iii) He gives the story as he found it in some work of a predecessor of his, belonging to his *Guru-Paramparā*, which work is now lost to us.
- (iv) He gives literary shape to the oral tradition as handed down by a line of successive teachers of his Saṃgha.
- (v) He gives shape to some local version that was then current.

Now let us examine these logical possibilities :

Guṇabhadra flourished in the 9th century A. D. So it is not likely that he was not aware of the existence of the works of Vimala and/or Raviṣeṇa, or that he gave literary shape to local version. As he is a 'modern writer' compared with the eminent Hindu poets Vyāsa and Vālmiki and the Jain poet Vimala, their versions, with some slight variations, were widely known at the time of

Guṇabhadra. So alternatives (i) and (v) we may dismiss as improbable. Alternative (ii) also may be dismissed as improbable as a man of Guṇabhadra's calibre cannot be accused of lack of balanced judgment. It is impossible to imagine that a writer coming at a sufficiently late stage in a literary tradition would invent highly extraordinary variations in an established legend, especially if the legend had a religious significance. Guṇabhadra must, therefore, have had some authority for the version of the story that he gave. However, of the alternatives (iii) and (iv), it is difficult to say which is more probable. It is quite likely that he embodied in his Purāṇa the story of Rāma as it came to him through Ācārya-Param̐parā. We have some reason to believe, however, that Guṇabhadra may have been indebted to Kavi Parameṣṭhi or Parameśvara. He is said to have composed a Purāṇa glorifying 63 śalākāpuruṣas, celebrities of the Jain faith. Guṇabhadra himself says that it was a *gadya-kathā* and that it was used by Jinasena for *Ādi-Purāṇa*²². Jinasena calls it *Vāgartha-saṁgraha*²³. Now if Jinasena followed Kavi Parameśvara in composing his *Ādi-Purāṇa* it is not unlikely that Jinasena's pupil, who completed his teacher's unfinished *Mahā-Purāṇa* by adding to it his *Uttara-Purāṇa*, too, based his Rāma-story on that of Kavi Parameśvara²⁴.

Let us now turn to the views of Pt. Premi and Dr. Narasimhachar regarding the sources of Guṇabhadra.

9. The relation of Guṇabhadra's version with the Daśaratha Jātaka and the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa*

In his paper on "Padma-Carita Aura Paūma-Cariya" Pt. Premi suggests that Guṇabhadra describes the birth of Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter after the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa*, whereas Kingship of Daśaratha over Vārāṇasī and the absence of the incidents such as Sītā's abandonment, the birth of Lava and Kuśa, the twin sons of Sītā, can be traced to the Buddhistic Jātaka²⁵. Dr. Narasimhachar, referring to the elements in the story such as Sītā's birth, her abduction in the precincts of Vārāṇasī, the intensely ascetic nature ascribed to the character of Rāma, and the golden deer incident, remarks that "it seems to be a conglomeration of various legends pertaining to Rāma" and that "it has no unitary source".²⁶

Now let us examine this question of Guṇabhadra's sources. Chronologically speaking *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* is very much later than Guṇabhadra's *Uttara-Purāṇa*. Grierson remarks : "The *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* is a comparatively modern work. It is distinctly Śākta in character, exalting Sītā above Rāma. It is also an attempt to introduce the terrible cult of Śaiva Śāktism into the altogether alien soil of Vaiṣṇavism." *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* is later than

Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa (14th or 15th century²⁷). So it cannot be taken as a possible source of Guṇabhadra's Rāma-story. Again, the way Sītā is born according to the story of *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* is indeed Adbhuta !

"Rāvaṇa in the course of his conquest comes to the Daṇḍaka forest, summons the Ṛṣis there to submit without resistance, and, with this demand, draws from each with the tip of an arrow a little blood, which he collects in a jar.

One of the Ṛṣis is Gṛtsamada, the father of a hundred sons. His wife has begged from him that she may have a daughter, and that this daughter may be Lakṣmī herself. In order to fulfil her desire, the Ṛṣi has been day by day sprinkling with appropriate *mantras*, milk from a wisp of Kauśa-grass into a jar, so that thereby it may become inhabited by Lakṣmī. He does this, as usual, on the morning of the day on which Rāvaṇa appears, and, before the latter's arrival, goes out into the forest. It is in this same jar that Rāvaṇa collects the Ṛṣis's blood. He takes it home with him, and gives it to his wife Mandodarī to take care of, telling her that the blood in it is more poisonous than poison itself. She may on no account taste it, or give it to anyone to taste.

Rāvaṇa again goes forth on his career of conquest and in Mount Mandara debauches the daughters of the gods etc. Mandodari, seeing them preferred to her, determines to kill herself. With this object, she drinks the contents of the jar Ṛṣis's blood, which Rāvaṇa has told her is a deadly poison. Instead of dying, she immediately becomes pregnant with Lakṣmī, who has been installed in the sprinkled milk by the power of Gṛtsamada's *mantras*.

When she finds herself pregnant in the absence of her husband, in fear of his reproaches she sets out for Kurukṣetra under pretence of making a pilgrimage. There, freeing herself from the foetus, she buries it in the ground and returns home, keeping the whole affair a secret.

Shortly afterwards Janaka comes to sacrifice at Kurukṣetra. In order to prepare the ground for the sacrifice, he ploughs it with a golden plough, and while doing so turns up the foetus,—a girl child. Being warned by a voice from heaven, he adopts her and names her Sītā. After completing the sacrifice, he takes her home, and brings her up."

Lakṣmī (Sītā) is born as the daughter of Mandodari on account of a curse : "Nārada, while attending a concert in heaven, is hustled aside by Lakṣmī's attendants, who are conducting her to her seat. He promptly curses her to become incarnate as the daughter of a Rākṣasa."

This fantastic birth-story is greatly different from that given by

Guṇabhadra where Sītā is born of Mandodarī as the daughter of Rāvaṇa. The *Daśaratha Jātaka* is definitely older than Guṇabhadra's *Uttara-Purāṇa*. But it is a distorted version of the story of Rāma as given in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*. So merely because the later history of Rāma is absent both in the *Daśaratha Jātaka* and Guṇabhadra's version we cannot say that the former is the source of the latter. It is true the *Jātaka* speaks of Daśaratha as a ruler of Vārāṇasī, and Guṇabhadra represents him as shifting his capital from Vārāṇasī to Ayodhyā. But this is too slender a thread to connect the two stories. The *Jātaka* speaks of Rāma and Sītā, as brother and sister, staying in the Himalaya mountain for years together at Daśaratha's suggestion, and the marriage of Rāma and Sītā brother and sister ! All this is absent in the Jain version. So properly speaking we cannot point to *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* and *Daśaratha Jātaka* as Guṇabhadra's source for his Rāma-story.

We might account for these divergences in a different way : The birth of Sītā is a mystery according to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Jain poets wanted to give a realistic interpretation of her birth. Vimāla straightway calls her the daughter of Janaka and Videhā born in a natural manner. Guṇabhadra (or the Ācārya who first gave the version found in the *Uttara-Purāṇa*) makes Sītā the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī. He gives the reason why Sītā was abandoned by the parents and how Janaka and his wife Vasudhā come across this fondling ! This change introduced by the Jain poet has something dramatic about it. A father falling in love with his own daughter, being unaware of the fact that she is his own daughter is psychologically not improbable. And as far as we know, Saṅghadāsa (not later than 609 A. D.) is the first poet to represent Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter. It is not unlikely that this account of the birth of Sītā and the names of some of Rāvaṇa's ancestors such as Sahasragrīva and others, have been taken over by Guṇabhadra (or his predecessor whom he follows) from Saṅghadāsa's version. A guess may be hazarded that Saṅghadāsa possibly had in mind the story of Karṇa's birth when he relates the account of Sītā's birth. Karṇa is generally regarded as the son of a charioteer. The *Mahābhārata* story, however, goes that in reality he was begotten by Sūrya, the Sun-god, and Kuntī, when the latter was as yet a maiden, in a miraculous manner, so that Kuntī's virginity was not violated. But after she had given birth to Karṇa, she was filled with shame, and put the boy out on the river in a little water-tight basket. There he was found by a charioteer, who brought him up. Karṇa is, therefore, really an elder brother to the Pāṇḍavas. The names Sahasragrīva and others as the ancestors of Rāvaṇa were probably invented with a view to making the name Daśagrīva not sound utterly strange or fantastic.

From this discussion it becomes evident that there is no ground to believe that the *Daśaratha-Jātaka* and the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyana* were Guṇabhadra's sources.

Let us now examine whether the version of Guṇabhadra is entirely dependent on Vālmīki or contains an independent tradition. Guṇabhadra shares with Vālmīki the following features :

- (i) Maṇimatī's curse on Rāvaṇa (corresponds with Vedavati's).
- (ii) The names Daśānana, Kumbhakarna, Śūrpaṅkhā and Vibhīṣaṇa.
- (iii) The stratagem of golden stag.
- (iv) The slaying of Vālin.
- (v) Rāma's giving of his signet ring to Hanūmat as an *abhijñāna*.
- (vi) Hanūmat's assuming the form of a bee (a cat, according to Vālmīki) on the occasion of entering Laṅkā.
- (vii) Hanūmat's presenting himself (before Sītā) as a Vānara.
- (viii) Vibhīṣaṇa's alliance with Rāma.
- (ix) Hanūmat's (Aṇūmat, according to Guṇabhadra) laying waste the grove and setting Laṅkā ablaze.
- (x) Causing disturbance to Rāvaṇa in his Vidyāsādhana.
- (xi) Cutting off the illusory head of Sītā and throwing it in front of Rāma.
- (xii) Depicting of Rāvaṇa as 'adhama', 'khala', 'loka-kaṅṭaka', 'paradārāpahārin', etc., and of Vibhīṣaṇa as *dharmajña*, *prājña*, etc.

Notwithstanding these common features Guṇabhadra shows some important divergences from Vālmīki as regards :

- (i) The parentage of Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna and the place of their birth.
- (ii) Daśaratha's rule over Vārāṇasī.
- (iii) The birth of Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī.
- (iv) The circumstances and conditions preceding the wedding of Rāma and Sītā.
- (v) The Court-intrigue by Kaikeyī for securing the throne for Bharata and Rāma's exile (which is absent in Guṇabhadra's version).
- (vi) Śūrpaṅkhā's visit to Sītā as Rāvaṇa's *dūtī*.
- (vii) Daśaratha's informing Rāma of *Sītāpaharaṇa*.
- (viii) The later history of Rāma (which is almost wholly absent in Guṇabhadra).

It is, therefore, right to conclude that Guṇabhadra's version is largely dependent, if not entirely, on Vālmīki. The version of Guṇabhadra gains a new look and form by the assimilation to the frame-work of the story as taken from Vālmīki's, of some novel features as listed above and of remarkable features from the Jain tradition, such as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa having a large number of wives as every Baladeva and Vāsudeva should have, their devotion to Jainism, renunciation of the world by Rāma, Sītā, Vibhīṣana, Hanūmat, etc., and their acceptance of the monastic order, Lakṣmaṇa's sinking into hell, the representation of the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas as Vidyādharas and followers of Jainism, and so on. Consequently, this Digambara version is generally regarded as an independent Jain form of the Rāma legend.

It is, however, obvious from the preceding discussion that Guṇabhadra had always a purpose in view in introducing these changes and that like Vimala-sūri, Guṇabhadra too, took Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* as his starting point and introduced important changes and modifications in the received legend to suit his aims, artistic, religious or ethical. The differences between the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* and Guṇabhadra's version cannot, therefore, be taken as a basis for arguing that Guṇabhadra's version preserves any original features or traits of the legend as it flourished prior to Vālmīki, more faithfully than Vālmīki does. Such a hypothesis cannot be advanced except on the basis of independent evidence to prove the existence of a Rāma legend prior to Vālmīki and substantially different from the version as given by Vālmīki. There is no such independent evidence.

The versions of Saṅghadāsa and Hariṣeṇa are very near to the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa* and are clearly based on it, excepting of course, quite a few Jain features. The versions of Vimala and Guṇabhadra are typical of all the Jain forms of the Rāma legend. We, therefore, give here a brief outline of Rāma's story common to all the Jain forms :

10. Outline of the Rāma-story common to all the Jain forms

There was a king called Daśaratha of the Ikṣvāku family, who ruled over Ayodhyā. He was blessed with four princes called Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. There was, at the time, a king named Janaka who ruled over Videha. He had a daughter by name Sītā. Janaka gave her in marriage to Rāma.

Now there was a mighty king called Rāvaṇa who ruled over Laṅkā. He was fascinated by the wondrous beauty of that princess Sītā. He carried her off by force to Laṅkā. Rāma was stricken with profound sorrow at this misfortune.

There was a Vānara prince, Sugrīva, who was deprived of his rightful

place in Kiṣkindhā. He sought Rāma's alliance. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa helped Sugrīva regain the kingdom of Kiṣkindhā. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the army of Sugrīva marched against Laṅkā; Vibhīṣaṇa, the righteous brother of Rāvaṇa, did his best to persuade Rāvaṇa honourably to return Sītā to Rāma, but in vain. He deserted Rāvaṇa and formed an alliance with Rāma. A terrible war was fought between the two hostile armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Finally Rāvaṇa was killed, Vibhīṣaṇa was made king of Laṅkā and Rāma was united with his lost queen.

After vindicating his honour, Rāma, with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, returned to Ayodhyā, his capital. Rāma had 8,000 queens among whom Sītā and three others were the principal ones. Lakṣmaṇa had 16,000 queens among whom Prthvisundarī and others were the chief ones. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa very deeply loved each other. After Lakṣmaṇa's death Rāma became a monk, practised austerities, obtained perfect knowledge, and in due course attained to *mokṣa*, Lakṣmaṇa, as he did not accept the path laid down by the Jinas, sank into hell. Rāvaṇa, for his lapse from the code of correct behaviour, had to go to hell. Both of them after passing through many births would attain to liberation. Sītā, after leading the life of an Āryikā, was born in heaven, but she too would in course of time obtain *mokṣa*.

According to the Jain versions, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa are the 8th set of Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva.

It is quite obvious that excepting the number of the queens of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa and the Jinistic conclusion this Rāma story is basically and essentially the same as that found in the Hindu versions of Vyāsa and Vālmīki.

This investigation of the problem of the origin of *Rāmāyaṇa* in Jain literature clearly and unmistakably points to the only conclusion that the Jain forms of the story of Rāma are derivative in character, that they are largely dependent on the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* and that they do not preserve any features of the ancient ballads about Rāma which had gained currency through the bards before Vālmīki gave them the literary shape and form of a unified poem in his widely known *Rāmāyaṇa*. It would not do to say that the Jain versions of Rāma legend preserve the true Rāma story and it is Vālmīki who presents its distorted version. The reason for not accepting the Jain versions as truer to the original oral tradition than the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* may briefly be stated as follows :-

- (i) Chronologically the Jain versions are definitely later than the Hindu *Rāmāyaṇa*. The later a work in date of composition the less probable it is that the work embodies the original legend more truthfully.

- (ii) The traditions regarding the origin of the Rāma-story recorded by the Jains in their works are conflicting. If the story of Rāma were told by Mahāvīra, it should have found a place in sacred works of the Jains. The story of Kṛṣṇa is found in the canonical texts. It is not easy to explain the absence of the Rāma-story in the canon unless we hold that it was taken up later by the Jain poets to popularize the Jain teachings.
- (iii) The Jain versions unmistakably point to the influence of Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* (or The *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*). For example, Vimalasūri who criticizes the Hindu *Rāmāyaṇa* for representing the defeat of Indra, the overlord of the gods, at the hands of Rāvaṇa when, in reality, Indra, the lord of Vidyādharas, was defeated, himself describes that Vidyādharma lord as 'surādhipa', 'surapati', etc., He uses personal names of heroes after Vālmīki although he gives them different personal names.
- (iv) The tendency of the human mind to find fault with fanciful and highly exaggerated and coloured descriptions as absurd and unreasonable found in the Jain works speaks of their 'modernism'.
- (v) The Jain version idealizes the characters of Kaikeyī, Rāvaṇa and Vālin. If their representation of these characters were more faithful to the original legend, it would be difficult to understand how Vālmīki could distort the idealism of the original, and give touches of realism in representing the part played by Kaikeyī in bringing about Rāma's exile, Rāma's slaying of Vālin in a manner unbecoming a superhuman hero. In view of Vālmīki's intense desire to idealize the character of Rāma and represent him as an ideal warrior, an ideal son, an ideal husband and an ideal king, it is difficult to understand Vālmīki's motives in slightly degrading the character of Rāma in the episode of his fight with Vālin, as also in some others such as his killing of Tātaka and Khara, his rather unchivalrous treatment of Śūrpanakhā, etc., unless we assume that Vālmīki had felt compelled to retain these incidents because he found them as part of the popular tradition.
- (vi) The divergences which the Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* show from the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* are easily accounted for, as proceeding from artistic, or religious or ethical motives thus dispensing with the hypothesis that the Jain versions preserve more faithfully the ancient Rāma-story that was prevalent prior to Vālmīki.

Establishing thus firmly that Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is the fountain source of the Jain versions of the story of Rāma we now turn to the development of the story of Rāma in Jain literature.

Notes and References :

1. नामावलियनिबद्धं आश्रियपरंपरागयं सव्वं ।
वोच्छामि पउमचरियं ॥ अहाणुपुव्वि समासेण ॥ — PC. I. 8.
2. एयं वीरजिणेण रामचरियं सिद्धं महत्थं पुरा, पच्छस्सखंडलभूइणा उ कहियं सीसाण धम्मासयं ।
भूओ साहुपरंपराएँ सयलं लोए ठियं पायडं, एताहे विमलेण सुत्तसहियं गाहानिबद्धं कयं ॥
—Canto 118, v. 102.
3. पञ्चेव य वाससया, दुसमाए तीसवरिससंजुता ।
वीरे सिद्धिमुवगए, तओ निबद्धं इमं चरियं ॥ —Canto 118, v. 103.
and,
राहू नामायरिओ, ससमयपरसमयगहियसम्भावो ।
विजओ य तस्स सीसो, नाइलकुलवंसनंदियरो ॥
सीसेण तस्स रइयं, राहवचरियं तु सूरिविमलेण ।
सोऊणं पुव्वगए, नारायणसीरिचरियाइं ॥ —Canto 118, v. 117-118.
4. *Antagaḍa-dasāo*, Varga III. The *Nandi* and the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* texts (forming part of the Jain Canon) mention 'Bhārata' and 'Rāmāyaṇa' but they refer to the great epics of the Hindus and not to any Jain *Mahābhārata*, or Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*.
5. Winternitz has discussed the age of *Rāmāyaṇa*. He holds that "It is probable that the original *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed in the 3rd century B. C. by Vālmīki on the basis of ancient ballads".
6. We have many parallels in the Hindu literature : e.g., the author of *Manusmṛti* (Chapter I) traces its origin to the Creator; so too Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chapter I) finds divine origin. Such fictitious traditions are fabricated intentionally in order to show that these works possess divine authority. Vimalasūri, being a Jain, introduces a tradition representing Mahāvīra the Jina, as the expositor of the Rāma story and thus claims his story to be a genuine account.
7. See the next article : "Development of the story of Rāma in Jain Literature"
8. He only says : तह विवरीयपयत्थं, कईहि रामायणं रइयं । II. 116
Again पउमचरियं महायस, अहयं इच्छामि परिफुडं सोउं ।
उप्पाइया पसिद्धी, कुसत्थवादीहि विवरीया ॥ III.8
and... अलियं ति सव्वमेयं, भणति जं कुकइणो मईमूढा ॥ III. 15
The reading in the text as given by Jacobi is 'कुकइणो(मि)मूढा'
9. See Canto 2. vv. 105-117 and Canto 3. vv.8-13.
10. This threat in the same words occurs in Book III, Canto 56, vv. 24-25. From such threats which Rāvaṇa gives to Sītā in order to bend her to his passion we, however, may not be justified in saying that Rāvaṇa was a cannibal.
11. Sutārā is known in the Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* as simply 'Tārā'.
12. As the story of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is well known these changes and modifications need not be shown specifically.

13. Through the mouth of king Śreṇika and Gautama the poet gives expression to all this—see Pc. Canto 2, vv. 116-117, canto 3, vv. 9-15. Also see Winternitz Hist. of Ind. Lit. Vol. II, p. 490.
14. Winternitz Hist. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I, p. 515.
15. Jacobi : Das Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 71ff.; Sukthankar : S. Memorial ed. pp. 387ff.; Winternitz : Hist. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I, p. 384; also Bulcke, Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 41-51.
16. Hist. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I. p. 517.
17. Weber : *On the Rāmāyaṇa*; Sen : *Bengali Rāmāyaṇa*; Grierson : J.R.A.S., 1922.
18. Jacobi, M. Monier-Williams, Vaidya C. V., Mahārāṣṭrīya and also Bulcke.
19. Vimala tells us that Bhīma-the *rākṣasapati*-bestowed the kingdom of Lanḱā on the Rākṣasa-island on Meghavāhana a Vidyādharma. In his family were born Mahārākṣasa, Devarākṣasa, Āditya-rākṣasa, Rākṣasa... By mentioning these fabricated names he prepares the ground for us to accept his etymology of the word Rākṣasa. Curiously enough, the poem contains another interpretation of the name Rākṣasa :
 स्वर्षति स्वखसा खलु दिवा पुष्णेण स्वखया जेण ।
 तेणं चिय खयरणं स्वखसनामं कयं लोए ॥—V.257
Uttara-kāṇḍa relates through Agastya that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings, some of whom received the name of Rākṣasas to guard them (Canto 5).
20. S. K. Belvalkar : *Rāma's Later History*, Part I, p. LXiii.
21. "Tradition about Vānaras and Rākṣasas"—Chakravarti C. in I.H. Q. Vol. I (1925).
22. Kaviparmeśvaranigaditagyakathā—mātrkaṁ puroscaritairṁ
 Up. Praśasti 17.
23. Sa pūjyaḥ...parameśvaraḥ
 Vāgarthasaṅgraham... purāṇaṁ Samagrahīt.—*Ādi-Purāṇa* 1.60.
24. Cāvundārāya (978 A. D.) in his *Ādipurāṇa* declares that *Mahāpurāṇa* was composed formerly (even before Jinaseṇa and Guṇabhadra) by Kūci Bhaṭṭāraka and Śrinandi Muni.
25. See *Jain Sāhitya aurā Itihāsa*, p. 280.
26. He suggests the sources possible, viz., *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa*, *Daśaratha Jātaka* and *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*.
27. Rāghavan, V. : "Music in the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa", *Journal Music Academy*, Vol. 16, pp. 66ff.
 and
 Grierson, G. A. : "On the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IV. pp. 11 ff.



DEVELOPMENT OF THE STORY OF RĀMA IN JAIN LITERATURE

(i) *Paūmacariya*—a model for later poets : Although Vimala adopts the main story from *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, he gives it a Jain background and setting, invests it with Jain atmosphere, decorates it with the teachings of Jainism, humanises the divine characters, elevates the characters of Kaikeyī, Rāvaṇa, Vālin etc., gives an altogether new interpretation of the terms 'Rākṣasas' and 'Vānaras', removes the incredible elements of the original poem and thereby succeeds in giving us quite a new *Rāmāyaṇa*. He sets in a way a model for all the later Jain poets to imitate. Let us survey the important Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* which were composed during a long period after Vimalasūri and note the contribution of these later poets to the story of Rāma.

(ii) The *Vasudevahiṇḍi* version (not later than 609 A. D.) : Saṅghadāsa is, for his version, heavily indebted to the Hindu version represented by the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki/the *Rāmopākhyāna* of Vyāsa. Regarding many principal features of the story such as Mantharā's role in the Court-intrigue, Daśaratha's death on account of grief for his son, Rāma's delegating of his authority to the Pādukās in all affairs of state, the Sūrpaṅakhā episode, the golden stag, the slaying of Vālin, the great bridge built across the ocean, Vibhīṣaṇa's alliance with Rāma, and Rāma's coronation, he is in complete agreement with Vālmīki. He ends the story with Rāma's coronation—after the *Rāmopākhyāna* of Vyāsa. And it may be noted, in passing, that he does not mention the specific period of years for Rāma's exile—in accordance with Vyāsa's version (Compare *Vanaparvan, Adhyāya 277, v. 26*). A few features of the Hindu version he gives in a modified form. For example, the circumstances in which Daśaratha grants two boons to Kaikeyī are narrated by him in a different way. This may be due to his endeavour to remove the supernatural element from the story. This inference is supported by the fact that throughout the story, Rāma etc. are, unlike as in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, portrayed as human heroes. Here possibly he was under the influence of Vimala, who rids the *Rāmāyaṇa* of its divine elements. He has again

drawn on the version represented by Vimala's *Paūmacariya* while describing Śatrughna as the son of Kaikeyī, and Rāvaṇa's death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa.

His own contribution : Saṅghadāsa's contribution to the development of the story of Rāma lies in his description of Mandodarī's marriage with Rāvaṇa and of the birth of Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter. It appears that Saṅghadāsa introduced this innovation in order to explain away the mystery of Sītā's birth as we find it in the Hindu version. It may be noted here, in passing, that the genealogy of Rāvaṇa as given by Saṅghadāsa only partially agrees with their counter-parts in the Hindu version or the *Paūmacariya*. Probably he invented the names of Rāvaṇa's ancestors such as Sahasagrīva, Pañcaśatagrīva, Śatagrīva, etc. with a view to making the name Daśagrīva not sound strange or fantastic.

Saṅghadāsa's influence is seen in the work of Guṇabhadra, who borrows, with slight modification, this account of the birth of Sītā and some names of Rāvaṇa's ancestors such as Sahasagrīva, Śatagrīva, etc.

(iii) *Padma-Purāṇa of Raviṣeṇa* (678 A. D.) : It is merely a slightly extended recension of the *Paūmacariya* in Sanskrit, agreeing with it in all essential points. Vimala was presumably a Śvetāmbara author. Raviṣeṇa, who is himself a Digambara, while giving an enlarged edition of the *Paūmacariya* which (presumably) is a Śvetāmbara work, has introduced, wherever possible, Digambara traits, and removed the Śvetāmbara features of the original poem.

Raviṣeṇa's contribution to the story of Rāma : It may be briefly summarised as follows :-

- (a) The story is presented with a bold Digambara colouring.
- (b) Suprabhā is the fourth queen of Daśaratha and Śatrughna is born of her.
- (c) The image of Janaka too is destroyed by Vibhīṣaṇa.
- (d) Vajrāvarta and Sagarāvarta are the two bows bent by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on the occasion of Sītā-svayamvara.
- (e) Bharata's wife is called here Lokasundarī.
- (f) In the Ativīrya-Episode Rāma himself assumes the form of a dancing girl.
- (g) Hanūmat sides with the twins against Rāma.
- (h) It is god Meṣa-Ketana who assists Sītā in her fire-ordeal.

(iv) *Upadeśapada of Haribhadrasūri* (700-770 A. D.) : Haribhadrasūri alludes to the story of Rāma in one of the *Saṅgraha-gāthās* in his *Upadeśapada*.¹

The *gāthā* embodying details of the story of Rāma runs as follows :

लक्ष्मणरामे देवीहरणे सोगमि आलिहे चलणा ।
उर्वरि ण दिट्ठ जोगो अत्थित्तासासणे चेव ॥

From the peculiar method of summarising the essential details of the story of Rāma it is crystal clear that a story of Rāma containing these features already existed in an oral or written tradition; for without such traditional information the verse referred to above would not be quite intelligible. In his commentary on the *Upadeśapada* composed in V. S. 1174 Muniandra adds a short story of Rāma in thirty verses to explain the *Saṅgraha-gāthā*. His version agrees with that of Vimalasūri except in two details : (i) Muniandra speaks of three principal queens of Daśaratha, viz., Kauśalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikeyī, and their three sons, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata respectively and (ii) he elucidates the picture motif alluded to in the *gāthā*.

The particular version which existed before and was utilised by Haribhadrāsūri has not come down to us. The fact, however, remains that the credit of introducing the picture-motif in the story of Rāma *for the first time* goes to an unknown writer who must have flourished before Haribhadrāsūri and not to Bhadrēśvara as I had claimed elsewhere.

(v) *Paūmacariu of Svayāmbhūdeva* (middle of the 8th century A. D. ?) : Svayāmbhū himself states that he is presenting the story of Rāma as given by Raviṣeṇa. He, however, does not slavishly imitate his predecessor. He is perhaps the first Jain poet to divide the poem into *Kāṇḍas*. Of his five *Kāṇḍas* four have titles common with Vālmiki's poem—only instead of *Bālakāṇḍa* he speaks of *Vidyādharakāṇḍa*. He does not have the two titles *Aranya-kāṇḍa* and *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*. He effects omissions, abridgements, additions and alterations with a view to presenting the story in a more attractive and poetic form. His changes, however, do not relate to the principal story of Rāma but to such topics as *Kṣetravarṇana*, *Kālavarṇana*, *Pūrvabhavakathana*, *Upākhyānas* and descriptions. His work certainly gains by these changes in its poetic value.

(vi) *Caūppannamahāpurīṣacariya of Śīlācārya* (868 A. D.) : Śīlācārya declares : "Thus is narrated in brief the life-history of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, which is described at length in works like *Paūmacariya*." From this statement of his it is obvious that Vimala's work was in his mind when he prepared this abridged version. He has, however, introduced some remarkable features from Vālmiki's version directly possibly because of their popularity in his days or indirectly through Saṅghadāsa whose version always shares these features. These features include the golden stag incident and the Vālī-episode. It deserves

our notice that Śīlācārya's Rāvaṇa is after Vālmīki's as he speaks of him in such terms as भुवणतावणो, 'बलवमकज्जायरणेण दूसिओ कलुसियचरित्तो' विज्जागव्विओ, खल and क्रूर.

Vimala's Rāvaṇa is nearly a perfect hero with one defect only, viz., his passion for Sītā.

Śīlācārya does not count the Prativāsudevas, such as Rāvaṇa, among the 'Uttama'- or 'Mahā'-or 'Śalākā'-*puruṣas*. Naturally, the name Rāvaṇa does not find place in the title.

Śīlācārya's Influence on Hemacandra ?

Winternitz observes in connection with Hemacandra's work—'*Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*'—that the *Caṭṭipannamahāpurisacariya* of Śīlācārya must be taken into consideration while investigating sources which Hemacandra drew upon for his poem (see pp. 505-506). As far as the version of *Rāmāyaṇa* is concerned, it can definitely be asserted that not Śīlācārya's but Vimalasūri's *Paūmacariya* is Hemacandra's source.

(vii) *Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra* (9th Century A. D.) : Guṇabhadra, who is a Digambara poet, presents Rāma-story which is widely different from that of his Digambara predecessor. His version is largely dependent on the Hindu *Rāmāyaṇa*, borrows a few features from Saṅghadāsa, speaks of Daśaratha's rule over Vārāṇasī for the first time, possibly after the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, and has some traits peculiar to Jain versions of Vimala and others. As a result of this conglomeration of features from various sources Guṇabhadra's version gains quite a new look and form and naturally it is regarded as presenting an independent tradition.

Guṇabhadra's Contribution to the story of Rāma : According to Guṇabhadra, Vārāṇasī was originally the capital of Daśaratha, who migrated to Ayodhyā (and made it his capital) after Sagara's family was completely annihilated; Janaka gave his daughter Sītā in marriage to Rāma who protected the sacrifice undertaken by him; Rāma, with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, went to Vārāṇasī, their old capital, in order to safeguard the interests of their subjects; at Nārada's instigation, Rāvaṇa was enamoured of Sītā; Rāvaṇa sent Sūrpaṅakhā, his sister, as a *dūtī* to Sītā; Lakṣmaṇa fought against Vālin and killed him; and finally, Rāvaṇa cut off the illusory head of Sītā and threw it before Rāma (this detail is borrowed from Vālmīki).

Guṇabhadra's influence over later writers : Guṇabhadra's story, however, does not seem to be as popular as that of Vimala. We find his version given by Puṣpadanta only. On the authority of Dr. Narsimhachar we may add here that

a Sanskrit work *Puṇyacandrodaya Purāṇa* of Kṛṣṇa (1528 A. D.) and two works in Kanarese, viz., *Cāmuṇḍarāya-Purāṇa* (978 A. D.) and *Puṇyāśrava-Kathā-Sāra* (1331 A. D.), present the version of Guṇabhadra.

(viii) *Brhat-Kathā-Kośa of Hariṣeṇa* (931-32 A. D.) : This Kośa contains two *Rāmāyaṇa Kathānakas*. Hariṣeṇa, though a Jain (Digambara) gives a Rāmāyaṇa version, which is widely different from the Digambara (or Śvetāmbara) version of Guṇabhadra (or Vimala) and represents a very brief abridgement of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. The first Kathānaka does not carry the story beyond the death of Rāvaṇa and Rāma's becoming a sovereign ruler. This is how *Rāmopākhyāna* also ends. The only deviations are : Daśaratha has a fourth wife Suprajā (Sūprabhā of Raviṣeṇa) who gives birth to Śatrughna; Kharadūṣaṇa is the husband of Sūrpaṇakhā (after Raviṣeṇa's account)—in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa Khara is her brother and Dūṣaṇa is the name of one of Rāvaṇa's generals. At another place (v.27), however, Hariṣeṇa mentions Khara and Dūṣaṇa as two individuals, which is confusing. In the second Kathānaka Sītā is shown to have become a nun, after her fire-ordeal, being initiated by Saṃyamasena.

(ix) *Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta* (965 A. D.) : Puṣpadanta's Rāmāyaṇa-story is identical with that of Guṇabhadra.

Puṣpadanta's contribution to the story of Rāma : He criticises the Rāmaversion of Vālmīki and Vyāsa—in the manner of Raviṣeṇa and Vimala, and adds to the list of incredible incidents and statements (found in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki) as given by his predecessors, the following three :

- (a) Indrajit, though a son of Rāvaṇa, was older in age than Rāvaṇa, his father.
- (b) Vibhīṣaṇa is a 'Cirañjīvin'.
- (c) The arms of Lakṣmaṇa were long and unbending.

Further, he names Rāvaṇa's sister as Candraṇakhā instead of Śurpaṇakhā. Of course, Vimala and Raviṣeṇa too give her name as Candraṇakhā. But all this hardly means any real contribution to the story of Rāma as these changes do not help the progress or action of the story.

He has, however, we might say, contributed considerably towards the form of the story, which is made more poetic. If Guṇabhadra's version is rather less poetic and more prosaic, Puṣpadanta's Rāmāyaṇa is written in a grand poetic style. Unlike Guṇabhadra, he divides his Rāmāyaṇa into eleven Sandhis or Cantos and gives them titles which are sufficiently eloquent of their respective

subjectmatter.

(x) *Kahāvalī of Bhādreśvara* (11th century A. D.) : Bhadreśvara's version of the *Rāmāyana* is based on the *Paūmacariya*. For the motif of the picture of Rāvaṇa drawn by Sītā which is not found in the *Paūmacariya*, Bhadreśvara seems to be indebted to Haribhadrasūri.

Hemacandra adopts this highly important feature in the Rāma legend which he gives in the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*.

(xi) *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra

(xii) *Yogaśāstravopajñavṛtti* (12th century A. D.) : In spite of the fact that the two versions are by one and the same author, they betray some remarkable deviation which we have already noted. The Ys version is in general agreement with the *Paūmacariya*; it shows acquaintance also with the *Padmapurāṇa*, and the version of Saṅghadāsa.

(a) In his TSPC version (based on the *Paūmacariya* and the *Padmapurāṇa*) Hemacandra follows Vālmīki in relating the episode of the fight between Vālin and Rāvaṇa and the latter's humiliation.

(b) Daśaratha, after his marriage with Kaikeyī, does not return to Ayodhyā but goes to Rājagṛha, conquers the king of Magadha, stays there, gets his family there, and lives there for a long time, out of fear of Rāvaṇa. It is there that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are born. And when he feels himself invincible on account of his powerful sons, he goes to Ayodhyā with his whole family; and it is at Ayodhyā that Bharata and Śatrughna are born.

(c) Aparājītā dreams four dreams and Sumitrā seven which indicate the birth of two mighty sons.

(d) Khara was the husband of Candranakhā, and Dūṣaṇa and Triśiras were his younger brothers.

(e) Hemacandra speaks of four Mahādevīs of Rāma but does not refer to the larger number of 8,000 wives.

(f) According to Hemacandra, Rāma goes in search of his wife whom he has repudiated. Not finding her, he believes her to be devoured by some wild beast. He goes home and performs her *śrāddha*.

(xiii) *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* of Dhaneśvarasūri (14th century A. D.) : Dhaneśvara adds the episode of king Anarāyaṇa and the image of Pārsvanātha with a view to glorifying the power and grace of Pārsvanātha's image and the

Śatruñjaya mountain. Kaikeyī asks for the banishment of Rāma (and Lakṣmaṇa too) in addition to her demand of the kingdom for her son Bharata. This is after Vālmīki's version, although there Lakṣmaṇa is not mentioned in this connection. According to Dhaneśvara, the Vānaras do not interrupt Rāvaṇa in his acquisition of Bahurūpā-vidyā. Again, we meet with a few unimportant changes—Aparājitā is called here Kauśalyā, and Bhānukaṛṇa called Kumbhakarna (of course, after Vālmīki).

While condensing the story of Hemacandra (although the poet never states this) he has omitted many episodes, stories of previous births etc., as they have practically no significance for the course of the narrative.

(xiv) *Puṇyacandrodayapurāṇa of Kṛṣṇadāsa* : Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote this Purāṇa in 1528 A. D. "Judged from the contents of the work as given by Rajendralal Mitra (Notices of Sanskrit MSS, Vol. VI, 70-74), it appears to belong to the tradition of Guṇabhadra²."

(xv) *Rāmacaritra of Devavijayagaṇin* : In the year 1586 A. D. Devavijayagaṇin, a pupil of Rājavijayasūri, wrote a *Rāmacaritra* in prose. The author himself says that he is following Hemacandra's *Rāmāyaṇa*. As the work is not published, it is not possible to say whether Devavijaya contributes towards the development of the story of Rāma.

(xvi) *Laghu-Trīṣaṣṭi of Meghavijaya Guṇivara* : Meghavijaya (17th century A. D.) composed his work after the famous *Trīṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra. It is no more than an abridged edition of Hemacandra's *Rāmāyaṇa*³.

After settling the problem of the origin of the Jain Rāmāyaṇas and tracing the development of the Rāma-story in Jain literature we now touch upon the question of the Jain influence on the later Hindu Rāmāyaṇas. The Purāṇas of the Hindus are of uncertain dates. Consequently, it is very difficult to trace the influence exerted by the Jains on the Hindu Purāṇas. On account of the difficulty of dates no strict proof is available whether the Jains have influenced the Hindu Purāṇas or vice versa. We, therefore, simply note the points which are common to the Jain Rāmāyaṇas and the Purāṇas of uncertain dates, and where we know certainly that the Hindu Purāṇas or works are later than the Jain versions concerned we treat these common traits as part of the Jain influence.

These points which are common to the Jain Rāmāyaṇas and later Hindu works or Purāṇas of uncertain dates we set forth, for the sake of convenience, in a tabular form :

JAIN INFLUENCE ON THE HINDU RĀMĀYAṆAS

Sr. No.	Particular feature	Name of the Jain author	Name/s of the Hindu work/s	Remarks
1.	Bharata and Śatrughna are uterine brothers (born of Kaikeyī)	Vimalasūri	<i>Bhāvārtha-Rāmāyaṇa</i> (16th century, Marāṭhi)	
2.	Daśaratha had four wives (Aparājītā, Sumitrā, Kaikeyī and Suprabhā)	Raviṣeṇācārya	<i>Padmapurāṇa</i> (<i>Pātālakhaṇḍa</i>)	Names of the queens are not identical.
3.	Rāma bent and strung the bow in the presence of other princes who had arrived there at Mithilā to participate in the <i>Sītāsvayamvara</i>	Vimalasūri	<i>Nṛsimha-Purāṇa</i> , <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i> , <i>Tamiḷa Rāmāyaṇa</i> , <i>Telugu Rāmāyaṇa</i> , <i>Maithili-Kalyāṇa</i> and <i>Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa</i>	The Hindu works are all later than Vimala's <i>Paūmacariya</i> .
4.	Sītā was born of Mandodarī and Rāvaṇa	Saṅghadāsa (and Guṇabhadra)	<i>Mahābhāgavata</i> (- <i>Devi</i> -) <i>Purāṇa</i> , and <i>Kashmiri Rāmāyaṇa</i> .	The Hindu works are later than Jain versions.
5.	Bhāmaṇḍala and Sītā were born as twins of Videhā and Janaka	Vimalasūri	Although Vālmīki speaks nowhere of Janaka's son, <i>Viṣṇupurāṇa</i> and <i>Vāyupurāṇa</i> speak of Bhānumān as Janaka's son.	These Purāṇas are assigned to the 4th and the 5th centuries A. D.
6.	Candraṇakhā (= Śūrpaṇakhā) assumed the form of a lovely maiden and approached Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa (no dismemberment of her nose and ears)	Vimalasūri	<i>Tamiḷa Rāmāyaṇa</i>	With greater details and some variation Kam-bana describes this episode.
7.	Rāvaṇa himself cuts off the illusory head of Sītā.	Guṇabhadra	<i>Ānandarāmāyaṇa</i>	Is later than Guṇabhadra's work.
8.	The motif : Sītā draws	Bhadreśvara	<i>Bengali Rāmāyaṇa</i> ,	The Hindu works

the picture of Rāvaṇa at the direction of her co-wives—this picture is the cause of scandal against her.	(and Hemacandra)	<i>Kashmiri Rāmāyaṇa</i> , <i>Ānandarāmāyaṇa</i> , etc.	are later than the Jain versions.
9. The sons of Sītā fight against Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.	Vimalasūri	<i>Kathāsaritsāgara</i> , <i>Ānanda</i> , <i>Uttara-Rāmacarita</i> , and <i>Jaiminīya Aśvamedha</i>	With a good deal of variation.
10. Lakṣmaṇa kills Śambūka, the son of Śurpaṅkhā.	Vimalasūri	<i>Telugu Rāmāyaṇa</i> and <i>Ānandarāmāyaṇa</i>	With some variation.

From the foregoing table it becomes evident that the Jain influence on the later Hindu Rāmāyaṇas is not very striking. The explanation for this lack of strong influence is probably to be sought in the wide gulf that existed between the two communities. The Jain poets and authors were, as a rule, conversant with the Hindu works both of sacred and secular character. The Hindu writers, on the contrary, may not have cared to read the Jain works in the belief that they were of inferior workmanship and probably in their intellectual arrogance thought that they had nothing to learn from their opponents and antagonists.

Before we close at this point let us say a word about the story of Rāma as adopted by the Jains and the best Jain Rāmāyaṇa. To a dispassionate reader it will appear that the Jains have taken over the story of Rāma as given by Vālmīki and made it their own. In doing so, however, they have lowered its ethical value. The story is rid of its deep human interest and dramatic value by removing the Court-intrigue. The story gives Rāma, who is universally known as intently and solely devoted to his only wife—Sītā, and Hanūman, who is described as an ideal Brahmācārin, a large number of wives. This feature of the story is undoubtedly repugnant to the popular mind. Further, according to this story, Lakṣmaṇa sinks into hell. The reader is not prepared to accept such a terrible end to the glorious career of Lakṣmaṇa. The antagonism of the Jains to the cult of Vedic sacrifice and *himsā*, the sense of superiority of the Brāhmaṇas and their superstitious beliefs is perfectly understandable. One, however, would have wished that in making the beautiful Rāma-story their own the Jain poets had been able to avoid reducing its human and ethical content.

Vālmīki is the 'Ādikavi' and his Rāmāyaṇa, the 'Ādi-kāvya'. It is admittedly "one of the greatest epics that were ever composed by man". It is one of the most

beautiful and moving stories in world literature. It is sung "in words of matchless beauty. It is a story full of tenderest pathos and the most moving emotions". It is a work that is "a popular epic and ornate poetry at the same time". This great epic is, no doubt, disfigured by additions and interpolations of numerous myths and legends, still it has a fairly unified form and continues to hold the rank of *Ādi-kāvya* ! No Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*, can bear comparison with Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* for its poetic value. In fact, none of the poets whether Hindu or Jain, equals Vālmiki, who remains thus unsurpassed. The Jain poets do not primarily aim at the *kāvya* style, though some of their works do possess poetic qualities. Bearing this in mind if we examine the Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* from the point of view of poetry, we find that Svayambhu and Puṣpadanta stand out as poets of distinct poetic ability. They display the wealth of their poetic gift by giving us poetic ideas and flights of poetic fancy which are refreshingly original. Hemacandra stands next to them. His command of language, metre, and *alamkāras* and his descriptive skill are beyond question. However, the fact remains that there is an air of conventionality about his descriptions. Ācārya Raviṣeṇa impresses us by his profound scholarship but not poetry.

On the whole, we may conclude that the Jain *Rāmāyaṇas*, as a rule, are essentially Purāṇas. They are written not as *kāvya*s pure and simple but to glorify the Dharma of the Jinas and teach the people Jain doctrines and criticise the Brahmanical Dharma. It will, therefore, not be fair to the Jain poets to judge their works by the standard which we apply to the *mahākāvya*s like the *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumārasambhava*, etc., and harshly criticize them on artistic grounds.

Notes and References :

1. Śrīmatmuktikamala Jainamohanamālā, Puṣpam 19, Baroda, 1923. p. 84, *gāthā* no. 14. I am obliged to Dr. J. C. Jain for drawing my attention to this reference through Dr. Bulcke.
2. Dr. Narasimhachar, I.H.Q., Vol. XV.
3. The *Dhūrtākhyāna* of Hariḥhadra casually treats of some legends from *Rāmāyaṇa*, so too *Dharmaparīkṣā* of Amitagati. We may therefore ignore these works.



VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA AND JAIN RĀMĀYAṆAS : STUDY IN INTERACTION

Introductory : The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata (c. third century A. D.) gives elaborate rules for the use of language by the characters. The use of Sanskrit is proper for Kings, Brāhmaṇas, generals, ministers and learned persons generally. The general rule for women and persons of inferior rank is the use of different types of Prakrit. The divergent use of Sanskrit and Prakrit in the same play, laid down by Bharata could be put down to the principle of naturalism or realism—simply to the copying of the actual practice in real life—without hindering mutual comprehension—the dialectic differences based on locality, sex and rank.

Bhoja (1015-1055-A. D.) in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharṇa* makes some interesting observations regarding the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and when and where they were in use. Sanskrit alone, he feels, ought to be used in certain matters like the praise of deities, etc., Prakrit alone ought to be used in vividly depicting Reality in its subtle aspects. In a literary club story-teller must alternately use Sanskrit and Prakrit, as occasion demands; thus alone he would win great fame. The people of Lāṭa country are haters of Sanskrit and find delight in Prakrit. The people of Gujarat find pleasure only in their own Apabhraṁśa. Every one spoke Prakrit and Prakrit alone during the reign of Āḍhyarāja (Śālivāhana) as in the times of Sāhasāṅka Vikramāditya every one spoke Sanskrit and Sanskrit alone.

Prakrit literature has tremendously influenced Sanskrit poeticians in formulating and illustrating their theories of *dhvani* (Suggestion), *vakrokti*, *rasa*, *rasābhāsa*, etc. They cite more than three thousand Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa verses in the course of their illustrating various points of poetics. The practice of citing Prakrit verses in Sanskrit works on poetics calls for an explanation which is not far to seek. Notwithstanding the difference in language, the poeticians made no difference between Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures. They appreciated

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both. Some of them wrote in both. The norms laid down in their works were equally applicable to both and, indeed, till recently to literatures even in our modern languages.

Occasionally, we find similarities of ideas among great poets. For example, Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava*, VIII.7 describes the timid shyness of the new-made bride, Pārvatī :

शूलिनः करतलद्वयेन सा संनिरुध्य नयने हतांशुका ।
तस्य पश्यति ललाटलोचने मोघयत्नविधुरा रहस्यभूत् ॥

Hāla has the following *gāthā* in his *Gāthāsaptasatī* (V.55) which deserves comparison with the above stanza.

रुद्रकेलिहिअणिअंसणकरकिसलअरुद्धणअणजुअलस्स ।
रुद्रस्स तइअणअणं पव्वइपरिउंविअं जअइ ॥
[रतिकेलिहतनिवसनकरकिसलयरुद्धनयनयुगलस्य ।
रुद्रस्य तृतीयनयनं पार्वतीपरिचुम्बितं जयति ॥]

Translation : Victorious, i.e., very fortunate is the third eye of Rudra (i.e., Śiva) which was sealed/shut with a kiss by Pārvatī, while the pair of his normal eyes were covered by her with her sproutlike (tender) hands, when her garment/clothing was stripped off by him (Rudra=Śiva) in the course of amorous dalliance.

It would seem that the poet of the *gāthā* knew Kālidāsa's verse since he has improved upon him.

Such stray similarities apart, Govardhana's *Āryāsaptasatī* deliberately attempts to imitate Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī*. Jayadeva, who claims to be the chief of the kings of poets (*Kavirājarāja*), is believed to have been profoundly influenced in the use of rime (= rhyme) by Apabhramśa poems in which its use is regular. With these introductory remarks, we take up the topic of *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa and Jain Rāmāyaṇas : Study in Interaction*.

No other work of Indian literature has enjoyed a greater popularity in India down to the present day than the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki. The story of Rāma occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and a number of Purāṇas. We have, further, the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* and *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa*. Many eminent poets including Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara have again and again drawn upon this great epic and worked them up anew in their poems and plays.

This amazing popularity of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* deeply influenced Jain teachers and poets and inspired them to create poems of their own. Keeping the main features of the story of Rāma as given by Vālmīki intact they introduced many noteworthy changes having recourse to omissions, modifications and additions with a view to propagating the teachings of Mahāvīra. Many Jain poets created their *Rāmāyaṇas* during the period extending from the fourth century to the sixteenth century. The oldest of them is the *Paūmacariya* of Vimalasūri (4th century A. D.). In the concluding portion of his poem he exhorts his readers or hearers to practise the *dharma* as expounded by the Jinas. In the very beginning he criticises the popular story of Rāma thus : "How is it possible that the mighty Rākṣasa heroes were killed by the Vānaras (monkeys) ? And Rāvaṇa and other Rākṣasas, who were of noble descent, according to Jain faith, are described as meat-eaters ! Again, it is said that, in spite of all kinds of disturbances, Kumbhakarna slept for six months and then after waking up, devoured elephants and the like and then again slept for six months. Then again it is said that Indra, the lord of gods and men was taken prisoner by Rāvaṇa. If we believed this account we might as well believe that the lion was killed by a deer and the elephant by a dog ! These *Rāmāyaṇa* stories are certainly lies...They say that Rāvaṇa, the great Rākṣasa hero, was routed by Vānaras; that Rāma pierced a golden deer with his arrow, that he killed Vālin treacherously to favour Sugrīva and Tārā; that the Vānaras constructed a bridge across the great sea — all these are surely absurdities".

Vimalasūri removes from the story of Rāma all such exaggerated and incredible elements. He offers in some cases realistic interpretations : Rāvaṇa was called 'Daśamukha' as his face was reflected nine times in a wondrous string of gems around his neck; the Rākṣasas were, in fact, Vidyādharas. They were called Rākṣasas because one high-souled Rākṣasa was born in that dynasty of Vidyādharas and also because of their guarding 'dvīpas' (islands); the Vānaras too were, really speaking, Vidyādharas but were called Vānaras because of their having 'Vānaras' as badges on the arches of gates, banners and the like. Sītā did not come forth out of the Earth but was born of Videhā in the natural way.

Vimalasūri rids the story of divine elements. Rāma and Sītā, for instance, were not incarnations of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. He elevates the characters of Kaikeyī, Vālin and Rāvaṇa. Kaikeyī was not a selfish, greedy and intriguing woman but a mother *par excellence*. He drops the slaying of Vālin at the hands of Rāma in a treacherous manner. He represents Rāvaṇa as an ideal tragic hero, his passion for Sītā being his hamartia (and provides a most striking parallel with the Greek story of Oedipus.)

Vimalasūri purges the story of Rāma of its Brahmanical atmosphere and creates in its place Jain atmosphere.

He adopted or rather adapted the highly popular story of Rāma with the thought that it would serve as an excellent means for reaching the people's heart and propagating Jain view of life, Jain doctrines and ideals of a householder and a monk, and more especially, their principle of *ahimsā* and *karma*.

Besides *Paūmacariya* we have many other Jain versions. Some of them may be noticed here :

1. *Vasudevahiṇḍī* version of Saṅghadāsa (not later than 609 A. D.). It is much closer to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. One of its most noteworthy features is that it describes Sītā as the daughter of Mandodarī and Rāvaṇa and provides a most striking parallel with the Greek story of Oedipus.
2. The *Padmapurāṇa* of Ācārya Raviṣeṇa (678 A. D.), a Digambara poet; his version is merely an extended recension, in Sanskrit, of Vimalasūri's *Paūmacariya*.
3. *Paūmacariya* of Svayambhū (middle of the 8th century A. D.). It is in Apabhraṃsa. The author, according to his own statement, follows Ācārya Raviṣeṇa.
4. *Cauppannamahāpurīscarīya* of Śīlācārya (868 A. D.). The author mainly follows *Paūmacariya*; he however adds two new episodes of the golden stag (*kāñcanamṛga*) and the slaying of Vālin by Rāma from the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* because of their great popularity, perhaps.
5. *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra (9th century A. D.). It is to be found in Parvan 68, and is in Sanskrit. Guṇabhadra, although a Digambara Jain, does not follow Raviṣeṇa, his Digambara predecessor. His version is largely dependent on the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. He speaks of Daśaratha's rule over Vārāṇasī and describes how Rāvaṇa, at the instigation of Nārada, was enamoured of Sītā.
6. *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa (931-32 A. D.). Though a Digambara Jain, he does not follow Raviṣeṇa or Guṇabhadra, his Digambara predecessors but presents just a brief abridgment of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.
7. *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (965 A. D.). Puṣpadanta follows the story of Rāma as given by Guṇabhadra.
8. *Kahāvalī* of Bhadreśvara (11th century A. D.) : Bhadreśvara's version is based on the *Paūmacariya*. He describes the episode of the picture of Rāvaṇa drawn

by Sītā which ends in her repudiation (or banishment into forest). He has perhaps adopted this motif from the *Upadesapada* of Haribhadrasūri (700-770 A. D.)

9. *Yogaśāstra-svopajña-vṛtti*

and

10. *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Ācārya Hemacandra (12th the century A. D.)

These versions generally follow *Paūmacariya*.

11. *Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya* of Dhaneśvara : He condenses, it would seem, the story as presented by Hemacandra.

There are a few more, rather unimportant, versions by Jain poets. There are also many narratives of Sītā recorded in Manuscript Catalogues. The pretty large number of the Jain versions of the story of Rāma attest to its popularity among the Jains.

Jain influence on the later Hindu Rāmāyaṇas :

The Purāṇas of the Hindus are of uncertain dates. Consequently, it is very difficult to trace the influence of the Jain versions on the later Hindu Rāmāyaṇas. A few noteworthy similarities are : *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* (16th century), like *Paūmacariya*, describes Bharata and Śatruḅha as the sons of Kaikeyī. *Nṛsimhapurāṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* describe, like *Paūmacariya* Rāma's bending and stringing the bow in the presence of other princes at the time of *Sītā-Svāyamvara*. *Mahābhāgavatapurāṇa*, like *Vasudevahinḍī*, describes Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and *Vāyupurāṇa* speak, like *Paūmacariya* of Bhānumān (Bhāmaṇḍala) as Janaka's son. *Bengālī Rāmāyaṇa* and *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa* describe, like *Kahāvalī*, the episode of the picture of Rāvaṇa drawn by Sītā. *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa*, like *Paūmacariya* describes the slaying of Śambūka at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa.

This influence, however, is not that important.

Conclusion : The Jains, it would seem, have taken over the story of Rāma, as given by Vālmīki, and made it their own. No doubt they include, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa among their sixty-three (*Śalākāpuruṣas* or "Eminent men". Some changes, however, which they have effected are extraordinary indeed ! In assigning many wives to Rāma and Hanūmān the Jain writers have probably upheld the popular notion that the might of a man is measured in terms of the women he possesses but in the process of working up such images

of Rāma and Hanūmān they have dealt a severe blow to the Hindu reader who has always looked on Rāma as a pattern of the virtue of constancy in love for none but his own wife. And Hanūmān can't be anything else but a *brahmacārin*. Further, the Jain versions describe Lakṣmaṇa, the mighty hero, as sinking into hell ! The reader is not prepared to accept such a terrible end to the glorious career of Lakṣmaṇa. The antagonism of the Jains to the cult of the Vedic sacrifice and *himsā*, to the sense of superiority of the Brāhmanas—the Purohitas—and superstitious beliefs is perfectly understandable. One, however, would have wished that in making the beautiful story of Rāma as told by Vālmīki their own they had done a little less of their moral axe grinding ! Further, by eliminating the Kaikeyī intrigue they have divested the story of its deep human interest and dramatic value. Here they appear keen on mere moral propaganda.

None of the Hindu authors who flourished in between the fifth and sixteenth century, has taken note of the story of Rāma as presented by the Jain authors nor criticised them for changing the moral atmosphere of the Vālmīki story. Apparently they did not care to read the Jain versions in the belief that they were of inferior workmanship and simply ignored them.

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IMPACT OF RĀMĀYAṆA ON JAIN LITERATURE

Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (VR) has exercised profound influence on literature of India for more than 2000 years. This literature covers Purāṇas, Poetry, Drama, Campū, Kathās, etc; it also covers the Jain and the Buddhist literature in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa or modern Indian languages in its different stages. This paper confines itself to a very general study of the various Jain versions in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa languages vis-a-vis Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In the canonical literature of the Jains we do not find the story of Rāma recorded anywhere although the story of Kṛṣṇa who lived centuries after Rāma, according to the Jains themselves, occurs in one of the sacred texts (*Arṃtagaḍadasāo* by name). The *Nandi* and the *Anyogadvāra Sūtra* texts which form part of the Jain Canon, mention *Bhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* but they refer to the great epics of the Hindus and not to any Jain *Mahābhārata* or *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Having regard to the tremendous popularity of VR, Vimalasūri most probably thought of writing a poem of his own, which was to serve his co-religionists as a complete substitute for the great epic- (*Rāmāyaṇa*). He named his poem as *Paūmacariya* (*Padmacarita*) (4th Century A. D.) It partly agrees with VR. He claims that he has followed the Jain tradition in narrating Rāma's story.

1. In the *Paūmacariya* Vimala pointedly refers to some of the absurd and incredible elements in the popular Rāma stories (he has in mind mainly Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*) "How is it possible that the demon heroes were defeated by the Vānaras (monkeys) ? And, how is it that Rāvaṇa and other demons, nobly born, are described as meat-eaters ? And again, how is it that Kumbhakarṇa is said to have slept for half a year in spite of all the disturbances and then after waking up devoured elephants and the like and again slept for half a year ? And once again how is it that Indra, who rules over gods and men is described to have been taken captive to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa ? At that rate we might as well aver that the lion is overcome by the deer, the elephant by the dog. These *Rāmāyaṇa* stories are nothing but white lies !"

Vimalasūri removes these 'absurd' and 'incredible' elements and presents faithfully the life of Rāma as was proclaimed by Lord Mahāvīra. According to Vimala, on the Vānara-island there is the city of Kiṣkindhāpura. The Vānaras are in reality a race of *Vidyādharas*, which is so-called, because it has *Vānaras* (monkeys) by way of badges or symbols on the arches of gates, banners, etc². The Rākṣasas are not man-eating demons. They belong to a race of the *Vidyādharas*; they are not meat-eaters but adhere to the vow of *ahimsā*.

They are so called because one high-souled *Rākṣasa* was born in that dynasty of the *Vidyādharas* or according to another etymological explanation, the *Vidyādharas* since they guarded the holy *Rākṣasa*-islands were known as *Rākṣasas*³.

Bhānukarṇa (Vālmiki's *Vibhīṣaṇa*), Rāvaṇa and other *Rākṣasa* heroes are represented as pious and devout Jains. Rāvaṇa restores ruined Jain shrines or temples and as far as possible he avoids *himsā* whenever he has to fight. Vimala informs us that it was not Indra, the lord of gods, who was defeated by Rāvaṇa but Indra, the lord of the *Vidyādharas*. Rāvaṇa's mother hangs around his neck a wondrous string of nine pearls in which his face is reflected nine times, hence he gets the epithet "Daśamukha" (the man with ten faces)."⁴

4) Vimala rids the story of divine elements. His Rāma and Sītā are not incarnations of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī respectively. He however elevates the various characters : His Kaikeyī is a mother par excellence. She is prepared to let her husband accept asceticism but desperately tries to retain her son. She does not demand Rāma's banishment to forest. Vālin, a mighty *Vidyādharas* hero, although capable of inflicting a crushing defeat on Rāvaṇa, voluntarily appoints Sugrīva to the throne and himself becomes a monk. Thus, he frees Vālin of the shameful charge of living with his brother's wife, and Rāma of the charge of treacherously slaying Vālin. Lakṣmaṇa kills Śambūka by accident and this exonerates Rāma from the guilt of slaying a *tapasvin*.

Rāvaṇa is portrayed as a tragic hero. His only weakness is his passion for Sītā. Sītā is described as born in a natural way from Videhā, the wife of king Janaka—and not come out of the earth as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. These are some of the noteworthy changes effected by Vimala in the VR. That he removes from the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* its Brahmanical atmosphere and creates in its place Jain atmosphere is perfectly understandable. For his chief aim is the promotion and propagation of the Jain faith. No doubt, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa are, according to Jain Purāṇas, three of the sixty three *śalākāpuruṣas* (*uttama-puruṣas* or *mahāpuruṣas*)—eminent or excellent or great personages. But it is

really extraordinary that Lakṣmaṇa (who is called Vāsudeva, and every Vāsudeva of Jain Purāṇas) is sent to hell for countless years for having failed to repent for the *himsā* committed by him. It is he who kills Rāvaṇa, according to the Jain Purāṇas. These then are some of the radical, major changes introduced by Vimala in the story of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2. Raviṣeṇa's *Padmacarita* in Sanskrit is an enlarged edition of Vimala's *Paūmacariya*. No remarkable changes do we come across in his version (678 A. D.).

3. Saṅghadāsa gives the story of Rāma in his *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (not later than A. D. 609). He is heavily indebted to Vālmīki and Vyāsa for his version. He has however introduced one very drastic change. Rāvaṇa, enchanted by Mandodarī's wondrous beauty, marries her knowing full well that the first child of Mandodarī is destined to bring about the destruction of the whole family. His idea is to desert the first born child and thus save his family and race. Later Mandodarī gives birth to a daughter. She is put in a box full of jewels. Mandodarī then asks a minister to take away the box and desert the baby. He takes that box to the park of Janaka. The ground there is being ploughed. The box is covered with a magic veil and kept in front of the plough. It is then reported to the king that the baby is sprung from a furrow. The baby is then handed over to Dhāriṇī and is brought up by her as Sītā (one sprung from a furrow).

4. Guṇabhadra in his *Uttarapurāṇa* (c. 2nd half of the ninth century) deals with the story of Rāma. He introduces many changes in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*—Rāma story—by way of omissions, alterations and additions. Some of these may be noted here : He omits the account of Rāma's banishment or exile into forest. Rāma and party go to Vārāṇasī, the old capital of Daśaratha, with his consent. It is there Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā by the trickery or artifice of a golden deer. He at the instigation of Nārada is enamoured of Sītā of ravishing beauty and employs the stratagem of golden deer for abducting her. Like Saṅghadāsa he too describes Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter born of Mandodarī. On account of evil portents at her birth Rāvaṇa deserts the baby. She is found by Janaka and brought up by him and his wife Vasudhā. Guṇabhadra completely drops Rāma's later history—the scandal regarding Sītā's purity, her abandonment into forest by Lakṣmaṇa, the shelter of Vālmīki that she finds, the birth of twin children, their fight with Rāma etc., their union with their father Rāma and Sītā's fire ordeal are conspicuous by their absence. He most probably follows Saṅghadāsa.

5. Śīlācārya treats of the story of Rāma in his *Caūppannamahāpurisa-Stud.-10*

cariya (868 A. D.). He looks upon, as the title of his work indicates, 54 persons only as *mahāpuruṣas* (or *śalākāpuruṣas*)—great or eminent personages. He excludes nine Prativāsudevas from the list of 63 *śalākā-puruṣas* and regards only 54 as *Mahāpuruṣas* (or *Śalākāpuruṣas*). Naturally, he leaves out Rāvaṇa, the Prativāsudeva, from the title of the narrative : *Rāma Lakṣhaṇacariyam* (The Narrative of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa)". He describes Rāvaṇa with such epithets : 'Tormentor of the World', 'of impure character', 'conceited (or haughty) because of his *vidyā* (learning)', 'wicked', 'cruel', etc. His narrative shares some features of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and some, of Vimāla's *Paūmacariya*. He hardly introduces any innovation. There is nothing special or striking about his version.

6. Puṣpadanta wrote his *Mahāpurāṇa* in Apabhraṃśa in 965 A. D. His version of the Rāma story is identical with that of Guṇabhadra. At the beginning of his version he criticises the story of Rāma as presented by Vālmīki and Vyāsa in the form of doubts raised by king Śreṇika : "Vyāsa and Vālmīki have spread false notions about the great men figuring in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; thus for example we are told that (i) Rāvaṇa had ten heads, (ii) his son (Indrajit) was older in age than his father, (iii) Rāvaṇa, was a demon and not a human being, (iv) He had twenty eyes and twenty hands and that he worshipped god Śiva with his heads, (v) Rāvaṇa was killed by the arrows of Rāma, (vi) The arms of Lakṣmaṇa were long and unbending, (vii) Vibhīṣaṇa is a *cirañjīvin* and (ix) Kumbhakarna sleeps for six months and feels satisfied by eating one thousand buffaloes."

Most of these doubts were raised in Vimāla's *Paūmacariya* (and Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*). Regarding the doubt that Vibhīṣaṇa is a *cirañjīvin* we have a passage in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (vii. 10 vv. 29-35) which describes how Vibhīṣaṇa asks for his boon that "even amid the greater calamities he may think only of righteousness..." The god Brahmā grants his request, and in addition bestows the gift of immortality on him. But regarding the doubt that Indrajit, though a son of Rāvaṇa was older in age than Rāvaṇa, his own father, it has not been possible to trace its source in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Amitagati in his *Dharmaparīkṣā* (c. 1014 A. D.) also criticises this absurd element which he describes at some length : Mandodarī conceives at the contact of her father's semen, has her foetus restrained in the womb for seven thousand years and delivers Indrajit after being married to Rāvaṇa. Now it is not impossible that an oral tradition is being criticised here.

7. Dhaneśvara in his Sanskrit epic, *Śatruñjayamāhātmya*, (C. 1100 A. D.) deals with the story of Rāma (Canto IX). He generally follows Vimāla but departs from him in some places : According to Dhaneśvara, Kaikeyī asks for the

banishment of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for fourteen years, and he calls her *Kūṭapetā* 'a basket or bag of fraud or trick'. He describes the fight between Vālin and Rāvaṇa and Rāvaṇa's humiliation at the hands of Vālin. In introducing these changes he is obviously influenced by Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. His narrative is, however, on the whole an abridgment of Vimala's *Paūmacariya*.

8. Bhadreśvara wrote his *Kahāvalī* (*Kathāvalī*, Sk) in the 12th century. It is in Prakrit prose and interspersed with verses. It describes the lives of 63 eminent or great men (*maḥāpuruṣas*) and includes an account of the patriarchs who came after Mahāvīra. Bhadreśvara, generally speaking, follows Vimala. He however introduces two important and original features : A dream dreamt by Sītā indicates that she would give birth to two heroic sons. Sītā is very happy at this but her co-wives become jealous of her. They manoeuvre to get Rāvaṇa's feet delineated by Sītā and try to poison Rāma's mind / ears that Sītā still remembers Rāvaṇa and as a proof of this show to him the picture of Rāvaṇa drawn by Sītā. Rāma even after seeing that picture keeps silence and continues to attend to Sītā. The rivals of Sītā through maid-servants give publicity to the picture incident. Now Rāma in disguise moves about and comes to the park. There he himself hears the people reproaching him for accepting Sītā back whom Rāvaṇa, being enamoured of her beauty, had abducted and taken home to Laṅkā. This picture motif, Rāma's moving about in disguise and personally hearing the scandal about Sītā are newly introduced by Bhadreśvara in the story of Rāma.

9. Hemacandra (2nd half of the 12th century) in his *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*, Parva VII, gives the story of Rāma. His narrative generally follows Vimala's *Paūmacariya*. He adds two noteworthy features :

(i) Vālin fights with Rāvaṇa, overpowers him, puts him under his armpit and in that position he circumambulates the earth thus proving his superior strength. This incident he has adopted from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

(ii) The second noteworthy feature is about the picture motif. This motif he has adopted from Bhadreśvara's *Kahāvalī*. Incidentally, it may be stated that Hemacandra also relates "The Tale of Sītā and Rāvaṇa" very briefly and excluding the '*Uttararāmacarita*' in his commentary on his own *Yogaśāstra*. Some of the incidents narrated in this *Kathānaka* betray divergences when compared with the corresponding incidents in his own *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*. But for the purpose of this paper these divergences need not be considered here. These Jain versions are of the nature of Purāṇa, and their authors, preachers rather than poets; whereas *Rāmāyaṇa* is the *ādi-*

kāvya and Vālmīki, the *ādi-kavi*.

The Jain versions are decidedly much later. Having regard to its great popularity and hold on the public, the Jain authors use it as a vehicle for the promotion and propagation of their faith. The Jain versions agree in their main features with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. At the same time they introduce changes by way of additions, omissions, modifications and innovations. These changes are prompted with a desire either for removing incredible and absurd statements or offering realistic interpretations or ridding the story of divine elements or elevating characters like those of Kaikeyī, Vālin, Rāvaṇa, etc.

Some changes, however, which they have effected are extra-ordinary indeed. In assigning many wives to Rāma and Hanumān the Jain writers have probably at the back of their mind the popular notion that the might of a man is measured in terms of the number of women he possesses but in the process of working up such images of Rāma and Hanumān they have dealt a severe blow to the image of Rāma as a pattern of the virtue of constancy in love for none but his own wife. And Hanumān can't be anything else but an ideal *brahmacārin*. Further, the Jain versions describe Lakṣmaṇa, the mighty hero, as sinking into Hell. Readers are not psychologically prepared to accept such a terrible end to the glorious career of an exceptionally mighty hero like Lakṣmaṇa. The Jain writer's antagonism to the cult of the Vedic sacrifice and *hiṃsā*, to the sense of superiority of the Brāhmaṇas—the Purohitas—and superstitious beliefs is perfectly understandable. One, however, would have wished that in making the beautiful story of Rāma as told by Vālmīki their own they had done a little less of their moral axe-grinding. Further, by eliminating the Kaikeyī intrigue they have divested the story of its deep human interest and dramatic value.

The heroes of *Rāmāyaṇa* move in an entirely Brahmanical or Vedic Hindu atmosphere whereas in the Jain versions the Jain *dharma* is everywhere very much to the fore. The kings are generally devout householders who retire from the world in their old age and become Jain monks. Sermons of Jain monks are often introduced.

They lay emphasis on the Jain doctrines of *ahimsā*, *satya* (truthfulness), the law of karma, the fruits of good and bad deeds, descriptions of the past lives of the heroes, the duties of a layman and a monk and the like.

In conclusion, we might say in spite of the Jain poets' claim that their Rāma story is based on tradition starting right from Lord Mahāvīra, the undeniable fact remains that while composing their versions *Rāmāyaṇa* was

always before their mind's eye and they found its influence almost irresistible.

Addendum : Dr. H. C. Bhayani concludes his paper "The Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa Rāmāyaṇas" with these observations : "If a legend or narrative has to preserve its living and inspiring appeal and influence over centuries, it has got to be dynamic and responsive to the changes in the ideals, tastes, norms of behaviour, mores (? morals) and traditions of the people. Most of the numerous significant developments in the Rāma narrative throughout the more than two thousand years of its existence would find adequate explanation in the sociological, religious, cultural and ethical changes extending over that period."⁵

What Dr. Bhayani says is largely true.

Notes and References :

1. *Pc.* II vv 105-117;
2. *Pc.* VI. vv 74-to-78, as translated in Winternitz's History of Indian Literature, Vol II. p. 490
3. *Pc.* V.v. 257.
4. *Pc.* VII. vv. 96-97.
5. (*Indological Studies*—H. C. Bhayani, publ. by Parshva Prakashan, Ahmedabad—380001, 1993, p. 194.)



UTTARĀDHYAYANASŪTRA ON BRAHMANISM

It is indeed difficult to settle questions such as : ‘whether Jain āgama texts are earlier or later than the Upaniṣads and the Epics, the *Mahābhārata* (including the *Bhagavadgītā*) and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the like.’ Instead of delving into matters relating to chronology the present paper confines itself to investigating into the attitude of *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, one of the sacred and valuable texts of the Jain āgama, towards Brahmanism. Of the thirty-six lectures constituting this text only three lectures called *Hariesijjam* (Lecture XII), *Ūsuyārijjam* (Lecture XIV) and *Jannaijjam* (Lecture XXV) deserve our special attention as they dwell upon some few noteworthy features of Brahmanism.

In the course of his dialogue with his two sons the Purohita, with a view to dissuading them from adopting ascetic life, sets forth before them the Brahmanical ideal :

“Those versed in the Vedas say that there will be no better world for men without sons.

My sons, after you have studied the Vedas, and fed the priests, after you have placed your own sons at the head of your house and after you have enjoyed life together with your wives, then you may depart to the woods as praiseworthy sages” (XIV. 8-9).

The sons spoke to him these words :

“The study of the Vedas will not save you², the feeding of Brāhmaṇas will lead you from darkness to darkness, and birth of sons will not save you. Who will assent to what you said ?

Pleasures bring only a moment’s happiness but suffering for a very long time...they are an obstacle to the liberation from existence, and are a very mine of evils. While a man...seeks for wealth, he comes to old age and death. We will just now adopt *Dharma*. After adopting it we shall not be born again.”

In short, this lecture (XIV) strongly recommends the ascetic ideal and pooh-poohs the Brahmanic ideal.

Lecture XII (Harikeśa) paints *Brāhmaṇa* priests in dark colours : They are described as ignoble men (*anārya*), arrogant through pride of birth, slaughterers or killers of animals, men who did not subdue their senses, the unchaste / incelibate fools...those who are full of anger and pride, who kill, lie, steal, and own property, are *Brāhmaṇas* without pure birth and knowledge; they are very bad fields, (on which gifts sown do not grow up as merit) : they are only the bearer of words, they do not understand their meaning although they have learnt the Vedas.

In the Lecture about the true sacrifice (XXV. 18-19) too the *Brāhmaṇas* are criticised in these words : The ignorant priests pretend to know the sacrifice; their (so-called) Brahmanical excellence consists in (false) lore; they, resembling fire covered by ashes, shroud themselves in study and penance. He who is called by people a *Brāhmaṇa* and is worshipped like fire is no true *Brāhmaṇa*. Verses 19-29 from this Lecture portray an ideal (Jain) ascetic and call him alone a true *Brāhmaṇa*; and verses 31-34 from this very Lecture explain the true nature of a *śramaṇa*, a *Brāhmaṇa*, a *muni* and a *tāpasa* and the four *varṇas* as follows :

“One does not become a *śramaṇa* by the tonsure, nor a *Brāhmaṇa* by the sacred syllable, *Om*, nor a *muni* by living in the woods, nor a *tāpasa* by wearing (clothes of) *kuśa* grass and bark.

One becomes a *śramaṇa* by equanimity, a *Brāhmaṇa* by celibacy, a *muni* by knowledge, and a *tāpasa* by penance.

By one’s actions one becomes a *Brāhmaṇa*, by one’s actions one becomes a *kṣatriya*, by one’s actions one becomes a *vaiśya* or by one’s actions one becomes a *śūdra*.³

Harikeśa, the son of a *śvapāka* (= *cāṇḍāla*), who has adopted asceticism, criticises the *Brāhmaṇas* for tending the fire, seeking external purity by water, using *kuśa*-grass, sacrificial poles, straw and wood, touching water in the evening and morning (on the occasion of saying prayers) thereby injuring living beings and committing sins. He indirectly criticises also bathing in a holy bathing-place (like *Prayāga*, a celebrated place of pilgrimage at the confluence of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*) with a view to washing away sins when he declares :

“The *dharma* is my pond, celibacy my holy bathing-place... there I bathe...and get rid of my impurities of sins⁴” (also hatred). (XII.46)

He lays stress on the great value of penance and makes light of birth in a high or exalted family. In fact, Harikeśa as well as *Citra-Sambhūta* legends illustrate how a *śvapāka*, detested by all people for being born in the lowest caste, by taking to asceticism reaches the highest place of perfection. These

legends bear testimony to the fact that the Jain *dharma* does not believe in untouchability nor in caste-superiority.

Finally, the Jain criticism of Vedic (animal) sacrifices : Jainism prescribes *ahimsā* (non-violence or non-injury to living beings) as the first and foremost of its five fundamental or basic *vratas* (vows). Every follower of Jainism must observe this *vrata* by abstaining from violence or injury to living beings, in thought, word or deed, together with its causal and permissive variations. With such a great emphasis on *ahimsā*, the attitude of Jainism towards sacrifices involving slaughter of animal is bound to be one of uncompromising dissent and bitter hostility. The *Uttarādhyayana*, the first *mūla-sūtra* which is one of the most valuable portions of the Jain *āgama*, on one occasion declares :

The binding of animals (to the sacrificial pole), all the Vedas, and sacrifices, being the causes of sin, cannot save the sinner; for his *karmas* are very powerful (XXV. 30).

In the Lecture on Harikeśa there is a passage interpreting a sacrifice spiritually which deserves special attention :

“He who is well fortified by the five *saṁvaras* (preventing by means of the *saṁritis* and *guptis* the *āsrava*, the flowing in of the karma upon the soul), is not attached to this life, abandons his body (in the *kāyotsarga* posture), who is pure and does not care for his body, in fact offers the best of sacrifices and as such wins the great victory.

Where is your fire, your fire-place, your sacrificial ladle ? Where the dried cow-dung (used as fuel) ? Without these things, what kind of priests can the monks be ?

Penance is my fire; life my fire-place; right exertion is my sacrificial ladle; the body the dried cow-dung; karma is my fuel; self-control, right exertion and tranquility are the oblations, praised by sages, which I offer (XII. 42-44).”⁵ Taking a clue from these passages, many later Jain works dealing with *dharma*, mythology, philosophy and *dharma kathās* denounce bloody Vedic sacrifices at length using cogent arguments. Among such works Malliṣeṇa’s *Syādvādamañjarī* is particularly noteworthy. Its discussion, however, lies outside the scope of the present paper. Some of these works including *Syādvādamañjarī* cite passages from *Śruti*, *Śmṛti*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, as well as the views of the *Sāṁkhya*s, etc., in the course of their criticism of *himsā*, with approval. These passages leave no doubt that there was a strong body of opinion even in *Brahmanism* which revolted against *himsā*, even *vaidha himsā* (i. e. *himsā*

prescribed in *sāstras*, such as animal-slaughter in a sacrifice). A. B. Dhruva maintains that “this trend of thought seems to have come down from times earlier than the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, mainly in the Bhakti and Jñāna schools as distinguished from the ritualistic school of Brahmanism.”

The trend of thought against *vaidha himsā* may have been present in the period preceding the times of Mahāvīra and Buddha. One may however add, without any fear of contradiction, that the strong criticism of the *yajñīya himsā* by the powerful advocates of *ahimsā* from the Jain and Buddhist circles must have exercised considerable influence and strengthened the trend of thought that was already there and contributed to some extent to the decline of the *yajñīya himsā*.

The *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* criticises the following aspects of Brahmanism :

- (i) The ritualism or formalism or ceremonialism as against the self-control and the virtuous life of the ascetics, and its advocates, the priests,
- (ii) The animal sacrifice prescribed by the Vedas,
- (iii) Caste-system based on birth,
- (iv) Untouchability and
- (v) Brahmanic belief that bathing at a holy bathing-place washes away one's sins.

In conclusion may I say : Although Jainism and Buddhism assail Brahmanism for enjoining bloody animal sacrifices, for creating the evil caste-system, for recognising untouchability, for entertaining superstitious beliefs like ‘bathing in the river Gaṅgā washes away sins’, ‘food offered to Brāhmaṇas (on the anniversary of the death of a relative in whose honour *śrāddha* is performed), reaches the particular dead relative (in heaven)’, ‘the birth of a son saves you from hell’, etc., we must never lose sight of the most important fact that like Brahmanism and Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism are and remain genuine products of the Indian mind and that they have considerably influenced Indian spiritual life. It is an indisputable fact that although Indian religions and their *darśanas* present a diversity of views, we can easily discern in them the common stamp of an Indian culture—the unity of moral and spiritual outlook. When we compare and contrast these Indian religions with the foreign religions like Islam and Christianity, we at once realise how closely allied these Indian religions are. Every *Darśana* is moved to speculation by a sense of discomfort and disquiet at the existing order of things. These *darśanas* agree implicitly on the four *āryasatyas* (noble truths) discovered by Buddha : 1. There is suffering.

2. There is a cause of suffering. 3. There is cessation of suffering. 4. There is a way to attain it. These *darśanas* also accept the law of *karma* which implies optimism and makes man the master of his own destiny. They also hold in common the view that ignorance of reality is the cause of our bondage and sufferings and liberation from these can be achieved only through knowledge of reality, continued meditation on the highest principle and a life of self-control (*yoga* and *saṁyama*); further, these *darśanas* accept the idea of liberation (*mokṣa*, *mukti*, *nirvāṇa*) as the highest goal or aim of life. Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism are the major constituents of *Bhāratīya-dharma* and *Bhāratīya-saṁskṛti* and every *Bhāratīya* ought to be proud of this glorious heritage.

As researchers or investigators into truth we must take note of the attacks on the Vedas, the *Brāhmaṇas*, their ceremonialism or ritualism and their institutes of *varṇa* and *jāti*, the recognition of degrading untouchability, their superstitious beliefs, etc. and learn from their perceptive criticism, ignoring polemics but we must always and ever keep at the back of our mind the common thread of cultural unity and spiritualism that runs through these three great religions of Indian origin.

Notes and References :

1. According to some modern scholars Jainism and Buddhism represent a revolt against the older religion of Brahmanism; the orthodox Jains themselves however assert that their religion is the oldest of all religions, and the religion of the *Brāhmaṇas* is merely a degenerate form of it.
2. Cf. *Traiguṇyaviśayā vedā nīstraiguṇyo bhavārjuna* | —*Bhagavadgītā*-II-45.
3. Cf. *Cāturvarṇyam mayā sṛṣṭam guṇakarmavibhāgaśaḥ* | —*Bhagavadgītā*-IV-13
And, also *Bhagavadgītā*-XVIII-41.
4. Cf. The author of *Sūyagadamga* assails Brahmanical ritual thus : “If it were true that perfection or liberation can be attained by ablutions with cold water, then fishes, tortoises and snakes would attain the highest perfections; and if water really washed away the evil deed, then it must needs wash away the good deed also. *Brāhmaṇas* assert that perfection or liberation is to be attained by the daily lighting of the fire; if this were true, smiths and artisans of a similar nature would attain the highest sanctity. —*Sūyagada* VII-14-16, 18.
5. Cf. “Superior is wisdom-sacrifice (*jñāna-yajña*) to the sacrifice with objects (*dravya yajña*), O harasser of thy foes. All action (*karma*) without exception, O son of *Prthā*, is comprehended (or culminates) in wisdom (*jñāna*).—*Bhagavadgītā*-IV.33. And, “Of offerings I am the offering of *Japa*”. (*Yajñānām japa-yajño'smi*)—*Bhagavadgītā*-X. 25.



BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND UTTARĀDHYAYANASŪTRA : A COMPARATIVE ASPECT

Bhagavadgītā (BG) forms along with *Upaniṣads* and *Brahma-sūtras* the famous *prasthānatrayī* sacred to the Vedic Hindus. *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* (*Uttarā*) forms part of Jain *āgama* consisting of 45 sacred texts—sacred to the Śvetāmbara Jains. A comparative look at these two texts reveals the following facts :

(i) Barring a few verses which speak rather slightly of the Vedas¹ BG holds the Vedas in great reverence. Kṛṣṇa, for instance, declares : “I am the holy Om, the three Vedas—the *R̥k*, the *Sāman*, and the *Yajus* also.”² Elsewhere Kṛṣṇa while revealing some manifestations of his divine glory declares : ‘Of the Vedas I am the Veda of songs’.³ But *Uttarā* denounces Vedas as the causes of sins. In the famous dialogue between the Brahmanical Purohita (Bhṛgu) and his two sons who wish to turn monks, with a view to dissuading his sons Bhṛgu says : “Those versed in the Vedas say that there will be no better world for men without sons. My sons, after you have studied Vedas, and fed the priests, after you have placed your own sons at the head of your house, and after you have enjoyed life together with your wives, then you may depart to the woods as praiseworthy sages.” The young men replied : “The study of the Vedas will not save you; the feeding of Brāhmaṇas will lead you from darkness to darkness, and the birth of sons will not save you... Pleasures bring only a moment’s happiness, but suffering for a very long time, intense suffering, but slight happiness; they are an obstacle to the liberation from existence, and are a very mine of evils.”⁴ Elsewhere the text says : “The binding of animals (to the sacrificial pole), all the Vedas, and sacrifices, being causes of sin, cannot save the sinner; for his works (or karma) are very powerful.”⁵

(ii) BG describes the universe as God’s creation. For example, Kṛṣṇa says : “All this visible universe comes from my invisible Being... I am the source of all beings, I support them all.. At the end of the night of time all things return to

my nature; and when the new day of time begins I bring them again into light. Thus through my nature I bring forth all creation, and this rolls round in the circles of time... I am the Father of this universe and even the Source of the Father. I am the Mother of this universe, and the creator of all..."⁶

Uttarā describes the universe as uncreated, eternal, without a beginning and an end. It explicitly says : 1. Dharma, 2. Adharma, 3. Space, 4. Time, 5. Matter and, 6. Souls (are the six kinds of substances), they make up-constitute this world, as has been taught by the Jinas who possess the best knowledge⁷.

(iii) *BG* assures the readers of the existence of God, his incarnations (*avatāras*, *Kṛṣṇa* being the eighth *avatāra* of Lord *Viṣṇu*) and also assures his devotees that they would reach him at the end of their life on earth and promises that women, *vaiśyas*, as well as *śūdras* who may be *pāpayonis* (of sinful birth) when seek shelter in him attain to the Supreme Goal⁸. *Uttarā* outright denies the existence of God and declares that the law of karma is inexorable—relentless—and nobody can escape the consequences of one's own deeds.⁹

(iv) *BG*, as a rule, stands for traditional Vedic sacrifice—although on one or two occasions it praises the *japa* or *jñāna-yajña* as far superior to *dravya-yajña* :

In the concluding chapter *Kṛṣṇa* declares unequivocally : Works of sacrifice, gift and austerity should not be abandoned but should indeed be performed; for these three are works of purification in the case of the wise. But even these works should be performed without any attachment and expectation of a reward; this O Arjuna, is my firm and final opinion."¹⁰ In Ch.3 *Kṛṣṇa* speaks with admiration/approval of the famous *yajña-cakra-pravarntana*—Setting in motion the wheel of *yajña* (lit. sacrifice)—the wheel of the world. Ch. 4. 28 enumerates *dravya-yajña*, *tapo-yajña*, *yoga-yajña*, *svādhyāya-yajña* and *jñāna-yajña* but makes no mention of *japa-yajña*. But *Kṛṣṇa* while revealing some manifestations of his divine glory to Arjuna declares : "Of offerings (or prayers) I am the offering of *japa* (silent repetition) (or the prayer of silence)¹¹.

In Ch.4 while describing various kinds of sacrifice *Kṛṣṇa* distinctly says : "Superior is the sacrifice of wisdom to the sacrifice with objects, O Arjuna (harasser of your foes) ! All work, without exception, O Arjuna (*Pārtha*—son of *Prthā*), culminates in wisdom—is comprehended in wisdom—" For wisdom is in truth the end of all holy work¹².

It would seem that *BG* is definitely in favour of sacrifice of wisdom and it describes other traditional *yajñas* as a concession to tradition. In the days of

BG most probably there was a strong body of opinion even amongst Vedic Hindus which revolted against *dravyayajñas* especially *yajñas* involving slaughtering of animals. Hence this commendation—praise—of *jñānayajña*.

Uttarā denounces Vedic sacrifices. The verse (Ch. 25. 30) cited above to illustrate the Jain attitude towards and attack on Vedas also illustrates the hostility of the Jains towards Vedic sacrifices. Jainism prescribes *ahimsā* (non-injury to living beings) as the first and foremost of the five *mahāvratas*—fundamental or basic vows. Every follower of Jain *dharma* must observe this vow by abstaining from injury to living beings in thought, word or deed, together with its causal and permissive variations. With such emphasis on *ahimsā*, the Jain attitude towards *dravyayajñas*, especially sacrifices involving the slaughtering of animals, is found to be one of bitter hostility. The legend of Harikeśa (Ch. 12) is a splendid example of the Jain attitude towards Vedic sacrifice and incidentally towards untouchability. It may briefly be related here :

Near the river Gaṅgā lived a cāṇḍāla tribe. Harikeśa, belonged to this tribe. In the course of time he became a Jain monk. In the course of his *vihāra* (wanderings) he once stayed in the Tinduga-grove near Vārānasī. Its presiding deity, a Yakṣa, became his ardent follower. One day Bhadrā, King Kausalika's daughter, came to the Yakṣa's shrine and paid homage to the idol. But seeing the dirty monk, she detested him. The Yakṣa to punish her for her want of respect for the holy monk, possessed her. No physician could cure her madness. The Yakṣa said, she would recover only if she were offered as bride to Harikeśa, the monk. The king agreed, Bhadrā became sound as before and went to the monk to choose him as her husband. He of course refused her. She was then married by the king to his Purohita.

Once on his begging tour, he approaches the enclosure of the Purohita's Vedic sacrifice. The priests refuse him food. The Yakṣa intervenes on the monk's behalf, he scolds the Brāhmaṇas for their arrogance, calls them only the bearer of words of the Vedas. Thereupon many young people, instigated by the Brāhmaṇa priests, beat the sage with sticks. Bhadrā then appears on the scene and appeases the angry youngsters telling them of his greatness as a holy monk who had refused to marry her. The Yakṣa's followers then remaining invisible beat severely the youngsters. Bhadrā speaks again, and asks them not to beat a monk on his begging tour and to save their life to prostrate themselves before the great monk. The Brāhmaṇa (together with his wife) requests the sage to forgive them. He offers him food. The monk accepts food after having fasted a whole month. The gods in heaven were delighted and praised the gift : "The

value of penance has become visible, birth is of no value. Look at the holy monk Harikeśa, the son of a *śvapāka* (*cāṇḍāla*) whose power is so great.”

The monk advises the Brāhmaṇas not to tend the fire (*agnihotra*) and not to seek external purity by water, not to use *kuśa* grass, sacrificial poles, straw and wood, not to touch water in the evening and morning (while performing *sandhyā*) as thereby they injures living beings and commit sins. He then explains to them the nature of true sacrifice :

“Penance is the fire, life fireplace, right exertion sacrificial ladle, the body the dried cowdung, karma is fuel, self-control, right exertion and tranquillity are the oblations.

Dharma is the pond, celibacy holy bathing place. Making ablutions there one gets rid of sins (hatred).”¹³

This legend shows the Jains’ hostility to Vedic sacrifice; it also shows how even a *śvapāka*—a *cāṇḍāla*—belonging to the lowest caste becomes a Jain monk and can obtain *mokṣa*—liberation from the cycle of birth and death.

The story of Citra and Sambhūta, who were in one of their births *cāṇḍālas*, shows how Citra after he had practised the highest self-control reached the highest place of perfection. According to Jainism birth is of no value and even the so called *śvapāka* (or *cāṇḍāla*) by practising *dharma* can obtain perfection. These legends of Harikeśa, Citra and Sambhūta bear testimony to the fact that Jainism does not believe in untouchability nor in caste-superiority.

BG Ch. 4. 13 declares that the four *varṇas* (caste) have been created by Me (Īśvara) having regard to the distribution of *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*) and karma (actions, duties, functions, works). The four *varṇas* are : 1. Brāhmaṇa, 2. Kṣatriya, 3. Vaiśya and 4. Śūdra. Their respective duties are set forth in Ch. 18. 42-44. From Ch. 9. 32-33 it would seem that among the four *varṇas* Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas were privileged classes, they enjoyed special status and women, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* had a lower status in society. Although in this context *cāṇḍālas* or *śvapākas* are not mentioned, they were simply looked down upon as outcaste.

Uttarā declares :

“One does not become a *śramaṇa* by the tonsure, nor a Brāhmaṇa by the sacred syllable *Om*, nor a *muni* by living in the woods, nor a *tāpasa* by wearing clothes of *kuśa* grass and bark. One becomes a *śramaṇa* by equanimity, a Brāhmaṇa by chastity, a *muni* by knowledge, and a *tāpasa* by penance. By one’s

actions (karma) one becomes a Brāhmaṇa, or a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra."¹⁴ In other words, caste is not based on birth nor birth confers on you superiority or inferiority.

In conclusion, may I say : Although Jainism and Buddhism assail Vedic Dharma for enjoining bloody animal sacrifices, for creating the evil caste system, for recognising untouchability, for entertaining superstitious beliefs like 'bathing in the river Gaṅgā washes away sins', 'food offered to Brāhmaṇas (on the death anniversary of a relative in whose honour *śrāddha* is performed) reaches the particular dead relative (in heaven)', 'the birth of a son saves you from hell', etc. we must never lose sight of the most important fact that like Vedic Hinduism Jainism and Buddhism are and remain genuine products of the Indian mind and that they have considerably influenced Indian spiritual life. Although these Indian religions and their *Darśanas* present a diversity of views we can easily discern in them the common stamp of an Indian culture—the unity of moral and spiritual outlook. Every *Darśana* is moved to speculation by a sense of discomfort and disquiet at the existing order of things. These *Darśanas* agree implicitly on the four *arya-satyas* discovered by Buddha : 1. There is suffering, 2. There is a cause of suffering, 3. There is cessation of suffering, 4. There is a way to attain it. These *Darśanas* also accept the doctrine of karma which makes man the master of his own destiny. They also hold in common the view that ignorance of reality is the cause of our bondage and suffering and liberation from these can be achieved only through knowledge of reality, continued meditation on the highest principle and a life of self-control (*yoga* and *saṁyama*); further, these *Darśanas* accept the idea of liberation—*mokṣa*, *mukti*, *nirvāna* as the highest goal of life. Vedic Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism are the major constituents of Bhāratīya Dharma and Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti and every Bhāratīya ought to be proud of this glorious heritage.

Incidentally, attention is drawn here to the following passages in the BG and *Bhagavatisūtra*, an ancient Jain canonical text.

In the *Bhagavadgītā* (Ch.II) Lord Kṛṣṇa exhorts Arjuna, who is sorrow-stricken and overcome with pity and refuses to fight against the Kauravas. Among other pleadings he makes an earnest appeal to him in these words :

"Having regard to your own duty also, you ought not to waver. For a *kṣatriya* there exists no greater good than righteous fight. Blessed *kṣatriyas*, O Son of Prthā, find such a battle as this, come of itself, an open gate to Heaven ... Slain you will attain Heaven, Victorious, you will enjoy the Earth. Therefore, O Son of Kuntī, arise with the determination to fight¹⁵.

The *Bhagavatisūtra*, which forms, along with a few other texts, the earliest part of the Jain Canon criticises the view prevalent in the society in those days that “For warriors who fight their enemy on the battle-ground and meet a heroic death, the gate to Heaven is open and that heavenly nymphs choose them as their spouse and these and such other heroic warriors spend time happily—enjoying pleasures in their company.” It is only correct that the *Bhagavatisūtra* does not expressly or directly refer to the above passages in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. In the absence of definite date of composition of these two texts one cannot say that the *Bhagavatisūtra* is attacking here (*Śataka, uddeśaka* 9) the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Notes and References :

1. a) यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदवादस्ताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥
कामात्मानः स्वर्गपस जन्मकर्मफलप्रदाम् ।
क्रियाविशेषबहुलां भोगैश्वर्यगतिं प्रति ॥
भोगैश्वर्यप्रसक्तानां तयापहृतचेतसाम् ।
व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः समाधौ न विधीयते ॥
त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।
निर्द्वन्द्वो नित्यसत्त्वस्थो नियोगक्षेम आत्मवान् ॥
यावानर्थं उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।
तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥ —*Gītā* 2. 42-46
- b) त्रैविद्या मां सोमपाः पूतपापा
यज्ञैरिष्ट्वा स्वर्गतिं प्रार्थयन्ते ।
ते पुण्यमासाद्य सुरेन्द्रलोक-
मश्नन्ति दिव्यान् दिवि देवभोगान् ॥
ते तं भुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं
क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति ।
एवं त्रयोधर्ममनुप्रपन्ना
गतागतं कामकामा लभन्ते ॥ —*Gītā* 9. 20-21
- c) न वेदयज्ञाध्ययनैर्न दानै-
र्न च क्रियाभिर्न तपोभिरुग्रैः ।
एवंरूपः शक्य अहं नृलोके
द्रष्टुं त्वदन्येन कुरुप्रवीर ॥
नाहं वेदैर्न तपसा न दानेन न चेज्यया ।
शक्य एवविधो द्रष्टुं दृष्टवानसि मां यथा ॥ —*Gītā* XI. 48, 53
2. पिताहमस्य जगतो माता धाता पितामहः ।
वेद्यं पवित्रमोँकार ऋक् साम यजुरेव च ॥ —*Gītā*. 9. 17
3. वेदानां सामवेदोऽस्मि... —*Gītā*. 10. 22
4. *Uttarā*. Ch. 14. 8-13.

5. *Uttarā*. Ch. 25.30.
6. *BG*. Ch. 9. 4-17.
7. *Uttarā*. Ch. 28.7.
8. *BG*. Ch. 4. 5-8; Ch. 9. 32.
9. *Kadāṇa kammāṇa na mokkha atthi* | —*Uttarā*.
10. *BG*. 18. 5-7.
11. 'यज्ञानां जपयज्ञोऽस्मि'. | —*Gītā* 10. 25.
12. श्रेयान् द्रव्यमयाद् यज्ञाञ्ज्ञानयज्ञः परंतप !
सर्वं कर्माखिलं पार्थ ज्ञाने परिसमाप्यते ॥ —*Gītā* 4.33.
13. Cf. *Uttarā* 12.44, 45.
14. Cf. *Uttarā*. 15. 31-33.
कहं चरे ? कहं चिट्ठे ? कहमासे ? कहं सए ? ।
कहं भुजंतो भासंतो पावं कम्मं न बंधइ ? ॥ —*Daśavaikālika* V. 7.
- Cf. स्थितप्रज्ञस्य का भाषा समाधिस्थस्य केशव ।
स्थितधीः किं प्रभाषेत किमासीत् ब्रजेत किम् ॥ —*Gītā* II 54.
जयं चरे जयं चिट्ठे जयमासे जयं सए ।
जयं भुजंते भासंतो पावं कम्मं न बंधइ ॥
सव्वभूयप्पभूयस्स सम्मं भूयाइं पासओ ।
पिहियासवस्स दंतस्स पावं कम्मं न बंधइ ॥ —*Daśavaikālika* V. 8-9.
- Cf. योगयुक्तो विशुद्धात्मा विजितात्मा जितेन्द्रियः ।
सर्वभूतात्मभूतात्मा कुर्वन्नपि न लिप्यते ॥ —*Gītā* V. 7.
सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि ।
ईक्षते योगयुक्तात्मा सर्वत्र समदर्शनः ॥ —*Gītā* VI. 29.
आत्मौपम्येन सर्वत्र समं पश्यति योऽर्जुन ।
सुखं वा यदि वा दुःखं स योगी परमो मतः ॥ —*Gītā* VI. 32.
भिक्षु - *Daśavaikālika* X. 5-7, 10-11, 14-21.
भिक्षुवर्ग from धम्मपद (25th) 23 verses
ब्राह्मण : *Uttarā* XXV 20-29, 31-33, 35.
धम्मपद २६ ब्राह्मण वर्ग
आत्म-वर्ग धम्मपद १२ आत्मवर्ग
गीता III. 17, VI 5-6.
पंडित वर्ग
15. स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।
धर्म्याद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥
यदृच्छया चोपपन्नं स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम् ।
सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ लभन्ते युद्धमीदृशम् ॥
हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् ।
तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥ —*Gītā* II. 31, 32, 37.



VEDA AND JAIN TEXTS

Veda is the very bedrock of the Vedic Dharma. The Brāhmaṇas are its exponents and enjoy a special privileged position in the Cāturvarṇya system. Cāṇḍālas are regarded as outcaste. Jain texts, sacred as well as profane, criticise Veda, Brāhmaṇas, the Vedic ideal of a *gr̥hastha* and *varṇas* based on birth and the degraded position assigned to *śvapākas* (cāṇḍālas) as outcaste.

Uttarādhyayana, the first *mūla-sūtra*, is one of the 45 sacred texts of the Śvetāmbara Jains. The following three chapters of this work relating to Harikeśa (a *śvapāka* who turns monk), Iṣukāra, a King and Yajña (a true sacrifice) deserve our special attention as they chiefly criticise Veda, Vedic ideal of a householder, Brāhmaṇas and *Varṇas* based on birth and Brāhmaṇa's attitude towards *śvapākas*¹.

A number of later works of great importance for the Jains like Vimalasūri's *Paūmacariya* (Life of Padma, another name of Rāma), *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa, Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahindī* (Adventures of Vasudeva), *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, *Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra relate the account of the origin of Vedic Sacrifice (of course from their point of view) with a few minor variations. My paper, referred to in *f.n.no 1* below, deals with this topic at length. Wherever necessary, passages from these works are referred to and briefly discussed in this paper.

As *ahiṃsā* (non-injury, nonviolence) is the most fundamental vow of the Jains their criticism of *yajñīya hiṃsā* is perfectly understandable. We should, however, note that there were sections among the Vedic Hindus who too were strong critics of slaughtering animals at the time of Vedic sacrifices : The followers of Paramarṣi Kapila, the Sāṃkhyas, say :

यूपं छित्त्वा पशून् हत्वा कृत्वा रुधिरकर्दमम् ।
यद्येवं गम्यते स्वर्गे नरके केन गम्यते ॥

—quoted in Māthara *Vṛtti* on *Sāṃkhyakārikā*

(By cutting trees for sacrificial posts and by slaughtering animals and wading through their blood if you can go to heaven, kindly tell us how do we reach hell.)

Devī Bhāgavata says that the Supreme took the form of the Buddha in order to put a stop to wrong sacrifices and prevent injury to animals :

दुष्टयज्ञविघाताय पशुहिंसानिवृत्तये ।
बौद्धरूपं दधौ योऽसौ तस्मै देवाय ते नमः ॥

Animal sacrifices are found in the Vedas (inserted) by the *dvijas* (twice-born) who are given to pleasures and relishing tastes. Non-injury is, verily the highest truth.

द्विजैर्भोगरतैर्वेदे दर्शितं हिंसनं पशोः ।
जिह्वास्वादपरैः कामम् अहिंसैव परं मता ॥

—S. Radhakrishnan : *The Principal Upaniṣads*, Introduction, p. 50, f.n.1.

Uttarādhyayana interprets sacrifice ethically :

“He who is well fortified by the five *saṁvaras* (preventing by means of the *samitis* and *guptis* the flowing in of the karma upon the soul) and is not attached to this life, who abandons his body, who is pure and does not care for his body, in fact, offers the best of sacrifices and as such, wins the great victory over the enemy of karmas.” And, penance is my fire; life my fire-place; right exertion is my sacrificial ladle; the body the dried cow dung; karma is my fuel; self-control, right exertion and tranquillity are the oblations, praised by the sages, which I offer.”²

In this connection we may note that the Upaniṣads too interpret sacrifices ethically. For example, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* Upaniṣad opens with an account of the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) and interprets it as a meditative act in which the individual offers up the whole universe in place of the horse, and by the renunciation of the world attains spiritual autonomy in place of earthly sovereignty³. *Bhagavadgītā* too lauds *jaṇayajña* : ‘of sacrifices I am the sacrifice of *mantra*—repetitions⁴ and *jñānayajña*⁵ : ‘superior is the sacrifice consisting in knowledge to the sacrifice of material objects, O tormentor of foes.’ Manu thus interprets ethically the various *yajñas* : ‘Learning and Teaching is *brahmayajña*, service of elders is *pitryajña*, honouring great and learned people is *devayajña* and entertaining guests is *ṛyajña*.⁶

Regarding the Vedas *Uttarādhyayana* says : ‘The study of the Vedas will not save you’ and ‘all the Vedas and sacrifices being causes of sin cannot save

the sinner; for his karmas are very powerful'. In *Paūma-cariya*, Nārada who, according to the text, is a Jain sage challenges the authority of the so-called Vedas and criticises the performance of animal sacrifices in the name of *Dharma*. According to him the true nature of sacrifice enjoined by the Vedas is ethical :

“Body is the altar, mind is the fire blazing with the ghee of knowledge and burning the sacrificial sticks of impurities produced from the tree of karma; anger, pride, deceit, greed, attachment, aversion and delusion are the animals to be sacrificed, along with the senses. Truth, forgiveness, non-injury are the sacrificial gift to Brāhmaṇas; right faith, knowledge, conduct, celibacy, etc., are the gods to be pleased. This is the sacrifice prescribed in the real Vedas by the Jinas. If it is performed with proper concentration and meditation, it yields the fruit—the most cherished *nirvāṇa* (*mokṣa*, liberation). Those who perform sacrifices enjoined by the pseudo—Vedas by killing animals—being greedy of blood, fat, and flesh—those wicked ones like cruel, merciless or hard-hearted hunters sink, after death, into hell and continue to wander in the endless *samsāra*—the cycle of birth and death.”

Regarding the ethical interpretation of sacrifice, there is no room or could be no room for dispute as the Vedic Hindus too give such ethical interpretations. Here the point to be noted is that the word *Veda*, which has its own dignity, aura, grandeur and authority, the Jains are ready to use with reference to their own Āgama !

In *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (The Adventures of Vasudeva) there is a fantastic story regarding the origin of *Atharva Veda* and the birth of the author of *Atharvaveda* with its black magic :

Pippalāda, so the story relates, is born of Sulasā, a nun and Yājñavalkya, an ascetic. The parents desert the child (later known as Pippalāda) as soon as it is born. The child grows up to be an illustrious Vedic scholar—Pippalāda. On knowing the peculiar circumstances of his own birth he decides to take revenge upon his parents and invents *Atharva Veda* with its black magic. He severs the tongue of his father with a knife and reminds him of his crime—desertion of one's own child. He cuts him to pieces and offers his limbs as oblations in the sacrificial fire. He metes out a similar punishment to his mother as well.

This outrageous story is beneath contempt. Pippalāda is an ancient revered sage. To account for the black magic the Jain author seems to have fabricated this offensive and abusive story.

In his *Syādvādamañjarī* Malliṣeṇa criticises Pūrvamīmāṃsā for its defence of *yajñīya himsā* and for its doctrine that the Veda is *apauruṣeya*. The point of *yajñīya himsā* has already been dealt with. Regarding the doctrine that the Veda is *apauruṣeya* Malliṣeṇa says that the Veda is a heap of articulate sounds which demand a body with organs such as the palate, etc. and that language and its utterance can never be *apauruṣeya* and that every sentence has a certain *tātparya* (purport) which implies an author *puruṣa*—and is thus *pauruṣeya*.

In the two legends of King Nami and King Iṣukāra, *Uttarādhyayana* sets forth before us two models : one, of an ideal Vedic *grhastha* (householder) and two, of an ideal ascetic and establishes the superiority of the latter over the former. Considered dispassionately, however, it would seem that the Vedic ideal of a householder is very wholesome and in the interest of the society as a whole whereas the ascetic ideal is chiefly in the interest of an individual who seeks his own personal spiritual welfare.

Now, one very striking, interesting and unique phenomenon deserves our special attention. Although Jain texts, as a rule, criticise the Vedas, Ācārya Jinabhadra (c. 500-600 A. D.) is an exception. In vv 1549-2024, popularly known as *Gaṇadharavāda*, of his *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*, he cites a number of passages from Vedas, or rather Upaniṣads, which come at the end of the Vedas—which are sometimes also called the Vedas—with approval.

It is here necessary to give the background : *Gaṇadharavāda* deals with the conversion of Indrabhūti Gautama, Agnibhūti and nine other very learned Brāhmaṇas to Jainism. (They are later known as Gaṇadharas—chief disciples of Mahāvīra.) The topics discussed between Mahāvīra and Indrabhūti Gautama, etc., are : whether *Jīva* exists or not, whether karma exists or not and the like. These Brāhmaṇas with their hundreds of Brāhmaṇa disciples are represented as highly influenced by the immense popularity of Mahāvīra and approach him with great curiosity. Seeing them Mahāvīra at once addresses them and reads their minds. He tells them about the doubts that trouble their minds regarding the existence or non-existence of *jīva*, karma, etc. He tells them that their doubts have their source in their failure to understand correctly the *apparently contradictory* Vedic passages. He offers their correct explanations; doubts are removed, and the clever Brāhmaṇas with their hundreds of disciples enter the order and become Mahāvīra's ardent followers. This is the frame-work of the whole *Gaṇadharavāda*.

By way of example a few sentences may be reproduced and discussed here; the sentences are :

विज्ञानघन एवैतेभ्यो भूतेभ्यः समुत्थाय तान्येवानुविनश्यति न च प्रेत्य संज्ञाऽस्ति ।

Indrabhūti understood the passage as denying the existence of *jīva* (*ātman*) and life after death and thus propounding materialism. Mahāvīra who knew better explains it resorting to *vijñānavāda*. *Paṭa-vijñāna*, *ghaṭa-vijñāna*, etc, arising from the *bhūtas* (objects *paṭa*, *ghaṭa*, etc.) vanish away when *paṭa*, *ghaṭa*, etc. vanish but as *vijñāna-santati* it ever continues to exist.

The traditional, and shall we say authentic, interpretation of this sentence as given by Śaṅkarācārya is however, as follows :

“Arising from out of these elements one vanishes away into them. When he has departed there is no more knowledge.”

The confusion arises due to the seeming contradiction that the Self is pure intelligence, and again, when one has departed there is no more knowledge. The same fire cannot be both hot and cold.

Śaṅkarācārya points out that Brahman, the pure intelligence, remains unchanged, that it does not pass out with the destruction of elements, but the individual due to *avidyā* is overcome.

(ii) अस्तमिते आदित्ये याज्ञवल्क्य चन्द्रमस्यस्तमिते, शान्तेऽग्नौ, शान्तायां वाचि, किञ्चोतिरेवायं पुरुषः ? आत्मज्योतिरेवायं सम्प्रदिति होवाच ।
—Com. on *gāthā* no-1598

In the course of debate between Indrabhūti (who later becomes the first Gaṇadhara) and Mahāvīra, the latter asserts that even in the absence of elements knowledge exists and in support of his view he cites the above sentence from Veda (Upaniṣad) : *Bṛhadāranyaka* (4.3.6). The sentence means :

When the Sun has set, O Yājñavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire has gone out and speech has stopped, what light does a person here have ? The self, indeed, is his light, O King, said he.

In this sentence *puruṣa* means *ātman* and *ijotiḥ* means ‘knowledge’. The purport of this sentence is : When all external light is gone out, there exists light in the self and light is nothing but knowledge. So knowledge is not the attribute or property of elements (*bhūtas*).

“This self is present in all the states of waking, dream and sleep. It is the light different from one’s body and organs and illumines them though it is itself not illumined by anything else”.

(iii) पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यम्, उतामृतत्वस्येशानो यदत्रेनातिरोहति ।

—*Rgveda* 10. 90.2; *Śvetāśvatara*. 3.15

In the course of debate with Indrabhūti Mahāvīra tells him that there are many *Jīvas* (*Jīva* = *ātman*). Indrabhūti points out to him that according to the Vedānta philosophy *ātman* or soul is really one and in support of this statement he cites four Vedic/Upaniṣadic passages. One of them is the sentence under discussion. It occurs at *R̥gveda* 10.90.2 as well as *Śvetāśvatara* 3.15. It means :

“The Person is truly this whole world, whatever has been and whatever will be. He is also the lord of immortality, and whatever grows up by food.” Now, you say there are many *jīvas* or *ātman*s which goes against the Vedic passage—Vedic authority.

Mahāvīra replies that if the soul were one then it cannot at all be called, being all pervading like *ākāśa* (space), a doer, an enjoyer, a thinker or a *samsārin* (a mundane being). Further, if *ātman* were one there would be no possibility of happiness. So it follows that there are many *ātman*s and not only one.

Elsewhere Mahāvīra explains this sentence in another way : “The *puruṣa* is praised here by resorting to *atiśayokti*—making an exaggerated statement not meant to be taken literally. Non-duality of *puruṣa* does not mean that there is no other thing in this world like karma (We have in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 4. 4.5, : the following sentence : *Puṇyaḥ puṇyena karmaṇā bhavati, pāpaḥ pāpena*, i.e. one becomes virtuous by virtuous action, bad by bad action;—this proves the existence of karma outside *Puruṣa* who is described as one and only one pervading the entire world). He also adds :

The real purport of this Vedic sentence is : ‘All *ātman*s are exactly alike. So one should not take pride in one’s birth as Brāhmaṇa, etc., and should not look down upon others’.

Quite a few more sentences from the *Upaniṣads* are cited in the course of discussion and debate as authority by Ācārya Jinabhadra. It would seem that he falls apart from other Jain writers in this respect.

To conclude, various Jain works both in Prakrit and Sanskrit attack the Veda and Vedic sacrifices. They even fabricate stories to discredit revered ancient sages like Pippalāda and the Atharvaveda with its black magic. The Jain criticism against Vedic sacrifices involving slaughter of animals is fair and just, no doubt but very often they make misleading statements regarding Vedic sacrifices as very ably shown by Handiqui in his great work (*Yaśastilaka And Indian Culture*, Chapter XIV, especially). Ācārya Jinabhadra, however, is, it would seem, a rare exception. He quotes Vedic (rather Upaniṣadic) passages to support the Jain

views regarding *ātman*, karma, *mokṣa*, and the like, and very often presents strikingly new interpretations of the passages from *Upaniṣads* cited by him. His *Gaṇadharavāda* is indeed like an oasis in the midst of monotonous anti-Veda Jain literature.

Notes and References :

1. For a detailed study see *Sacrifice In India : Conception and Evolution*, ed. by Dr. (Mrs.) Sindhu S. Dange, Viveka Publications, Aligarh, 1987, pp. 133-142 covering my paper, "Sacrifice in the Jain Tradition."
2. Ch. XII. 42-44.
3. S. Radhakrishnan : *The Principal Upaniṣads*. Introduction, pp. 49-50.
4. 'Yajñānām japayajño'smi' - X. 25.c
5. 'Śreyān dravyamayād yajñāḥ jñānayajñāḥ paraṃtapa | IV.33-ab
6. *adhyāpanam brahma-yajñāḥ pitr-yajñas tu tarpaṇam |*
homo daivo balir bhauto nṛ-yajño' tithi-pūjanam ||



SACRIFICE IN THE JAIN TRADITION

Sacrifice is a religious rite, a form of worship, in which an object is offered to a god or divinity in order to establish, maintain or restore a right relationship of man to the sacred power. The man who offers sacrifice firmly believes that the god, propitiated by his sacrifice, would satisfy his needs, avert possible misfortune and calamity.

Now, sacrifices are of two kinds : bloodless and bloody. Jainism, which devotedly adheres to and strongly advocates the principle of *ahimsā* (non-violence) in thought, word and deed is, naturally enough, opposed to all kinds of bloody sacrifices. It could have no objection, however, to bloodless sacrifices as they do not involve any animal-sacrifice. In the bloodless sacrifices life-giving substances such as milk, ghee, honey, water and the like are used as libations; and vegetable offerings include grains, leaves of sacred trees or plants, flowers and fruits. In the Jain form of worship, in keeping with the Hindu form of worship, flowers, fruits, leaves of sacred trees or plants and grains (cooked and uncooked) are included in the daily temple offerings¹.

Now, regarding Jain attitude towards bloody sacrifices : Jainism prescribes *ahimsā* (non-violence or non-injury) as the first and foremost of its five fundamental or basic *vratas* (vows). Every follower of Jainism must observe this *vrata* by abstaining from violence or injury to living beings, in thought, word or deed, together with its causal and permissive variations. With such a great emphasis on *ahimsā*, the attitude of Jainism towards sacrifices involving slaughter of animal is bound to be one of uncompromising dissent and bitter hostility. The *Uttarādhyayana*, the first *mūla-sūtra*, which is one of the most valuable portions of the Jain Canon, on one occasion, declares :

“The binding of animals (to the sacrificial pole), all the Vedas, and sacrifices, being the causes of sin cannot save the sinner, for his karmas are very powerful.”²

In the beautiful ballad of Harikeśa, in a vivacious dialogue between a
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proud Brāhmaṇa and a monk of low-caste origin, the contrast is set forth between the formalism and ceremonialism of the priestly religion on the one hand, and the self-control and the virtuous life of the monks on the other. The following passage from this text, interpreting a sacrifice spiritually, deserves to be cited in this connection³ :

“He who is well fortified by the five *saṃvaras*⁴ and is not attached to this life, who abandons his body⁵, who is pure and does not care for his body, in fact, offers the best of sacrifices and as such, wins the great victory (over the enemy of Karma.”

“Where is your fire, your fire-place, your sacrificial ladle ? Where the dried cowdung (used as fuel) ? Without these things, what kind of priests can the monks be ?”

“Penance is my fire; life my fire-place; right exertion is my sacrificial ladle; the body the dried cowdung; Karma is my fuel; self-control, right exertion and tranquillity are the oblations, praised by the sages, which I offer.”

Besides this canonical text—*Uttarādhyayana*—there are also other major Jain works dealing with religion, mythology, philosophy and romance, which denounce bloody Vedic sacrifices.⁶ *Paūmacariya* is perhaps the first Jain work which relates the Jain version of the origin of animal-sacrifice. The account as given in *Paūmacariya* is recounted with some minor variations, in later Śvetāmbara and Digambara works. This account is as follows :—

Parvatāka, prince Vasu of Ayodhyā, and the Brāhmaṇa Nārada—the three of them—studied under Kṣīrakadamba, the father of Parvatāka. Once, when they were being taught by the *guru*, a flying monk said : “One of the four souls will sink into hell.” Hearing these words the *guru* was alarmed. He sent away his pupils and himself turned a monk. His wife was distressed to hear this. Nārada went to see and console her. Now, Prince Vasu was crowned king by his father who thereafter entered the ascetic order. Vasu had a divine crystal throne. Once there was a dispute between Nārada and Parvatāka about the meaning of *aja* in the sentence *ajesu janno kāyavvo*. Nārada explained the sentence to mean “Sacrifice must be made with *ajas*, i.e., barley-grains (corn three year old) which are *abjā*, i.e. incapable of reproducing.” Parvatāka, however, told him that *ajas* undoubtedly mean “animals” (goats) and by slaughtering them sacrifice is performed. Nārada asked him not to tell lies; for, lying leads to hell. Parvatāka thereupon proposed that they should accept king Vasu as an authority as he was their fellow-student. Nārada agreed. Parvatāka then hurriedly sent his mother to king Vasu to ask him to take his side (against Nārada). Next morning, Parvatāka

and Nārada accompanied by men went to king Vasu. Nārada sought his authoritative opinion regarding the point of dispute between him and Parvataka. King Vasu supported Parvataka's interpretation. That very moment King Vasu along with his divine crystal throne fell to the ground. Then he went to hell. Much ridiculed by the citizens, Parvataka practised blameworthy austerities and after death was born as *Rākṣasa* (demon). Remembering his past birth and ridicule and humiliation he decided to avenge himself; and, in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa, introduced animal sacrifices like *Gomedha* (involving the use of wine and incest with mother, sister and other near kindred), *Pitrmedha*, *Mātrmedha*, *Rājasūya*, *Aśvamedha* and *Paśumedha*. In these sacrifices the creatures with whose names those sacrifices begin (*go-*, *pitr-*, *aśva-*, *paśu*) are to be slaughtered; wine is to be drunk and flesh is to be eaten. There is no sin in it⁷.

In the same *Uddeśa* (Canto XI) Vimalasūri explains through Nārada, a pious Jain, popularly known as *devarṣi*, the true nature of sacrifice in accordance with *ārṣaveda* (holy, sacred, venerable Veda) :

“The body is the altar; the mind is the holy fire; this fire blazes up or burns brightly with the ghee of knowledge. This fire consumes or destroys completely the heap of sacrificial sticks of sins produced by the tree of karma.”

“Anger, pride, deceit, greed, attachment, hatred, and delusion—these passions, along with the senses, are the sacrificial animals which are to be killed. Truth, forgiveness, non-violence are the adequate sacrificial fee which is to be paid. Right faith, conduct, self-control, celibacy, etc., are the gods (to be propitiated).”

“This is the true sacrifice as laid down in the venerable Vedas and expounded by the venerable Jinas. This sacrifice, when performed with complete contemplation or profound meditation, brings the reward, not heaven, but the highest *nirvāṇa* (= *mokṣa*) liberation.”

“Those, however, who perform sacrifices by actually slaughtering animals go to hell just like hunters⁸.”

It is not unlikely that Vimalasūri derived inspiration from the ballad of Harikeśa in the *Uttarādhyayana* referred to above, who first interprets the sacrificial acts in the ethical sense. Of course, Vimalasūri's is an extended metaphor.

The account of the origin of the Vedic animal-sacrifices is recounted with some variations in other texts also⁹. The account in these texts throws abundant light on the bitter hostility of the Jains towards the Brāhmaṇas and their *sāstras*

prescribing animal-sacrifices. In his *Yoga-sāstra* with *svopajña* (his own) commentary (Ch. II. 32-49) Hemacandra severely criticises animal-sacrifices and denounces Jaimini as Rākṣasa, and *Smṛtikāras* too, for prescribing animal-slaughter at sacrifices, use of meat at sacrifices to gods, in offerings and feasts connected with ancestor-worship and in the reception of guests.

The episode of King Vasu-Uparicara is as old as the *Mahābhārata*. It seems to have been incorporated in the above Jain account owing to the lesson of *ahimsā* conveyed by it, and provides a good example of Jain adaptation of popular Brahmanical stories. The original story of king Vasu-Uparicara is related in *Mbh.* (*Śānti-parva*, Chs. 335 ff).

Incidentally, two stories, containing references to animal (and even human) sacrifices from the Jain narrative literature may be briefly related. Haribhadra (8th century A. D.) narrates in his *Samarāiccakāhā* (Skt. *Samarādityakathā*) the story of king Yaśodhara who because of his queen's faithlessness and approaching old age wishes to become a monk. In order to prepare his mother gently for his plan to become a monk he deliberately tells her of a dream in which he had become a monk. Now, with a view to averting the evil consequences of the dream, his mother advises him to disguise himself as a monk and sacrifice a number of animals to the family goddess (Kālī). The king refuses to slaughter, but is prepared to make a compromise. He has a cock made of dough, and this fowl is beheaded in front of the image of the goddess, whereupon he eats the "meat" of the cock¹⁰.

Harisena in his *Bṛhatkathākośa*, *Kathānaka* No. 73, Somadevasūri in his *Yaśastilaka* (Book IV) and Puṣpadanta in his Apabhramśa work called, *Jasaharacariu* (Skt. *Yaśodharacarita*), relate the same story.

Somadevasūri describing the story of King Māridatta in his *Yaśastilaka* recounts : he has ascended the throne at an early age and is entirely given up to sensual pleasures. At the advice of Vīrabhairava, a Tāntrika teacher, he prepares to offer a great sacrifice to his family goddess Caṇḍamāridevatā, consisting of a pair of every living creature, including *human beings possessing all auspicious physical characteristics*. Then the servants drag in a youth and a maiden, a pair of ascetics whom they have selected for the human sacrifice. At the sight of them a change comes over the king. It occurs to him that these might be the twin children of his own sister, who were said to have renounced the world and entered the ascetic order. He asks these two ascetics to tell him their history, and it is revealed that they are indeed his relatives. The narrative ends with the conversion of King Māridatta and his family goddess to the Jain

*dharmā*¹¹.

After taking into account the criticism of Vedic animal-sacrifices that we come across in the Jain canonical, mythological and narrative literature we turn to the noteworthy Jain philosophical work, *Syādvādamañjarī*, which systematically deals with the subject of slaughter of animals in the Vedic sacrifices for pleasing gods, guests and ancestors.

Malliṣeṇasūri's *Syādvādamañjarī* is a commentary on the 32 verses of Hemacandra's *Anyayogavyavacchedikā*, but is, at the same time, an independent philosophical work. It was written in 1292 A. D. A very able logician as he is, he first sets forth lucidly the *prima facie* view and then refutes it by advancing logical arguments. The whole discussion may briefly be summarised as follows :

Animal-slaughter practised in the course of a sacrifice is justified on the ground that it is prescribed by the Vedas; and use of meat at sacrifices to gods, in offerings and feasts connected with ancestor-worship and in the reception of guests is approved of as it pleases them. Malliṣeṇa condemns *himsā* and points out that to say *himsā* is a *dharmahetu* is a contradiction in terms. *Himsā* is surely not an invariable antecedent of *dharmā*; because, *dharmā*, as you yourself admit, arises from *tapas* and similar practices. *Himsā*, therefore, is not a *dharmā-hetu*.

The Brāhmaṇa replies : We regard only a special kind of *himsā*—*yajñīya himsā*—as *dharmā-hetu*.

The Siddhāntin (Jain) asks : How is *himsā* a *dharmā-hetu* ? The animals when you kill them surely die. We all hear their piteous cries when they are being slaughtered. There is absolutely no proof to assert that after death they go to heaven.

The Brāhmaṇa might say that just as the Jains make an exception in the case of the *himsā* of insects, worms, reptiles, etc., which are inevitably killed in the act of constructing a Jain temple, so the follower of the Vedas makes an exception of the *himsā* involved in the Vedic sacrifice.

The Siddhāntin (Jain) meets this argument by pointing out that the *himsā* which takes place while constructing a temple is inevitable—moreover the service which a Jain temple renders to the devotees in making spiritual progress far outweighs the evil of the *himsā*. The *himsā* involved in a Vedic sacrifice is not a necessary evil for attaining heaven, which the *śāstras* (sacred to you) admit can be attained by the practice of *yama*, *nīyama*, and similar other practices. It is not so in the case of *yajñīya himsā*. For equally a great merit can be secured

by the practices mentioned above. If the Brāhmaṇa says that the animals slaughtered in the sacrifices get into heaven, the Siddhāntin (Jain) asks, “who brings the news from heaven?” If the Brāhmaṇa answers, “here are our scriptures”; the Siddhāntin (Jain) replies that the authority of the scriptures would be shown to be hollow. In the meantime he points out that if *himsā* can secure heaven, the streets leading to hell may be taken as closed—“hell will be a desert and heaven an over-populated city”—In other words, if the worst sin could bring heaven, it is better to declare an end to hell. Further, if the offering of a lower life at a sacrifice can secure heaven, why not make an offering of a higher life, say, of your father and mother to secure a still higher heaven?

If the Brāhmaṇa says : So marvellous is the efficacy of the Vedic *mantras* pronounced on the victim that the result is heaven. The Siddhāntin (Jain) replies: The Vedic *mantras* have been found inefficacious in the matter of marriage, many brides becoming widows in spite of the *mantras* promising a happy married life, and many other brides leading a happy married life even without these *mantras* pronounced upon them. Finally Malliṣeṇa argues that language and its utterance can never be *apauruṣeya* and every sentence has a certain ‘purport’ which implies an author. Similarly the Vedas also must have an author. Again, logic demands that exceptions should relate to the same matter to which the general rule is applied. In the case of *yajñīya himsā* exceptions are for the purpose of propitiating gods, guests and manes whereas the general rule *mā himsyāt sarvā bhūtāni* relates to avoiding sin and its evil consequences. Where is the necessity of propitiating them by *himsā* when other methods are available?

Malliṣeṇa’s criticism of Jaimini (*Purvamīmāṃsā*) and Manu, the *smṛtikāra*, is, it would seem, fair and just. After Malliṣeṇa’s *Syādvādamañjarī* we come across two later works which contain passages condemning *yajñīyā himsā* and *himsā* for the propitiation of manes and the reception of learned guests prescribed by the *smṛtis*. These are *Kumārapāla-Prabandha* of Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi (pp. 44-49) and *Prabodhacintāmaṇi* of Jayaśekharasūri (pp. 17-18) who wrote it in 1405 A. D.

The passages from *Śruti*, *Smṛti*, *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* as well as the view of the Sāṃkhyas, etc. cited in some of the above mentioned works in the course of their criticism of *himsā* with approval leave no doubt that there was a strong current of opinion even in Brahmanism which revolted against *himsā*, even *vaidha-himsā* (i.e. *himsā* prescribed in *śāstras*, such as animal-slaughter in a sacrifice). This trend of thought seems to have come down from times earlier than the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, mainly in the Bhakti and Jñāna schools

as distinguished from the ritualistic school of Brahmanism¹².

The trend of thought against *vaidha-himsā* must have been present in the period preceding the times of Mahāvīra and Buddha. One may however add, without any fear of contradiction, that the strong criticism of the *yajñīya himsā* by the powerful advocates of *ahimsā* from the Jain and Buddhist circles must have exercised some influence and strengthened the trend of thought that was already there and contributed to some extent to the decline of the *yajñīya himsā*.

Finally, it may not be out of place to refer to K.K. Handiqui's opinion that the Jains had no direct knowledge of Vedic literature, Vedic rites, and Vedic tradition and that their criticism is disfigured by gross exaggerations, misunderstanding and mis-statements.¹³ Granted all this, the fact remains that their total opposition to *yajñīya-himsā* in the name of *Dharma* was fully justified, on logical grounds, and, more than that, on a deeper sense of *Dharma* and greater awakening of the moral sense of the community as a whole¹⁴.

Notes and References :

1. Medieval Jainism does not seem to have opposed the observance of local customs and practices (of the newly converted Jains. Somadevasūri observes in his *Yaśastilaka*, Book VIII (959 A. D.)-
द्वौ हि धर्मौ गृहस्थानां लौकिकः पारलौकिकः ।...
सर्व एव हि जैनानां प्रमाणं लौकिको विधिः ।
यत्र सम्यक्त्वहानिर्न यत्र न व्रतदूषणम् ॥
2. Chapter XXV. 30- पसुबंधा सव्ववेया य जट्टं च पावकम्मुणा ।
न तं तायति दुस्सीलं कम्माणि बलवन्ति हि ॥
3. *Hariesijjam*, chapter XII. 42-44 :
सुसंबुडा पंचहि संवेरहि इह जीवियं अणवकंखमाणा ।
वोसट्टकाइ सुइचत्तदेहा महाजयं जयइ जनसिट्ठं ॥
के ते जोई के व ते जोइठाणे का ते सुया किं व ते कारिसंगं ।
एहा य ते कयरा संति भिक्खू कयरेण होमेण हुणासि जोई ॥
तवो जोई जीवो जोइठाणं जोगा सुया सरीरं कारिसंगं ।
कम्मेहा संजमजोगसंती होमं हुणासि इसिणं पसत्थं ॥
4. *Samvara* is preventing by means of the *samitis* and *guptis*, the *āsrava* or flowing in of the karma upon the soul.
5. This is the *Kāyotsarga*, the posture of a man standing with all his limbs immovable by which he fortifies himself against sins, etc.
6. Vimalasūri's *Paūmacariya*, Saṅghadāsagaṇi's *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, Ācārya Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*, Mahākavi Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* (in *Apabhraṁśa*), Somadevasūri's *Yaśastilaka*, Ācārya Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣacaritra* and *Yogaśāstra* with

śvopajña Vṛtti (his own commentary) and Malliṣeṇasūri's *Syādvādamañjarī*.

7. *Paūmacariya*, XI. 6-63; vv. 40-43, which are as follows—

सोऊण तं कुसत्थं, पडिबुद्धा तावसा य विप्पा य ।
 तस्स वयणेण जत्रं करैति बहुजंतुसंबाहं ॥
 गोमेह नामधेआ जन्ने पायाविया सुग हवइ !
 भणइ अगम्मागमणं कायव्वं नत्थि दोसो त्थ ॥
 पिइमेह-माइमेहे रायसुग आसमेहपसुमेहे ।
 एएसु मारियव्वा सएसु नामेसु जे जीवा ॥
 जीवा मारेयव्वा आसवपाणं च होइ कायव्वं ।
 मंसं च खाइयव्वं जत्रस्स विही हवइ एसो ॥

8. *Paūmacariya*, *op.cit.*, vv. 75-81—

...भणइ तओ नारओ मइपगब्भो ।
 आरिसवेयाणुमयं कहेमि जत्रं निसामेहि ॥
 वेइसरीरल्लीणो मणजलणो नाणवयसुपज्जलिओ ।
 कम्मतरुसमुप्पन्नं मलसमिहासंचयं डहइ ॥
 कोहो माणो माया लोभो रागो य दोस-मोहो य ।
 पसवा हवंति एए हंतव्वा इंदिएहि समं ॥
 सच्चं खमा अहिंसा दायव्वा दक्खिणा सुपज्जता ।
 दंसण-चरित्त-संजम-वंभाईया इमे देवा ॥
 एसो जिणेहि भणिओ जत्रो त्त्वत्थवेयनिद्धिओ ।
 जोगविसेसेण कओ देइ फलं परमनिव्वाणं ॥
 जे पुण करैति जत्रं अणारिसं अलियवेवनिप्फण्णं ।
 मारेऊण पसुगणे रुहिर-वसा-मंसरस-लोला ॥
 ते पावकम्मकारी वाहा विव विद्दया निरणुकंपा ।
 मरिऊण जंति निरयं अज्जेति य दीहसंसारं ॥

9. *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* (Part I, *Somaśrī-lambhaka*) of Saṅghadāsagaṇi (earlier than 610 A. D.), *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa (678 A. D.) 'which is merely a slightly extended recension of *Paūmacariya* in Sanskrit (*Parva XI*), *Harivamśa-purāṇa* (17. 38ff.) of Jinasena I (783 A. D.), *Brhatkathakośa* (*Nārada-Parvatākathānaka*, No. 76) of Hariṣeṇa (931-32 A. D.), *Yaśastilaka* (Book VII) of Somadevasūri (959 A. D.), *Mahāpurāṇa* (Sandhi LXIX. 23-34) (in *Apabhraṁśa*) of Puṣpadanta (965 A. D.) which is based on the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra (9th century) and *Trisastīśālākāpuruṣacaritra* (*Parva VII.2*) of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.).

10. Winternitz, M., *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, University of Calcutta, 1933, pp. 523-525.

11. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

12. Dhruva, A. B., *Syādvādamañjarī*, ed., Bombay, 1933, p. 338.

13. Handiqui, K. K., *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, 2nd edn., Sholapur, 1968, Chap. XIV.

14. (Note : In preparing this paper I have freely used the works mentioned below. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to their authors, especially to A. B. Dhruva, the

editor of *Syādvādamañjarī*).

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5. *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puspadanta, Vol. II, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Jaina Granthamala, Bombay, 1937.
6. *Yaśastilaka* of Somadevasūri, Kavyamala, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1916.
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9. *Yogaśāstram* of Ācārya Hemacandra with his own *Vṛtti*, Part I, ed. Muni Jambuvijaya, Jain Sahitya Vikas Mandal, Bombay, 1977.
10. *Syādvādamañjarī* of Malliṣeṇa, ed. A. B. Dhruva, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LXXXIII, Bombay, 1933.
11. *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, ed. Jarl Charpentier.
12. Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. XLV.
13. A History of Indian Literature, M. Winternitz, Vol. II, University of Calcutta, 1933.
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□ □ □

JAIN VIEW OF CREATION

The desire to know the nature and origin of things is inborn. Man reflects on the phenomena around him. The explanations of the phenomena of Nature which suggest themselves to him constitute the early stage of mythology, generally called primitive mythology.

When we come to the Ṛgveda, however, we find that the hymns of creation represent advanced degree of thought. These hymns are not the products of primitive man but of some highly gifted poets of antiquity who are regarded as “seers”. We come across a few majestic hymns of creation in the Ṛgveda. In one hymn the Vedic seer declares “In the primal age of the gods Being (Sat) was born of Non-Being (Asat).”¹ In the famous *Purūṣasūkta* the Vedic poet says that the world was formed from the different members of the body of the *Virāt-puruṣa*². In another splendid hymn noteworthy for depth of speculation, the Vedic poet says : “Then there was neither Sat (Aught, Being) nor Asat (Nought, Non-Being)—there was before creation only darkness clouded over darkness—who truly knows—from whence this vast creation arose ?—Its lord in heaven alone knows it or perhaps he too knows not.”³

The Brāhmaṇas contain many legends about Prajāpati creating the world. The Upaniṣads too contain creation-myths; but they are used to illustrate their fundamental philosophical doctrine of the all-pervading *Brahman*. Incidentally, we may note here that the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* when dealing with the problem of causation, lists the so-called first causes of the world : *Kāla* (Time), *Svabhāva* (Nature), *Niyati* (Destiny), *Yadṛcchā* (Accident, Chance, Mechanical or fortuitous combination of Elements), *Bhūtāni* (Elements) and (*Pasama-?*) *Puruṣa* (the Supreme-) Person.⁴

The Epics and the Purāṇas treat of the creation-myths at great length as cosmogony and secondary creations (the successive destructions and renovations of the world) form two of their five principal topics.⁵

This brief description of the myths of creation, as found in the Ṛgveda

and related literature of the Hindus is given here to serve as a necessary background to the Jain refutation of creation myths and the idea of God as creator, etc.

The Cārvākas outright reject the idea of God. According to them “The Material elements themselves have their own fixed nature (*Svabhāva*). It is by the nature and law inherent in them that they combine together to form this world. There is thus no necessity for God.”

The Bauddha, the Mīmāṃsā, the Sāṃkhya and the Jain *darśanas* do not hold that the world was created at any point of time; and consequently, there is no place for a God in their systems. As we are here mainly concerned with the Jain view of God we take up, by way of example, one reputed Jain writer, Malliṣeṇa, the author of *Syādvādamañjarī* who deals with the problem of God. We very briefly treat of the *prima facie* view and its criticism by Malliṣeṇa. For a detailed discussion the reader is referred to the edition of *Syādvādamañjarī*⁹, edited with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by A. B. Dhruva.

God, according to the Nyāyavaiśeṣika school is—(1) the creator or maker of the world; (2) one; (3) omnipresent and omniscient; (4) self-dependent; and (5) eternal.

(1) Everything that is made requires an intelligent maker, e.g., a jar ; the earth, the mountains, etc., are effects and therefore they must have an intelligent maker whom we call *Īśvara* or God.

Malliṣeṇa criticises this *anumāna* on two grounds : First, it is precluded by Direct Perception which bears witness to the fact that these things (the earth, the mountains, etc.) have no maker. Second, it is common knowledge that the making belongs to persons with a body; and *Īśvara* lacks in a physical body.

(2) God is one. If there were many Gods (many masters of the world), there would be chaos and confusion in the whole world : but the world is one consistent whole. So, we conclude, God is one.

Malliṣeṇa replies to this : Not necessarily so. For, many may co-operate to produce a single result e.g., the bees that make their hive.

(3) Since His making takes place in all parts of the world, He must be supposed to be *omnipresent* and he must be also *omniscient*.

If He is omnipresent, He, says Malliṣeṇa, absorbs everything into His own Self, leaving nothing to exist outside it. If He is omniscient, He knows, we suppose, even hell : and knowledge in his case being direct experience, He is to

be supposed to experience hell.

(4) He is self-dependent. Self-dependence is implied in the very notion of one who is the Lord of all.

Malliṣeṇa replies to this : If He is independent, then why does He create a world so full of misery and inequalities unless He is wantonly cruel and unjust. If misery is a punishment for our bad acts and inequality is due to our varying Karma, the assumption of Karma will suffice to explain everything, and God will be superfluous.

(5) He is eternal : for, a created God is a contradiction in terms.

To this Malliṣeṇa replies : If he is eternal, He should be eternally active or eternally inactive. In the first alternative, His work would at no point be finished, and so nothing could be ever accomplished. In the second alternative nothing could even begin. Further, how could he have eternally conflicting natures viz., making and unmaking simultaneously ?

The Jain thinkers thus stoutly deny the existence of God who creates, protects and destroys the world, and who rewards us for our good acts and punishes us for bad ones, and, thus, interferes with human life. Their conception of God is entirely different. God is only the highest, the noblest and the fullest manifestation of all the powers like perfect faith, knowledge, power and bliss (*anantadarśana-jñāna-vīrya-sukha*), that lie latent in the soul of man. The Tīrthamkaras (and the Siddhas) are the real gods of the Jains; for, they have conquered *rāga* (attachment, love), *dveṣa* (hatred), etc., are freed from all that is material and have attained perfect faith, knowledge, power and bliss.

Just as the Jains refute the theory of creation by God, even so they refute the other so-called first causes of the wonderful variety and richness of the world like *Sat*, *Asat*, *Kāla*, *Svabhāva*, *Niyati*, *Pūrvakṛta* (*Adrṣṭa*), *Prajāpati*, etc., which have been referred to above.⁷

After dealing with the Jain view of God let us turn to their description of the world :

The world is one reality but it is not one homogeneous substance. Jain metaphysics divides the world into two everlasting, uncreated, co-existing but independent categories : the soul (*jīva*) and the non-soul (*ajīva*). The non-souls are sub-divided into five classes : matter (*pudgala*), space (*ākāśa*), the principle of motion or the fulcrum of motion (*dharma*), the principle of stationariness or the fulcrum of rest (*adharmā*) and time (*Kāla*). It may be noted that it is the Jain

metaphysics that postulates these two peculiar substances of *dharma* and *adharmā*. *Kāla* is in only a figurative sense a substance; it is devoid of extension. All other substances possess extension and are therefore called *astikāyas* (magnitudes). Space is the locus of extension or of extended things.

Out of the six substances matter (*puḍgala*) is liable to integration and disintegration. The smallest parts of matter which cannot be further divided, being partless, are called atoms (*aṇus*). Two or more such atoms may combine together to form aggregates or compounds (*saṃghāta* or *skandha*). Atoms and their products (aggregates or compounds) possess the four qualities of touch, taste, smell and colour. It is the quality of touch that brings about the atomic combination. The atomic aggregation is an automatic function resulting from the inherent or essential nature of atoms. The atomic theory of the Jains differs from that of the Naiyāyikas in some important details; one very important difference is : the Jains hold that the atomic aggregation is an automatic function whereas the Naiyāyikas assert that "Motion is first produced in the atoms as a result of God's will. This motion produces conjunction of two monads giving birth to a diad. Three diads or binary atoms make one tertiary. From this last is produced the quadruple, and so on, until the great masses of earth, and water, and light, and atmosphere are formed."⁸

The Jains define a substance as that which possesses *guṇas* (qualities, essential unchanging characters) as well as *pariyāyas* (accidental, changing characters or modes or modifications).

In so far as the essential characters of the ultimate substances are abiding, the world is *nitya* (eternal, or permanent) and in so far as the accidental characters undergo modification, the world is *anitya* (subject to a change).

Since the six ultimate substances exhaust all namable and knowable objects and explain among themselves the whole world, there is no need of God or some other Agency to create them and bring them into existence.

From the account given above it is clear that according to the Jains, the world made of six ultimate substances (*dravyas*), which are eternal and indestructible, is eternal, without beginning or end. The conditions or modes of these substances, however, constantly undergo changes. And it is time which helps substances to undergo these changes or modifications or modes. Incidentally, we may note here the Jain universal cycle—or eternally revolving wheel of Time. Each *Kalpa* (aeon) has two eras : the *avasarpinī* (descending era), in which *dharma* (piety), truth, happiness, etc., go on decreasing until in the end chaos and confusion and misery reign over the earth; and the *utsarpinī*

(ascending era) in which there is an evergrowing evolution of *dharma* (piety), truth, happiness etc. Each of these two eras is sub-divided into six ages which have their distinguishing features fixed for them for ever. The *Avasarpinī* consists of the following six ages : (1) *Suṣamā-suṣamā*; (2) *Suṣamā*; (3) *Suṣamā-duḥṣamā*; (4) *Duḥṣamā-suṣamā*; (5) *Duḥṣamā* and (6) *Duḥṣamā-duḥṣamā*. The six ages of the *Utsarpinī* have the same names but they occur in the reverse order. The *Avasarpinī* leads not to destruction but to the beginning of another *Utsarpinī*. It is in the fourth age of the era that twenty-four *Tīrthamkaras* are born. The last of them in the fourth age of the current cycle was Lord Mahāvīra.

Although the Jains have no theory of the origin of the universe, they have their cosmography. We find its description in Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* (chapters III and IV), which is recognised as an authority by both the major sects of the Jains—the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. An outline of this account may be given as follows :

Space (*ākāśa*), which is self-supported and the locus of extended things, is divided into two divisions : the universe (*loka*) and the non-universe (*aloka*). The non-universe is all void and devoid of *dharma* and *adharmā* (principle of motion and of rest) and therefore impenetrable to anything. The universe is imagined as "three cups, of which the lowest is inverted and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one."⁹ The disk of the earth is in the lower part of the middle (*madhyama*). Below the disk of the earth are the seven lower regions (*bhūmis*), one below the other, and these regions contain hells (*narakas*). "Above the seven regions of the hells is the disk of the earth, with its numerous continents in concentric circles separated by rings of oceans."¹⁰ In the middle of the earth stands aloft Mount Meru. Immediately above the top of Meru twenty-six heavenly regions (*Vimānas*) one above the other. (At the top of the universe (*Lokākāśa*) reside the blessed perfected souls, *siddhas*.)

The detailed knowledge of the structure of the universe was believed to have been attained by contemplation.¹¹

With the introduction of scientific astronomy and modern geography, the traditional cosmography—whether of the Hindus, the Bauddhas or the Jains—has almost lost its importance.

Notes and References :

1. Ṛgveda X. 72. 2
2. Ṛgveda X. 90 esp. v.5

3. Ṛgveda X. 129. 7
4. Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad I. 1-2.
5. Śiva P. VII-1.41 = Vāyu P. (Pūrva). 4. 10 = Matsya P. 53.64
Sargaśca pratisargaśca vamaśo manvantarāni ca |
Vamaśānucaritam caiva purāṇam pañcalakṣaṇam ||
6. Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. LXXXIII, 1933, Text. pp. 21-31, Introduction pp. LXXXVI-Xcii and Notes pp. 55-78.
7. (i) Read *Gaṇadhara-vāda (Gāthās 1641-43)* and Introduction : pp. 113-118 in Gujarati by Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malvania, Published by Gujarat Vidya Sabhā, 1952.
(ii) *Sanmati-Tarka (III.53)*-Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghavi and Pandit Becharadasji Doshi, 1939 A. D. edn. (Published by Jain Shwetamber Education Board, 20, Pydhoni, Bombay-3).
(iii) *Vimśati-Vimśikā (II.18-19, IV.14)*—Haribhadra-Sūri, ed. and Pub. by K. V. Abhyankar, 1932 Sadashiv Peth, Poona-2.
8. *Tarka-Saṁgraha* of Annambhaṭṭa, Bombay Sanskrit Series No. LV, 1930 edition, p. 118.
9. Jacobi on Jain Cosmography (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 161).
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra IX.37.*



SVABHĀVAVĀDA (NATURALISM) : A STUDY

The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*¹ gives a list of first causes of the variety of the world according to some thinkers. This list includes Time, Nature, Destiny, Chance (accident), the Elements and *Puruṣa*. This paper will confine itself mainly to an investigation of the real nature of the doctrine of *Svabhāva* (Naturalism as opposed to Accidentalism) by scrutinising available references to it in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature.

In the commentary to the *Śvetāśvatara Śaṅkarācārya*² explains *svabhāva* as inherent nature of a thing, as, for instance, heat of fire. In the *Buddhacarita*³ Aśvaghōṣa clearly sets forth the views of the supporters of *Svabhāvavāda*:

“...They teach that there is an essential force of nature at work in the continuance of activity, like the essential heat of fire and the essential liquidity of water. Some explain that good and evil and existence and non-existence originate by natural development (*Svabhāva*); and since all this world originates by natural development, again therefore effort is vain. That the action of each sense is limited to its own class of object, that the qualities of being agreeable or disagreeable are to be found in the objects of the senses and that we are affected by old age and afflictions, in all that what room is there for effort ? Is it not purely a natural development ? The oblation devouring fire is stilled by water, and the flames cause water to dry up. The elements, separate by nature, group themselves together into bodies and, coalescing, constitute the world. That, when the individual enters the womb, he develops hands, feet, belly, back and head, and that his soul unites with that body, all this the doctors of this school attribute to natural development. Who fashions the sharpness of the thorn or the varied nature of beast and bird ? All this takes place by natural development. There is no such thing in this respect as action of our own will, a *fortiori* no possibility of effort.”⁴

In the *Nyāyasūtra*⁵ Gautama states by way of *Pūrvapakṣa* that things originate without any cause like the sharpness of thorns, *Vātsyāyana*, in his

commentary to the *Nyāyasūtra*, explains the *sūtra* by adding a few examples.

In *Māṭhara-vṛtti*⁶ to the *Śāṅkhya-kārikā* (v. 61), along with *Īsvara* and *Kāla*, *Svabhāva* is mentioned as the cause of the world, of course, from others' point of view and dismissed as non-existent.

In his commentary to the *Śāṅkhya-kārikā* (v. 61) Gaudapāda⁷ writes : "Others say, *Svabhāva* is cause of the world : By what (or whom) the swan is created white, the peacock of many colours ?"; that is, they are so naturally ... for *Pradhāna*, from its universal creative power, is the cause of even *Kāla* (Time); even *Svabhāva* merges into it; and, therefore, neither *Kāla* nor *Svabhāva* is cause. *Prakṛti* (= *Pradhāna*) alone, therefore, is cause.

Thus according to Gaudapāda *Svabhāva* merges into the all-embracing cause called *Prakṛti*.

In the commentary⁸ to *Brhatsamhitā* (Bhaṭṭa) Utpala writes : The world with its variety originates and gets destroyed through *Svabhāva* alone and none else. They (*Svabhāvavādins*) declare : "What fashions the sharpness of thorns, and the varied nature of beast and birds, the sweetness of sugar-cane and bitter taste of *nimba* ? All this comes about by *Svabhāva*."

It may be noted, in passing, that this verse bears close resemblance to Aśvaghoṣa's verse cited above.

In the *Sarva-Siddhānta-Saṅgraha*⁹ Śāṅkarācārya briefly states the doctrine of *Svabhāva* thus :

"In consequence of the existence of pleasure and pain, merit and demerit should not be here (in this connection) postulated by others. A man feels pleasure or pain by nature and there is no other cause for it. Who colours wonderfully the peacocks, or who makes the cuckoos coo so well ? There is in respect of these no cause other than nature."

In his commentary¹⁰ to the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* Maladhārī Hemacandra quotes three verses giving the views of *Svabhāvavādins*. "The supporters of the doctrines of *Svabhāva* (nature, inner nature, natural development) teach that all things originate without any cause. They do not regard even 'sva' (own, itself) as cause. What makes the varied nature of lotuses and of thorns and the like ? What has fashioned the variegated plumage of peacocks ? Whatever is found in this world is all without cause and due to mere accident. Like the sharpness of thorns human happiness and grief come about by *Svabhāva* only."

In the course of his discussion about the *Svabhāvavāda* (Introduction to

Gaṇadharavāda) Malvania quotes two verses¹¹ on *Svabhāvavāda* as well-known.

“It is due to the all-controlling nature (*Svabhāva*) that some things are ever-existing, some others ever non-existing and still some others varied in nature. Fire is hot, water is cool, wind is neither hot nor cool (by itself). By whom or what came this variety ? We, therefore, conclude that all this came about by nature (*Svabhāva*)”.

Of these two verses, the second is quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasanġraha*¹², which briefly puts the case of *Svabhāvavādin*s thus :

But an opponent will say, if you thus do not allow *adr̥ṣṭa*, the various phenomena of the world become destitute of any cause. But we cannot accept this objection as valid, since these phenomena can all be produced spontaneously from the inherent nature of things. Thus it is said :

“The fire is hot, the water cold, refreshing cool the breeze of morn;

By whom came this variety ? From their own nature was it born.”

In his commentary¹³ to *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (Agaḍadatta, v. 75) Devendra gives a verse in Prakrit hinting at *Svabhāvavāda* : “Who paints the peacock ? Who provides the swans with their graceful gait ? Who infuses the sweet fragrance in lotuses and modesty in those who are born in noble families ?”

In his commentary to *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*¹⁴ (st.50), as mentioned by Hiriyanṇa, Guṇaratna quotes as the view of others :

“Others again say : All the variety of this world is explained by its own nature and there is no *karma* whatever serving as its basis.”

In the *Mahābhārata*¹⁵ (Śānti-parvan) there are many references to the doctrine of *Svabhāva*; this passage declares how everything comes about by *Svabhāva*.

The next passage¹⁶ is from the same source describing the ultimate source of material universe. The *Mahābhārta* records evidence, as pointed out by Hiriyanṇa¹⁷ in support of two opposite views—the ultimate source was conceived as one and as many.

The *Bhagavadgītā*¹⁸ contains many passages which lend support to the doctrine of *Svabhāva*. It is pressed into service to explain the difference in the duties of different castes; and its irresistible force is brought to the forefront now and again to persuade Arjuna to fight.

In the commentary¹⁹ to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Śīlāṅka* puts forward by way of the view of others the *Svabhāvavāda* to explain the variety of the world; the doctrine of *Svabhāva* obviously dismisses the conception of *punya* and *pāpa* for explaining the variety of the universe.

In his commentary on *Praśnavyākaraṇa Sūtra* Jñānavimāla thus writes about this doctrine : “Some believe that the universe was produced by *Svabhāva* and that everything comes about by *Svabhāva* only.”

In his commentary²⁰ on *Praśnavyākaraṇa Sūtra* Abhayadeva attempts to distinguish between *Yadr̥cchā* and *Svabhāva*. He explains all kinds of happiness and grief and every event taking place in the world as due to accident, mere chance. *Svabhāva* he explains, after Aśvaghōṣa, as ‘natural development’.

Siddhasena Divākara²², Haribhadra and later Jaina writers hold that to look upon any one out of many causes—*Kāla*, *Svabhāva*, *Niyati*, *Karma*, *Puruṣakāra*—as the only cause is wrong and to regard them all as causes—some more important and some less important—is the right belief.

Before we take up passages refuting *Svabhāvavāda*, it is necessary to examine the interrelation between *Yadr̥cchāvāda* and *Svabhāvavāda*, and *Ājīvikism*.

YADR̥CCHĀVĀDA AND SVABHĀVAVĀDA

Yadr̥cchāvāda is also known as *Ahetu-Animitta-Akasmāt-vāda*. Gautama and Vātsyāyana [*Nyāyasūtra Bhāṣya* (iv. 1. 22)] give ‘*kaṅṭakataikṣṇya*’ as an illustration of *Animittavāda*. This illustration has been highly popular with, and very often cited by *Svabhāvavādins* in support of their doctrine. We would not, therefore, be wrong if we drew the conclusion that Gautama and Vātsyāyana regarded these two doctrines as identical. Śvetāśvatara, Siddhasena Haribhadra and many later writers mention these two doctrines separately and distinguish between them. Hiriyanna²³ very well brings out the distinction between these two doctrines : “While the one maintains that the world is a chaos and ascribes whatever order is seen in it to mere chance, the other recognizes that ‘things are as their nature makes them.’ While the former denies causation altogether, the latter acknowledges its universality, but only traces all changes to the thing itself to which they belong.”

SVABHĀVAVĀDA : A SMALL SUB-SECT OF ĀJĪVIKISM ?

In the course of his exposition of the doctrine of *Niyati* Basham writes : “...Hence it appears that the *Svabhāvavādins* agreed with the *Niyativādins* on the

futility of human efforts. They were classed in the group of *Akriyāvādins*, or those who did not believe in the utility or effectiveness of *puruṣakāra*. It would seem that the *Svabhāvavādin* differed from the *Niyativādin* in that, while the latter views the individual as determined by forces exterior to himself, for the former he was rigidly self-determined by his own somatic and psychic nature. These ideas have much in common and we suggest therefore that *Svabhāvavāda* was a small sub-sect of *Ājīvikism*.²⁴ Granting that “these ideas have much in common” we cannot persuade ourselves to accept Basham’s suggestion for from all the references to *Svabhāvavāda* culled in this paper we find that it was intimately connected with Materialism or *Cārvākadarśana*. It is much more allied to *Cārvākadarśana* in as much as both deny a transmigrating soul, whereas *Niyativāda* believes in an immortal soul. Further, in view of the fact that the *Ājīvikas* ultimately merged with the Jains—which indicates that they had much in common—it would be more proper to regard *svabhāvavāda* as part and parcel of Materialism as has been done by tradition.

SVABHĀVAVĀDA DIALECTIC

That the *Svabhāvavāda* must once have been well-known is evident from the numerous references to it in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. No detailed exposition of it is to be found in any single treatise. The only account of this doctrine we have is in the *prima facie* argument or view (*Pūrvapakṣa*) given in the works of its opponents for purposes of refutation. It is not improbable that the opponents ascribed to the *Svabhāvavādin*’s arguments which were easy of refutation. So we have to be cautious in judging the *Svabhāvavādin*’s powers of logical argument and dialectic skill.

In the course of his commentary to *Gaṇadharavāda*²⁵ Jinabhadraṅgi more than once mentions *Svabhāvavāda* and refutes it. He explains the variety of the world on the basis of the doctrine of karma, which is the cornerstone of Jaina philosophy. Śīlāṅka²⁶, writing as an advocate of *Niyativāda*, disposes of *Svabhāvavāda* as follows :

“Moreover the causing of joy and sorrow cannot be ascribed to inherent character (*Svabhāva*). For is this different from a man or the same as he ? If it is different it is not capable of causing the joy and sorrow which befall him, on account of that difference. Nor (if it is) the same (as he). For, if it were, it would be a mere man.

“If happiness is experienced as a result of human activity there should be no difference in the reward (of equal exertion), nor should there be lack of reward when equal effort is exerted, whether by servants, merchants or

peasants, etc. Yet it is often seen that even when no means of livelihood such as service, etc., is followed, rich reward is obtained. So nothing is achieved by human effort.”

In the *Nyāyamañjarī*²⁷ Jayanta dismisses this doctrine of *Svabhāva* and establishes that of *Adrṣṭa* or karma. Jayanta is well-known as a superb writer on Nyāya. This great logician, however, succumbs to the temptation of ascribing a manifestly weak argument to the *Svabhāvavādīn*, who argues : “The opening of a babe’s mouth is spontaneous—natural like the blooming of a lotus bud.” The *Siddhāntin* refutes it saying that the blooming of a lotus bud is caused by the touch of the Sun’s rays and that it is not spontaneous or natural.

That the doctrine of *Svabhāva* once enjoyed immense popularity and exerted great influence on the thinkers of those times would be patent to any impartial student of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The *Gītā* takes recourse to the doctrine of *Svabhāva* in defending the difference in respective functions of the four different castes and emphatically asserts the inherent and irresistible strength of *Svabhāva*.

The Jains, no doubt, criticize this doctrine of *Svabhāva* in their works of philosophical nature but this criticism applies to it only when *Svabhāva* is presented as the only cause of the variety of the world. The Jains find a place for this doctrine under their wide umbrella of *Syādvāda* or *Anekānta*. In this connection the attention of the readers is drawn to Śīlānka’s passages²⁸, quoted below, accepting *Svabhāvavāda*.

ADDENDUM

In the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarākṣita with the *Pañjikā* (commentary) of Kamalaśīla who flourished in the first half of the eighth century A. D. we find an exposition as well as refutation of *Svābhāvika-jagadvāda* (vv. 110-127). The three verses embodying the *Svabhāvavāda*, which are quoted by Maladhārī Hemacandra, very well compare with the corresponding verses in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* (vv.110-112) and it is not unlikely that they are derived from a common source. Hemacandra reads *rājīvakaṇṭhakādīnām*’ in place of *‘rājīvakesarādīnām*’; *‘mayūracandrikādīr vā*’ in place of *‘mayūracandrakādīr vā*’—it is gratifying that the emendation in the text of Hemacandra that I have suggested above is supported by the text of the *Tattvasaṅgraha*; the third verse although identical in thought-content differs in its expression. The verse of Hemacandra is already cited above. Here I quote the verse from the *Tattvasaṅgraha* :

यथैव कण्टकादीनां तैक्ष्ण्यादिकमहेतुकम् ।
कादाचित्कतया तद्बहुःखादीनामहेतुता ॥

The refutation of *Svābhāvika-jagadvāda* by *Sāntarakṣita* may very briefly be summarised thus :

“Thus filaments of the lotus, etc., have the seed, mud and water as the causes. Why then should we search for other causes which are not to be found ? If all things come about by ‘*svabhāva*’ why should they appear at particular times and particular places only ? It is clear, therefore, that they have particular causes for their origin and development. The *Svābhāvika-jagadvāda* thus stands refuted by *pratyakṣa-pramāṇa* itself.”

Notes and References :

1. कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्या ।
संयोग एषां न त्वात्मभावादात्माग्यनीशः सुखदुःखहेतोः ॥
स्वभावमेके कवयो वदन्ति कालं तथान्ये परिमुह्यमानाः ।
देवस्यैष महिमा तु लोके येनेदं भ्राम्यते ब्रह्मचक्रम् ॥

—*Śvetāśvatara* I. 2, VI.1

2. स्वभावो नाम पदार्थानां प्रतिनियता शक्तिः । अग्नेरैष्यमिव ।
3. अग्नेर्यथा ह्यौष्णमपां द्रवत्वं तद्वत्प्रवृत्तौ प्रकृतिं वदन्ति ॥
केचित्स्वभावादिति वर्णयन्ति शुभाशुभं चैव भवाभवौ च ।
स्वाभाविकं सर्वमिदं च यस्मादतोऽपि मोक्षो भवति प्रयत्नः ॥
यदिन्द्रियाणां नियतः प्रचारः प्रियाप्रियत्वं विषयेषु चैव ।
संयुज्यते यज्जरयार्तिभिश्च कस्तत्र यत्नो ननु स स्वभावः ॥
अद्भिर्हुताशः शममभ्युपैति तेजांसि चापो गमयन्ति शोषम् ।
भिन्नानि भूतानि शरीरसंस्थान्यैक्यं च गत्वा जगदुद्बहन्ति ॥
यत्पाणिपादोदरपृष्ठमूर्ध्नां निवर्तते गर्भगतस्य भावः ।
यदात्मनस्तस्य च तेन योगः स्वाभाविकं तत्कथयन्ति तज्ज्ञाः ॥
कः कण्टकस्य प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षिणां वा ।
स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तं न कामकारोऽस्ति कुतः प्रयत्नः ॥

—*Buddhacarita* IX. 57(b)-62

4. Translation by E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1936.

5. अनिमित्ततो भावोत्पत्तिः कण्टकतैक्ष्ण्यादिदर्शनात् । अनिमित्ता शरीराद्युत्पत्तिः । कस्मात् । कण्टकतैक्ष्ण्यादिदर्शनात् । यथा कण्टकस्य तैक्ष्ण्यम्, पर्वतधातूनां चित्रता, प्राण्यां रत्नक्षयता, निर्निमित्तं चोपादानवच्च दृष्टं तथा शरीरादिसर्गोऽपीति ।

—*Nyāyasūtra-Bhāṣya* IV. 1. 22

6. अपरे स्वभावमाहुः । स्वभावः कारणमिति । तथा हि-
येन शुक्लीकृता हंसाः शुकाश्च हरिलीकृताः ।
मयूराश्चित्रिता येन स नो वृत्तिविधास्यति ॥

...स्वभावो नाम न कश्चित्पदार्थोऽस्ति यतः प्रजानामुत्पत्तिसङ्गतिः स्यात् तस्माद्यो ब्रूते स्वभावः; कारणमिति तन्मिथ्या ।

—*Māṭhara-vṛtti to SK. 61*

7. अपरे स्वभावकारणिकां ब्रूवते । केन शुक्लीकृता हंसा मयूर केन चित्रिताः । स्वभावेनैवेति ।...कालस्यापि प्रधानमेव कारणम् । स्वभावोऽप्यत्रैव लीनः । तस्मात् कालो न कारणं नापि स्वभाव इति । तस्मात् प्रकृतिरेव कारणं न प्रकृतेः कारणान्तरमस्तीति ।

—*Gauḍapādabhāṣya to Sāṃkhyakārikā 61*

8. अपरे अन्ये लौकायतिकाः स्वभावं जगतः कारणमाहुः । स्वभावादेव जगद्विचित्रमुत्पद्यते स्वभावतो विलयं याति । तथा च तद्भाष्यम् ।

कः कण्टकानां प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षिणां च ।

माधुर्यमिक्षोः कटुतां च निम्बे स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तम् ।

—*Bhaṭṭotpala's Commentary to Brhatsaṃhitā 1.7*

9. न कल्प्यौ सुखदुःखाभ्यां धर्माधर्मौ परैरिह ।
स्वभावेन सुखी दुःखी जनोऽन्यत्रैव कारणम् ॥
शिखिनश्चित्रयेत् को वा कोकिलान् कः प्रकूजयेत् ।
स्वभावव्यतिरेकेण विद्यते नात्र कारणम् ॥

—*Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha II. 4-5*

10. सर्वहेतुनियशंसं भावानां जन्म वर्ण्यते ।
स्वभाववादिभिस्ते हि नाहुः स्वमपि कारणम् ॥
राजीवकण्टकादीनां वैचित्र्यं कः करोति हि ।
मयूरचन्द्रिकादिर्वा विचित्रः केन निर्मितः ॥
कादाचित्कं यदत्रास्ति निःशेषं तदहेतुकम् ।
यथा कण्टकतैक्ष्ण्यादि तथा चैते सुखादयः ॥

—*Maladhārī Hemacandra's Commentary to
Gaṇadharavāda II, v. 1963*

Note : The text reads 'मयूरचन्द्रिकादिर्वा विचित्रः'. Shri Malvania renders it as "The plumage of the peacock is variegated and the moonlight is bright white..." (*Gaṇadharavāda* (p. 45) : Gujarat Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad). It appears to me, however, that the text originally must have read 'मयूरचन्द्रिकादिर्वा विचित्रः' - which reading eminently suits the context.

11. नित्यसत्त्वा भवन्त्यन्ये नित्यासत्त्वाश्च केचन ।
विचित्राः केचिदित्यत्र तत्स्वभावो नियामकः ॥
अग्निरुष्णो जलं शीतं समस्पर्शस्तथानिलः ।
केनेदं चित्रितं तस्मात् स्वभावात् तद्व्यवस्थितिः ॥

—*Quoted by Shri Malvania in his Introduction to Gaṇadharavāda, p. 114*

12. नन्वदृष्टानिष्टौ जगद्वैचित्र्यमाकस्मिकं स्यादिति चेत्- न तद् भद्रम् । स्वभावादेव तदुपपत्तेः । तदुक्तम्-
अग्निरुष्णो जलं शीतं समस्पर्शस्तथानिलः ।
केनेदं चित्रितं तस्मात्स्वभावात्तद्व्यवस्थितिः ॥

—*Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha, Cārvākadarśanam, p. 13. (BORI, Poona, ed. 1951)*

13. को चित्तेऽ मरुं गइं च को कुणइ ययहंसाणं ।
को कुवलयाण गंधं विणयं च कुलप्पसूयाणं ॥

—*Sukhabodhā-Laghuvṛtti to Uttarādhyāyanasūtra (Agadadatta, v. 75)*

14. अन्ये पुनराहुः- मूलतः कर्मैव नास्ति, स्वभावसिद्धः सर्वोऽप्ययं जगत्प्रपञ्च इति ।

—Gūṇaratna's Commentary to *Śaddarśanasamuccaya* (st.50)

15. हन्तीति मन्यते कश्चिन्न हन्तीत्यपि चापरः ।
स्वभावतस्तु नियतौ भूतानां प्रभवाप्यथौ ॥
पश्य प्रह्लाद भूतानामुत्पत्तिमनिमित्ततः ।
हासं वृद्धिं विनाशं च न प्रहृष्ये न च व्यथे ॥
स्वभावादेव संदृश्या वर्तमानाः प्रवृत्तयः ।
स्वभावनिरताः सर्वाः परितुष्येन्न केनचित् ॥
स्वभावभाविनो भावान् सर्वानेवेह निश्चयात् ।
बुध्यमानस्य दर्पो वा मानो वा किं करिष्यति ॥
स्वभावाद्भवते प्रज्ञां शान्तिमेति स्वभावतः ।
स्वभावादेव तत्सर्वं यत्किञ्चिदनुपश्यसि ॥

—*Mbh, Śāntiparvan* : 25, 16; 179. 10-11; 222. 27, 35

16. पृथिवी ज्योतिरकाशमापो वायुश्च पञ्चमः ।
एतद्योनीनि भूतानि तत्र का परिदेवना ॥
केचित्पुरुषकारं तु प्राहुः कर्मसु मानवाः ।
दैवमित्यपरे विप्राः स्वभावं भूतचिन्तकाः ॥
विकारानेव यो वेद न वेद प्रकृतिं पराम् ।
तस्य स्तम्भो भवेद्द्वाल्यात्रास्ति स्तम्भोऽनुपश्यतः ॥
प्रकृतौ च विकारे च न मे प्रीतिर्न च द्विषे ।
द्वेषारं च न पश्यामि यो मामद्य ममायते ॥

—*Mbh, Śāntiparvan* : 224. 17; 232. 19; 222. 26, 31

17. *Outlines of Indian philosophy*, p. 105.

18.प्रकृतिस्त्वां नियोक्ष्यति ।
स्वभावजेन कौन्तेय निबद्धः स्वेन कर्मणा ॥
कर्तुं नेच्छसि यन्मोहात् करिष्यस्यवशोऽपि तत् ।
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥
प्रकृतिं यान्ति भूतानि.....॥
.....स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते ॥

—*Bhagavadgītā* XVIII. 59-60; III. 5; III. 33, V. 14

19. तत्कथमेतज्जगद्वैचित्र्यं घटते ?, तद्यथा-कश्चिदीश्वरोऽपरो दरिद्रोऽन्यः सुभगोऽपश्ये दुर्भगः सुखी दुःखी सुरुपो मन्दरूपो व्याधितो नीरोगीति, एवंप्रकारं च विचित्रता किंनिबन्धनेति ?, अत्रोच्यते, स्वभावात्, तथा हि- कुत्रचिच्छिलाशकले प्रतिमारूपं निष्पाद्यते, तच्च कुड्कुमागरुचमदनादिविलेपनानुभोगमनुभवति धूपाद्याभोदं च, अन्यस्मिस्तु पाषाणखण्डे पादक्षालनादि क्रियते, न च तयोः पाषाणखण्डयोः शुभाशुभे स्तः, यदुदयात्स तादृग्विभावस्थाविशेष इत्येवं स्वभावाज्जगद्वैचित्र्यं । तथा चोक्तम् -
कण्टकस्य च तीक्ष्णत्वं, मयूरस्य विचित्रता ।
वर्णाश्च ताम्रचूडानां, स्वभावेन भवन्ति हि ॥

—*Śīlānka's Commentary to Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, folio 21 (a)

20. केचित् स्वभावभावितं जगद् मन्यन्ते स्वभावेनैव सर्वः संपद्यते ।

—*Jñānavimāla to Praśnavyākaraṇa* 7, fol. 29 (cited by Basham)

कः कण्टकानां प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षिणां च ।
स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तं न कामचारोऽस्ति कुतः प्रयत्नः ॥

—Gūṇaratna : *Tarkarahasyadīpikā to Śaddarśana-samuccaya*, p. 13 (cited by Basham)

Note : Referring to this verse Basham writes : "Gūṇaratna quotes a verse which he attributes to the supporters of this doctrine." It will be evident by comparing this verse with Aśvaghoṣa's (which is already quoted above) that barring slightly variant readings, it is the same as that of Aśvaghoṣa.

21. अनभिसंधिपूर्विकार्थप्राप्तिर्यदृच्छा ।
अतर्कितोपस्थितमेव सर्वं चित्रं जनानां सुखदुःखजातम् ।
काकस्य तालेन यथाभिघातो न बुद्धिपूर्वोऽत्र वृथाभिमानः ॥
सत्यं पिशाचाः स्म वने वसामो भेरीं करग्रैरपि न स्पृशामः ।
यदृच्छ्या सिद्ध्यति लोकयात्रा भेरीं पिशाचाः परिताडयन्ति ॥
स्वभावः पुनर्वस्तुतः स्वत एव तथा परिणतिभावः ।
"कः कण्टकानाम्" इत्यादि ।

—Abhayadeva's Commentary to *Praśnavyākaraṇa Sūtra*

22. कालो सहाव णियई पुव्वकम्म पुरिसकारणेगंता ।
मिच्छत्तं तं चेव उ समासओ हुंति सम्मत्तं ॥
23. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 103-104.
24. *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, p. 226.
25. होज्ज सहावो वत्थुं निक्कारणया व वत्थुधम्मो वा ।
जह वत्थु णत्थि तओऽणुवलद्धीओ खपुप्फं व ॥
अच्चंतमणुवलद्धो वि अहतओ अत्थि नत्थि किं कम्मं ।
हेऊ व तदत्थिते जो णणु कम्मस्स वि स एव ॥
कम्मस्स वाभिहाणं होज्ज सहावो त्ति होउ को दोसो ।
निच्चं व सो सभावो सरिसो एत्थं च को हेऊ ॥
सो मुतोऽमुत्तो वा जइ मुत्तो तो न सव्वहा सरिसो ।
परिणामओ पयं पिव न देहहेऊ जइ अमुत्तो ॥
उवगरणाभावाओ न य हवइ सुहम्म सो अमुत्तो वि ।
कज्जस्स मुत्तिमत्ता सुहसंवितादिओ चेव ॥
अहवा कारणउ च्चिय सभावओ तोवि सरिसया कत्तो ।
किमकारणओ न भवे विसरिसया किं व विच्छत्ती ॥
अहव सहावो धम्मो वत्थुस्स न सो वि सरिसओ निच्चं ।
उप्पायट्ठिइभंगा चित्ता जं वत्थुपज्जाया ॥
कम्मस्स वि परिणामो सुहम्म धम्मो सपोगलमयस्स ।
हेऊ चित्तो जगओ होई सहावो त्ति को दोसो ॥

—*Gaṇadharavāda* VV. 1786-1793

26. तथा स्वभावस्यापि सुखदुःखादिकर्तृत्वानुपपत्तिः । यतोऽसौ स्वभावः पुरुषाद् भिन्नोऽभिन्नो वा । यदि भिन्नो न पुरुषाश्रिते
सुखदुःखे कर्तृमलं तस्माद् भिन्नत्वादिति । नाप्यभिन्नः । अभेदे पुरुष एव स्यात् तस्य चाकर्तृत्वमुकमेव ।

—Śīlānka's Commentary to *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* : folio 30 and 31 (a)

यदि पुरुषकारकृतं सुखाद्यनुभूयेत ततः सेवकवणिक्कर्षकादीनां समाने पुरुषकारे सति फलप्राप्तिवैसदृश्यं फलाप्राप्तिश्च न भवेत् । कस्यचित्तु सेवादिव्यापाराभावेऽपि विशिष्टफलावाप्तिर्दृश्यत इति । अतो न पुरुषकारत् किञ्चिदासाद्यते ।

—Śīlānka's Commentary to *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* : folio 30 (b) and 31 (a)

27. ननु कमलमुकुलविकासादिवत्स्वाभाविकामेव शिशोर्मुखविकाशादिकार्यं स्यात्, स्वाभाविकं नाम किमुच्यते किमहेतुकमविज्ञातहेतुकमनियतहेतुकं वा ।.....

न चायस्कान्तदृष्टान्तसमाश्रयेण स्वाभाविकमेतद्बालकस्य कुचकलशनिमित्तोपसर्पणमुक्ति वक्तुमुचितमनन्तरमेव निरस्तत्वात् ।

—Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī* (Prameyaprakaraṇa, pp. 41-42, KSS ed. 1936)

28. तथास्ति स्वभावोऽपि कारणत्वेनाशेषस्य जगतः, स्वो भावः स्वभाव इति कृत्वा तेन हि जीवाजीवभव्यत्वा-
भव्यत्वमूर्तत्वामूर्तत्वानां स्वस्वरूपानुविधानात् तथा धर्माधर्माकाशकालादीनां च गतिस्थित्यवगाहपरत्वादि-
स्वरूपादानादिति, तथा चोक्तम्—कः कण्टकानामित्यादि ।

—Śīlānka's Commentary to *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, folio 213 (b)



ESCHATOLOGICAL IDEAS IN JAIN TRADITION

Eschatology is “The doctrine of death, judgment, heaven and hell in Jainism.” The doctrine of karma is inevitably, inseparably and invariably connected with the doctrine of death, heaven, hell and salvation. Actions performed during the present state of existence are the causes of the future existence, and the present life is in its condition and duration, the result of the actions of the preceding one. There are four states of existence in this cycle of birth and death : (1) of gods (*devagati*), (2) of human beings (*manujagati*) (3) of non-human beings (*tiryag-gati*) and (4) of denizens of hell. In accordance with its own karma a soul migrates from one birth to another, from one state to another. Although *saṃsāra* is *anādi* (without beginning) a soul can put an end to it by completely destroying the eightfold *karma* and attain *mokṣa-mukti*,—salvation, liberation. At the top of the universe (*lokākāśa*) there is Siddhaśilā. The liberated soul settles down there permanently. Without visible shape, bodiless, but a dimension in space (immaterial) of 2/3 of that which he had had during his last human existence he dwells there thence forward into all eternity enjoying the infinite, incōmparable, indestructible and transcendental bliss of salvation.

According to the Jains, the world is everlasting and imperishable, created by no God and governed by no Higher Being. It is subject only to its own laws and in spite of the change undergone by its component parts, remains in its essential character unchanged. In shape it is comparable to a symmetrically built man in whose lower extremities are to be found the hells, whose central portion of the body encloses the animal and the human world, and whose breast, neck and head are composed of the heavens of the gods. Above the world of the gods (to be likened to a lens, concave below and convex above) is the dwelling-place of the liberated souls. The entire world is surrounded by dense layers of air and water. Beyond this is the non-world (*alokākāśa*)—the absolutely empty space.

The world consists of six everlasting, imperishable *dravyas*—substances : 1. *Jīva* (soul), 2. *pudgala* (matter), 3. *dharma* (principle of motion), 4. *adharma* (principle of stationariness), 5. *ākāśa* (space) and, 6. *kāla* (Time).

Jīva is distinguished from all other *dravyas* in that it possesses consciousness and intelligence. *Pudgala* exists in an infinite number of the most minute indivisible atoms. Each one of these possesses touch, taste, smell and colour. It is found in a gross (*sthūla*) and in a subtle (*sūkṣma*) form. *Dharma* makes motion possible like water to moving fish; and *adharmā* is a passive cause of stationariness like a tree for a flying bird which intends to rest. *Ākāśa* is the receptacle of all things, but in itself is contained in nothing.

The soul (*jīva*) in its perfect condition regains its innate qualities—*ananta darśana*, *jñāna*, *vīrya* and *sukha* (infinite faith, knowledge, power and bliss).

The soul in *samsāra* when affected by passions (*kaṣāyas*) like, anger, pride, deceit and greed attracts the fine particles of *Pudgala* (Matter) which bind the soul to *samsāra*. This foreign element which enters the soul is designated by the Jains as karma. It does not here mean “deed, work”, nor invisible, mystical force (*adrṣṭa*) but a complexus of very fine matter, imperceptible to the senses, which enters the soul and causes great changes in it. The karma according to Jainism is something material (*paudgalam* karma) which produces in the soul certain conditions. The soul is eternally infected by karmic matter; its union with karma has no beginning and, at every moment it gathers new matter. Through a series of special processes, the *jīva* must hinder the absorption of new karma and eliminate the karma already accumulated by *tapas* and *nirjarā* (penance and shedding off or destruction). He then becomes free from all karma. Cleansed of all karma, the souls on leaving the body, will rise in straight line to the top of the universe, where the liberated souls reside for ever—Just as a pumpkin coated with clay sinks to the bottom of a tank or river but rises to the surface of the water when the clay has fallen off.

If the soul is burdened with karma it will, on leaving the body, move in any direction to the place where it is to be reborn. The particular state of existence, duration of life, etc. of that soul, are governed by its own karma. The Jains do not believe in God who punishes you for your evil deeds or who rewards you for good deeds. The law of karma is *inexorable* : A man is the architect of his own fortune—they firmly believe. Whether he is to be born as a god in heaven or as a hellish being in the world of denizens or as a human being again or as a lower animal on earth entirely depends on his own karma.

Incidentally, it may not be out of place to discuss briefly the Jain concept of *nidāna* which is a dominant idea or motif in Jain story / narrative literature. It is originally a medical term which is explained as the disorder of the humours of the body (*dhātus*). Metaphorically, it means ‘Bad karma’ which upsets the

moral constitution of the *Jīva* concerned. It may be briefly explained thus : *Nidāna* means bartering away one's austerities for sensual pleasures in a future birth, which are denied to him in the present one or for revenging oneself for insults or personal injuries in the subsequent births.

Thus, for instance in Haribhadrasūri's *Samarādityakathā* (in Prakrit) nine different births of two souls, one of them was prince Guṇasena and the other, his friend Agniśarmā who was very ugly. The prince enjoyed fun at his cost; as a result of this he turned an ascetic, practised austerities. Through enmity towards the prince he resolved "If I have acquired merit by my austerities, may I then be born again and again to kill him in every one of his births." Accordingly the two were born in nine successive births as enemies—as father and son, husband and wife, and so on, and Agniśarma's soul was in every successive birth responsible for the death of Guṇasena's.

One more example of *nidāna* may be noted : Regarding Draupadī's marriage to five Pāṇḍavas the Jain legend offers the following explanation :

In one of her former births Draupadī was born as a girl with whom it was impossible to cohabit.. She became a nun but the desire for carnal or animal passion was there. When, therefore, she once happened to see a courtesan enjoying amorous pleasures in the company of five men in a park, she at once exclaimed : If I am to get any fruit for these austerities of mine, let me also enjoy these—such pleasures in my next birth." As a result she gets five husbands (Pāṇḍavas) in her next birth.

This apart, the law of karma, according to the Jains, is inexorable. According to one's karma, good or bad one is born as a god in heaven or as a denizen of hell. Superhuman beings, according to the Jains, fall into two categories, the denizens of hell (*nāraḱas*) and the gods (*devas*) A sub-division of the latter distinguishes good and bad gods—(*daivī* and *āsurī gati*). The bad gods are also spoken of as *kudevas*. Demons would fall under the heads—*nāraḱas* and *kudevas*, and ghosts, under that of *kudevas*. It must however be kept in mind that neither the state of a god nor that of a demon is permanent, but both have their fixed duration of life. It may extend to many 'sāgaropamas'. The state which a soul may attain and his expanse of life depend on good or bad karma of the soul; at the end of the allotted time, the soul will be reborn in one or the other state in accordance with his karma. A god may be reborn as a hell-being but the latter will be reborn as an animal or a man only. The souls of those who have committed heinous sins are on death removed to one of the seven nether worlds which contain different hells. There they have to undergo various tortures, and sufferings. They have also to suffer extreme heat,

cold, intolerable stink and the horrid sounds which prevail in the hells. They can never quench their hunger or thirst. The denizens of hell do not die, however much they are mangled. They die at their allotted time after a miserable life, which may extend to 33 *sāgaropamas*.

There are four classes of gods : 1. *Bhavanapati*, 2. *Vyantara*, 3. *Jyotiṣka* and, 4. *Vaimānika*. Each of these four classes are further divided into various subclasses. The Bhavanapatis or Bhavanavāsins include *Asuras*, *Nāgas* and the like. They form the lowest class of gods. The Vyantara gods living in caves, mountains, etc. include *Kimpuruṣas*, *Kinnaras*, *Gandharavas*, *Yakṣas*, *Rākṣasas*, *Bhūtas* and *Piśācas*. The Jyotiṣka gods include the Sun, the Moon etc. The Vaimānika gods live in twelve heavens, one above the other, called *Saudharma*, *Aiśāna*, etc. and nine Graiveyakas, *Vijaya*, *Vaijayanta*, *Jayanta*, *Aparājita* and *Sarvārthasiddha*.

It is to be understood that all these 26 heavens are one above the other. Above Sarvārthasiddha, at the top of the Universe is situated *Īsatprāgbhāra*, the place where the souls resort on their liberation. The *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* (chapter XXXVI) gives its description. It may briefly be given here.

“Perfected souls reside on the top of the world; they leave their bodies here (below), and go there, on reaching perfection [The dimension of a perfected soul is two-thirds of the height which the individual had in his last existence]. They have no visible form, they consist of life throughout, they are developed into knowledge and faith, and they possess paramount happiness which admits of no comparison. They have crossed the boundary of the *saṃsāra* and reached the excellent state of perfection.”

As in Hindu mythology the *asuras* may be good or bad. The remaining classes of Bhavanavāsins, *Nāgas*, etc., seem to be demigods rather than demons.

The Vyantaras include demons, goblins, ghosts and spirits who live on, above, or below the earth. All of them occur almost identically in Hindu mythology. Generally speaking, the notions of the Jains on demons, ghosts, etc., are very much the same as those of the Hindus. And in spite of differences in their descriptions, their nomenclature, number, etc., the Jains are in agreement with the Hindus—as far as the basic ideas about heaven and hell are concerned. So also, both of them—the Hindus and the Jains are staunch believers in their general notions about *saṃsāra*, *transmigration* and final release from the cycle of rebirths. Although the Jain’s concept of karma—*karma paudgalam*—is peculiar, they both agree that karma is responsible for rebirth and wandering in *saṃsāra* and that complete freedom from it leads to final release from *saṃsāra*.

HARIBHADRASŪRI'S VIMŚATIVIMŚIKĀ¹ : AN APPROACH

Haribhadrasūri (700-770 A. D.) is a very versatile and voluminous author. Tradition credits him with the authorship of 1400 *Prakaraṇas*. This number is an exaggeration. According to the latest list and classification of his works, the total number of his available works is 39; 8 more are mentioned against his name in other works, and the number of works attributed to him but which are not definitely known to be his, comes to 26.²

This list and classification shows how Haribhadrasūri has tried various branches of literature. In the galaxy of writers, especially Prakrit writers, he is a star of the first magnitude. An eminent logician and philosopher, a master satirist, a witty critic, a consummate artist, a profound 'psychologist', a learned commentator, a finished story-teller, a poet of no mean order—these are diverse facets of his versatile genius. He wields a facile pen and displays command of language, both Sanskrit and Prakrit. His fame as *yuga-pradhāna* chiefly rests on his literary activity for the cause of the Jains and Jainism.

With this introduction we now turn to his brief but comprehensive work *Vimśati-Vimśikā* (VV).

The title : It may be rendered in English as *Score of Sets of Twenties*. The title is thus explained :

Vimśatiḥ ślokāḥ parimāṇam yasyaḥ sā vimśatiḥ |
Vimśātīnām vimśatiḥ yasyām sā vimśati-vimśikā ||

This work is also known *Vimśati-Vimśatikā*. This title is thus explained :

Vimśatiḥ vimśatayaḥ yasyām sā vimśati-vimśatiḥ |
Vimśati-vimśatireva vimśati-vimśatikā ||

It is not unlikely that Haribhadrasūri was influenced by the titles of Buddhist texts in choosing titles for a few of his works. His titles *Śaddarśana-*

samuccaya, *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* remind us of the Buddhist works of Dīnāga and Aśaṅga, *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and *abhidharmasamuccaya*, respectively; his works *Dharmabindu* and *Yogabindu* remind us of Dīnāga's *Nyāyabindu*. The title of the present work reminds us of Vasubandhu's *Viṃśikā* and *Triṃśikā*.

Regarding the two forms of the title, both are grammatically correct. Similar titles we come across in Brahmanical literature also. *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā*, "Thirty-two Stories about the Throne", and *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā*. "Twenty-five Stories of Vetāla", are well known throughout the length and breadth of India.

Its contents : Haribhadrasūri chooses to present to his readers the following twenty topics in twenty sets of Twenties. He lists these topics in the first *Viṃśikā* called *Adhikāra-Viṃśikā* :

(1) *Adhikāra*—List of the Topics dealt with in *VV*; 2) *Lokānāditva*—Beginninglessness of the world, 3) *Kula-nīti-lokadharma*—Family traditions and popular customs of the country; 4) *Carama-parivarta*—the last existence preceding liberation; 5) *Tat-bījādi-krama*, The Seed, etc., of the Tree of Dharma; 6) *Samyaktva*—Description of *Samyaktva* (right faith) from the practical point of view; 7) *Dānavidhi*—The Mode of Charity (and its three kinds;); 8) *Pūjavidhi*—The Mode of Worship; 9) *Śrāvakadharmā*—The Duties of a Householder; 10) *Srāvaka-pratimā*—The eleven observances of a householder; 11) *Yatidharma*—The Duties of a Monk; 12) *Dvividhaśikṣā*—Twofold Religious Instruction; 13) *Bhikṣavidhi*—The Mode of Begging; 14) *Tadantarāya*—Unforeseen obstacles in the way of eating the alms; 15) *Ālocanāvidhi*—The Confessions of Faults; 16) *Prāyaścittavidhi*—Sinful Acts and Atonements; 17) *Yogavidhāna*—The Mode of Yoga, 18) *Kevalajñāna*—Perfect knowledge; 19) *SiddhaVibhakti*—Categories of liberated souls; and 20) *Siddhasukha*—Perfect Bliss of the liberated souls. This list of topics is comprehensive and covers some of the most important topics of Jainism. The work, therefore, although short, is comprehensive, and may rightly be described as a *prakaraṇa-grantha*.

The Nature of a prakaraṇa-grantha : The dictionary gives the meanings of *prakaraṇa* as (i) a subject, topic, (ii) a section, chapter or any smaller division of a work, (iii) a species of a drama with invented plot. These meanings are not relevant in the context of our book on hand. One definition of a *prakaraṇa* runs as follows :

Śāstraikadeśasambaddhani, śāstrakāryāntare sthitam |
āhuḥ prakaraṇam nāma granthabhedam vipaścitaḥ ||

According to this definition, a work which aims at expounding some (important) tenet relating to a system of thought is called a *prakaraṇagrantha*. The two phrases in the first half of the above stanza amount to the same thing—‘Related to or dealing with a portion or section or part (*ekadeśa*) of a *śāstra* and ‘based’ on one of the central topics in ‘*śāstra*’ mean one and the same thing. In other words, this definition is not comprehensive, it applies to a book dealing with a portion or section or part of *śāstra*. K. V. Abhyankar explains the term as “A work in which the treatment (of a *śāstra*) is given in the form of topics, by arranging the original *sūtras* or rules differently so that all the rules relating to a particular topic are found together”, and cites *Prakṛtyākaumudī* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī* as examples. This definition too is not applicable to the text in hand, strictly speaking. For there is no question of “arranging the *sūtras* or rules differently” unless we enlarge the scope of the meaning of *sūtras* to cover teachings set forth in source books and authoritative texts and commentaries on them. The name *prakaraṇagrantha* was most probably used to distinguish a work from the *ākaragrantha* (Seminal Work or Source book). A *prakaraṇagrantha* is a systematically and topic-wise arranged *saṃgraha*—compendium—of the scattered and discursive teachings of its corresponding seminal or source work or works. In this sense, *Arthasaṃgraha*, *Tarkasaṃgraha*, *Siddhāntabindu* based on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya-*sūtras* and Vaiśeṣika-*sūtras* and Śāṃkara Vedānta respectively are *prakaraṇagranthas*. In this sense, the *Vimśati-Vimśikā* too is a *prakaraṇagrantha* based on sacred and authoritative Jain *sūtras*, Niryukti, Bhāṣya and such other commentaries on them.

Its Language

The language of this text is Prakrit, to be more specific, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī—which is employed by all Śvetāmbara writers in their Prakrit (prose and) verse and does not much differ from classical Māhārāṣṭrī.

Its Structure and Style : The *Vimśati-Vimśikā* obviously intends to supply a compendium of the principal teachings of Jainism in Twenty Sets of Twenties. In a sense these sets are quite independent of one another as each set deals with one topic only and is a complete unit by itself. But from another point of view, these sets may be looked upon as closely connected with each other as each preceding set anticipates the succeeding one. His self-imposed condition of completing one topic in 20 *gāthās* only proves a handicap to him. Some of the *gāthās* are too elliptical. The author combines brevity with accuracy all right but not with lucidity. Brevity is the soul of wit, no doubt, but brevity at the cost of intelligibility is not commendable. Occasionally, Haribhadrasūri errs too much

on the side of brevity rendering the text of the *gāthā* obscure. Of course it must be admitted that obscurity of sense is sometimes due to corrupt readings also.

Long-felt need of a truly critical edition

Unfortunately, there is no *svopajña* commentary on *Vimśati-Vimśikā*, nor any commentary of a later commentator on it, with the only exception of Upādhyāya Yaśovijayjī's commentary on one of the twenty *Vimśikās*, namely *Yoga-Vimśikā*. Prof. K. V. Abhyankar's edition is based on six different MSS, one printed edition of *Yoga Vimśikā* and Pt. Sukhlalji's edition of *Yoga-Vimśikā* with the commentary of Upādhyāya Yaśovijayjī on it. Prof. Abhyankar's edition contains Sanskrit-introduction, Sanskrit rendering of the *gāthās* of the text, notes in English and an appendix. The editor observes at one place in the Sanskrit introduction that all the MSS bristle with many scribal errors and that he has not been able to explain the text at some places satisfactorily. The edition is good as far as it goes. But it is necessary to have another critical edition based on Prof. Abhyankar's edition and the corresponding relevant passages from the seminal works and other works of Haribhadrāsūri himself, where parallel thoughts and themes are treated by him, and with fuller explanatory notes. Such an edition is, indeed, a desideratum.

Notes and References :

1. *Vimśati-Vimśikā* by Haribhadrāsūri, ed. by K. V. Abhyankar, 981, Sadashiv Peth, Pune-2, 1932.
2. *Samadarśī Ācārya Haribhadra*, by Pt. Sukhlalji Saṁghavi, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1963.



PAÑCASŪTRA : A STUDY

(i) The Author of *Pañcasūtraka* and his Date

It is very striking and noteworthy that the oldest palm-leaf MSS of the text as well as all the MSS of Ācārya Haribhadra's commentary make no mention whatsoever of the author of this text¹. The two paper MSS (C and D) however refer to its authorship thus : “*Kṛtaṁ cirantanācāryaiḥ*” (i. e., it is composed by ancient *ācāryas*). The suggestion in some quarters that it is composed by an *ācārya* with the name Cirantana does not deserve serious notice or attention. In his Introduction to the text Prof. A. N. Upadhye observes : “It is not possible to talk of individual authorship with regard to works like *Pañcasūtra*. The basic contents of this book are as old as Jainism. They are a literary heirloom preserved in the memory of Jain monks”² Professor K. V. Abhyankar cautiously remarks : “...the *Pañcasūtra*... is a small elegant treatise written by some old writer whose name has still remained unknown.”³ Muniraj Shri Shilacandravijayaji is almost positive in believing that Ācārya Haribhadra himself must be the author of *Pañcasūtraka*⁴. Munishri Jambuvijayaji finds this view interesting but for lack of evidence does not support it⁵.

“The language of the post-canonical Jain works is partly Prakrit—the so-called Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī—and partly Sanskrit”⁶. The language of the known Prakrit works of Haribhadra is Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī whereas the present work is written in Ardhamāgadhī prose; and this prose shares quite a few peculiarities of the diction and style of the canonical works. This fact suggests that Ācārya Haribhadra was possibly not its author. It is not unlikely that the author of *Pañcasūtra* regarded the contents of the text as the property of the entire Jain Saṁgha and preferred to remain anonymous. It is also suggestive of its early date of composition. How early it is difficult to say. Since Haribhadra does not know who its author was we may not be far wrong in saying that it was composed about a century or so before Ācārya Haribhadra flourished.

(ii) Summary of Contents

1. *Pañcasūtraka* opens with a homage to the Arhats (Tīrthamkaras) who thus expound their doctrine : “Here (in this world) the soul is eternal; and because of its association with *karma* since beginningless time, it wanders in this external *saṃsāra*, which is full of misery, suffering, and grief. One can put an end to this *saṃsāra* by adopting the right *dharma* (which consists of right faith, knowledge and conduct). One can obtain this *dharma* by annihilating sinful *karmas*; and these are destroyed by ripening (or fully developing) *tathābhavyatva* which is inherent in each individual. To ripen or fully develop this capability there are three means: (i) *catuḥ śaraṇa-gamana* (taking the fourfold refuge, namely, that of the *arhats*, the *siddhas*, the *sādhus* and the (Jina) *dharma*. (ii) *Duṣkṛtagarhā* (Censuring one’s evil deeds) and (iii) *Sukṛtāsevana* (Praising or approving of good deeds of others).

One should cherish ideas and feelings like the following : “I am ignorant and sinful and subjected to delusion since eternity; I am ignorant of what is advantageous or disadvantageous to me. May I know it (through the grace of the Arhats etc.) and may I refrain from doing what is disadvantageous and practise only what is advantageous. With the conviction that it is to my advantage may I always and ever be of service to all beings”.

The inauspicious *karmas* of one, who reads or hears and reflects on the import of this *sūtra*, are destroyed and the auspicious *karmas* produce good results like a sovereign drug, when taken as per physician’s prescription.

—Destruction of sinful *karmas* and sowing the seed of *dharmaguṇas* (the *aṇuvratas*).

2. When a strong desire to adopt the *aṇuvratas* (partial renunciation of violence, etc.), meant for a *śrāvaka* (householder) rules one’s heart, one should first reflect on their nature, their inherent goodness, their fruit accompanying one in one’s next birth, their beneficence, their being the indirect cause of liberation, their being difficult to practise and also the dreadful consequences of violating them such as being subject to delusion, and other difficulties in the way of adopting them. One should, thereafter, adopt them in accordance with the prescribed rules and to the best of his abilities. These vows are : Partial renunciation or abstention from (i) injury to living beings (ii) telling lies (iii) theft (iv) sexuality and (v) possessing property. He should also adopt the three *guṇavratas* : (i) *dig-virati*-limiting one’s movements to a particular direction, east west, etc.; (ii) *bhogopabhoga* (or *upabhogaparibhoga*) *parimāṇa*—setting a limit

as to articles of use, such as food, drink, clothing etc.; and (iii) *anarthadaṇḍaviraṃaṇa*—refraining from all unvirtuous or unprofitable acts; and the four *śikṣāvratas*: (i) *Sāmāyika*—equanimity or inward peace obtained by desisting from all evil; (ii) *deśāvakaśika*—limiting every day the distance to be traversed in that particular direction (to which one has limited one's movements under the vow of *digvirati*); (iii) *Pauṣadhopavāsa*—observing fast on the 8th and the 14th day of each fortnight and on the full-moon day and the new-moon day (thus a Jain layman is asked to observe six fasts in a month.); and (iv) *atithi-samvibhāga*—offering charities to guests (*atithi*) or to pious men of the Jain sect, such as monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen.

After adopting these vows the *śrāvaka* should strive hard to practise them. He should always study and reflect on the doctrine of the Jinas. For the doctrine is the greatest antidote against the poison of delusion, water that extinguishes the fire of hatred (and other passions), medicine for the disease of *karma* and the wish-yielding tree which produces the fruit of liberation. He should avoid all evil things, contact with irreligious people, and all immoral habits acquired from the beginningless time. Compassionate to all beings, he should avoid whatever is disliked by men in general and is against the ways of the world. He should take to religious people who are his friends. He should observe the code of conduct prescribed for a householder, always and ever guarding the activities of his mind, body and speech. He should avoid all sinful activities. He should not even think of causing harm to others. He should make gifts, enjoy himself, keep retinue and make savings in proportion to his earnings. He should not torment his attendants but should be compassionate to them. He should develop, however, no sense of attachment to them. All the souls are separate from one another and the sense of ownership or mineness is the root cause of bondage. He should be circumspect in carrying out his duties as householder keeping all the while in mind his station in life, the family to which he belongs, the preceptor whose pupil he is, and the vows he has taken. He should think of his age and the duties that are proper for that age. He should reflect on the harsh realities of life : “The pleasures of the senses are worthless, transient and bitter or unpleasant in the end. Death is dreadful, all-destructive and strikes one at any time, and that it is irresistible, and that it leads to the cycle of birth and death again and again. The only remedy against Death is *Dharma*, which is all pure, practised by great personages, beneficial to one and all and the source of the highest happiness of liberation”.

—Reflecting on (the means of acquisition of) the *sādhu-dharma* (the stage of a monk)

3. The *śrāvaka* who has deeply reflected on the stage of a monk, who is disgusted with *samsāra* and who is intent on attaining liberation, should strive to enter the ascetic order without offending others, say, one's parents, Offending others (one's parents) is an obstacle in the way of entering the ascetic order. No good results from a wrong beginning. If the parents are not already enlightened, he should first try to enlighten them with the following arguments : "The life, which is successful both here and hereafter, is really praiseworthy. *Karmas* done in company yield the fruit in company. If we take to asceticism in company, we would not be separated from one another for many births to come. Otherwise, we would be separated from one another like the birds who frequent a tree and then fly away. Death is irresistible and inevitable. Human birth is as difficult to obtain as a gem fallen in an ocean. There are many other states of existence, no doubt, but they are full of sorrow clouded by delusion, end in misery and are not suited to the practice of *Dharma*. It is in human existence also that one can attain liberation. The state of liberation is fit to be attained as it is free from birth, old age, and death and as there is no separation from desired things nor union with undesired things; there is neither hunger nor thirst nor any other trouble or suffering. In that state the soul is totally, independent and free from the feelings of love, hatred, etc., and is full of peace and happiness and free from all kinds of trouble.

Contrary to this state of liberation is the nature of *samsāra*. It is unsteady, Even the so-called happy are unhappy; the existent is non-existent; and every thing is transient or unreal like a dream. Therefore one should not be attached to this *samsāra*".

If the parents refuse to be enlightened he should arrange for their maintenance. It is gratefulness indeed. *Karuṇā* (compassion) is the very mother (source) of the elevation (exaltation) of *Dharma*. He may, if need be, employ deceitful means to obtain the consent of his parents to enter the ascetic order. For, after all, following the *Dharma*, contributes to the welfare of all. If they refuse permission, he should desert them with a view to bringing the medicine of true belief (*samyaktva*) for them. They might, per chance, be saved. He should, however, give no offence to his parents—keeping in mind the glorious example of Lord Mahāvīra who did not enter the ascetic order during the life-time of his parents, who were very fond of him. He should, however, remember that any separation from the parents for a beneficial purpose or a good cause need not be understood as desertion, though it really is so. The cause however is more important when he sees the long-term benefit of his ascetic life.

Thus without causing pain to others he should first worship the Jinas, pay homage to the monks, give gifts to the needy, put on auspicious garments and at an auspicious hour enter the ascetic order in the presence of a good (spiritual) preceptor. He should scrupulously practise the rules of conduct prescribed for a monk and never violate them.

—The Section on the Mode of accepting Ascetic Order

4. To a monk who seeks liberation, a clod of earth and gold are alike, a friend and a foe are the same. Such a monk becomes free from the sorrows resulting from attachment and enjoys happiness and peace of mind (resulting from non-attachment). He stays with his spiritual teacher. He is devoted to him, he is modest, knows the true nature of things and rightly believes that nothing else is more beneficial than a stay with his preceptor. He attentively studies the sacred texts and carefully observes various injunctions. He knows that if the religious injunctions studied by him are not observed, they are as good as not studied at all. The non-observance leads neither to liberation nor heaven; transgression leads, no doubt, to calamities but this transgression may be regarded as the remote means of liberation—as it forms the first step on its path. The monk observes the five *samitis* (carefulness in walking, speech, etc.) and the three *guptis* (restraint of body, mind and speech), together regarded as the eight mothers of the Doctrine. He knows that just as a child, deserting its mother perishes, even so a monk who repudiates these eight mothers, perishes.

He knows very well that right conduct is like a safe island in this ocean of *samsāra* : a lamp in the darkness of delusion. Without any delusion and any eagerness for attaining the fruit of liberation, he observes the rules of right conduct.

Becoming purer and purer day by day he is released from sinful karmas. Thereafter with his mind all pure, he practises self-control and austerities and undistracted by troubles and suffering caused by hunger, thirst etc., and calmly facing the disturbances caused by celestial or supernatural beings, etc., he gets rid of karmas and experiences the joys of peace of the soul like a leper who has been restored to health through treatment.

Knowing the mind of his preceptor, he acts up to it and thus honours him. 'One who accepts me from the bottom of one's heart also respects his preceptor'—this is the teaching of the Lord. Any religious acts, performed without respect to his preceptor are really as good as not performed. Such acts, like the fasts, etc., observed by an unchaste woman, do not bring him the fruit of liberation but

make him wander in ~~this~~ *samsāra* and therefore are condemned by the wise.

Respect for one's preceptor is the surest means to attain liberation. The monk, who has the highest respect for his preceptor, never swerves from the right path to liberation. He comes to possess spiritual qualities and he excels even gods in respect of happiness. He swims against the current of this worldly life and as he observes thoroughly the duties of a monk he is called a *yogin*.

In his next life such a monk is born in a good family, is endowed with a handsome form, etc., and all enjoyments are at his service; and at the end of that very life he shakes off all karmas and puts an end to all miseries and attains liberation.

—Observance of Asceticism

5. The *mumukṣu* strictly observing the rules of conduct for an ascetic, attains perfection, realises his true self. He is neither sound, nor colour, nor odour, nor taste, nor touch (because of his *siddha* state he is absolutely free from these qualities of *pudgala*-matter). He exists eternally without a form—in a formless state. He is all bliss. This bliss of a *siddha* (a liberated soul) is absolute and independent of anything and everything else. He has absolutely no touch or contact even with space. It is the very nature of soul to rise upwards when completely freed from karmas and enjoy its innate and infinite (faith, knowledge, power and) bliss. This bliss cannot be compared with anything else. An idea of it, however, could be given by an illustration. The bliss or perfect happiness of a *siddha*, attained after conquering the internal enemies like attachment, hatred, etc. is infinitely greater than the happiness one gets when all of one's enemies are destroyed, diseases cured, the riches attained and the desires fulfilled. The perfect happiness of a *siddha* cannot be known to others just as the happiness of an ascetic cannot be known to a non-ascetic or as that of good health to a sick man. The soul, even if bound by *karmas* from the beginningless time, can be separated from them as gold from ore (in accordance with the illustration of *kāñcana* and *upala*). The concepts of bondage and liberation are best—satisfactorily and logically—explained if they are related to the different states of the soul without bringing in the (Sāṃkhya) concept of *didṛkṣā* (desire to see). Again, karma is neither identical with the soul, nor is it imaginary; and liberation is not just the absence of worldly existence. It is not of the nature of the destruction of *santāna*—like the blown out/extinguished flame of a lamp (as held by some followers of Buddha.)

In brief, the perfect happiness enjoyed by a liberated soul is infinite. The

liberated souls—*siddhas* dwell at the top of the universe (*lokākāśa*). Infinite liberated souls dwell in as much place as occupied by one *siddha* (liberated soul). The liberated soul, as soon as freed from the eightfold karmas rises upward to the top of the universe just as a gourd-fruit, with its eight layers of clay completely loosened rises to the surface from the river-bed.

This doctrine of the Jinas is free of all defects and is appreciated by persons who do not attract *karmas* afresh and who follow the path of right conduct. Never should it be imparted to undeserving or unqualified persons. This instruction is issued with a view to favouring the undeserving or the unqualified in accordance with the illustration of *Āmakumbhodakanyāsa* (pouring water in an unbaked earthen jar). Just as water when poured in an unbaked jar destroys that jar even so the imparting of secret doctrine ruins the undeserving or unqualified. Not imparting it to them is, indeed, *karuṇā* (compassion) shown to them.

—The Fruit of Asceticism

(iii) The meaning of the word *sūtra*

A *sūtra* is defined as—

स्वल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं साखद्विश्वतोमुखम् ।
अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

“A statement in few words, free from doubt, conveying an important sense, having a universal application, free from padding and free from any error (grammatical or logical)”. It is a short, concise aphorism used as an aid to memory. It contains only the most essential words—words which are absolutely necessary for conveying the intended sense. In course of time the word *sūtra* was applied to a work containing such short, pithy aphorisms—a work treating of a particular subject in its entirety by means of such aphoristic mnemonic rules. In this sense the word is applied to scientific works as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and the works dealing with the various philosophical systems. But the word *sūtra*—is also used in a rather loose and inexact sense. viz., that of “a short sentence” without any concern for word economy. It is in this sense that the word *sūtra* is used in connection with the *Prātiśākhya*s, *Śrauta-sūtras* (*sūtra* works based on the *śruti* or the Vedas). *Gṛhyasūtras* (*sūtra* works containing directions for domestic rites and ceremonies) and *Dharmasūtras* (*sūtra* works dealing with sacred and secular law).

In connection with the sacred texts of the Jains and the Bauddhas, however, the word *sūtra* is used in the sense of simply a *canonical work*. “These Stud.-18

works are sometimes found to be written in ordinary prose or sometimes in verse and nowhere does one suspect the slightest attempt made to secure brevity and conciseness of expression. They are usually written, especially in their prose parts, in a characteristically *prolix* and *verbose* style, full of tiresome repetition and aggregation of synonymous words in one and the same place and to express the selfsame idea." In view of their style they cannot lay claim to the title *sūtra*. J. Charpentier in his introduction to his edition of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (p 32) observes : "They (the Jains) doubtless adopted this name for their sacred writings more as a sort of formal counterpoise or set-off against Brahmanism, than, with a view to imitating the style and modes of expression of the Brahmanical *sūtra* literature."

The learned editors of *Nandisuttam* and *Aṅuogaddārāim* (Jaina-Āgama-Series No. 1) however, defend the use of the title *sūtra* in connection with their sacred texts thus : ..."However, the Jainas have used the term *sūtra* for their *Āgamas* not because they are composed in the *sūtra* style but because their aim has been the same as that of the Vedic *sūtra*. The aim of the Vedic *sūtra* literature has been to comprehend, in a nutshell, all the teachings pertaining to Vedic conduct. Similarly, the main object of the *Āgamas* has been to comprehend, in a summary fashion, all the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra...When the varied gems or flowers are strung together they remain preserved, do not get scattered and are not lost. Similarly when the teachings regarding conduct are written down and given the form of a book they remain preserved for a long time. So, all these works deserve the term *sūtra*. In this context the meaning of the term *sūtra* is : '*sūtraṅāt sūtram*' (i.e., those works that put the various ideas together are called *sūtras*)...Again, the Jainas maintain that the meanings of one single sentence, grasped by different hearers, are innumerable in accordance with their innumerable capacities. As a sentence of the *Āgama* has the power to suggest in various ways innumerable meanings, that sentence or a collection of those sentences could legitimately be termed *sūtra*. In other words, the Jaina *Āgama* is called *sūtra* because it has the power to convey—to suggest various meanings. In this context the meaning of the term *sūtra* is : '*sūcanāt-sūtram*' (i.e., that which suggests various meanings is *sūtra*)."

(iv) The Title of the Text *Pañcasūtraka*

The text in question is popularly known as *Pañcasūtra*⁷ (the Sanskrit equivalent of *Pañcasuttam*). As pointed out by the Editor, two of the palm-leaf MSS (K and K1) refer to the title of this text as *Pañcasūtra*. The list of names of works, prepared in the 14th or 15th century (VS), and known by the name

Bṛhattippanikā also knows this work by the name *Pañcasūtra*⁸.

The two paper MSS (C and D) however, read the title as *Pañcasūtraka*. Ācārya Haribhadra too refers to the work as *Pañcasūtraka*⁹. The *Vṛtti* (commentary) on Ācārya Haribhadra's *Yogabindu* although not *svopajña* is quite ancient. It also refers to this work as *Pañcasūtraka*¹⁰.

Upādhyāya Śrī Yaśovijayajī (17th century A.D.) in his *Svopajña-Vṛtti* (commentary) on *Dharmaparīkṣā* quotes a passage from this work with the introductory remark '*Pañcasūtryām apyuktam.*'¹¹ It is obvious that he knew this work by the name *Pañcasūtrī*.

It would thus seem that the present work had been known by three different names : (1) *Pañcasūtra*, (2) *Pañcasūtraka*¹², and (3) *Pañcasūtrī*¹³.

Ācārya Haribhadra would like us to explain the title as follows :

पापप्रतिघात-गुणबीजाधानसूत्रादीनि पञ्चसूत्राणि यस्मिन् प्रकरणे तत् पञ्चसूत्रम् । पञ्चसूत्रमेव पञ्चसूत्रकं प्रकरणम् ।¹⁴

(v) The Structure of *Pañcasūtraka*

The *Pañcasūtraka* is a short treatise of the spiritual guidance of Jain *mumukṣus*. It is one whole work containing five sections closely knit together. Each and every section bears an apt title and each preceding section logically leads to the succeeding section¹⁵. These five sections form as it were a ladder leading to *siddhi* or *mokṣa* (liberation). The first section treats of the nature of *samsāra* which abounds in misery and in which the soul, chained by *karmas* has been wandering since times immemorial. The soul can put an end to this *samsāra* by practising the true *dharma* consisting of right faith, knowledge and conduct. One can attain this *dharma* by destroying one's sinful *karmas*; and these sinful *karmas* can be destroyed by cultivating *tathā-bhavyatva* (one's capacity for attaining liberation). This capacity can be achieved by three means : (i) *Catuḥ śaraṇagamana* (seeking shelter in (1) the *arhats*, (2) the *siddhas* and (3) the *sādhus* and (4) the *dharma* preached by *arhats*). (ii) *Duṣkṛtagarhā* (censuring one's misdeeds). (iii) *Sukṛtāsevana* (praising or approving of good deeds of others). The section is therefore called : *Pāpapatighātadharmaguṇabijādhanāsūtra* : "The section dealing with the destruction of sinful deeds and the sowing of the seeds of religious vows (like Abstention from injury to living beings)." The second section then describes the five *sthūla* (or *aṇu*)-*vratas* and recommends the *mumukṣu* to adopt them, reflect on them, and put them into practice. In due course he cultivates an attitude of mind that is favourable to adopt *dīkṣā* (initiation). This section is called, *Sādhudharma-paribhāvanā-*

sūtra : “The section dealing with Reflection on the duties of a monk’. After reflecting on the duties of a monk the novice becomes totally disgusted with *samsāra*. He should then obtain consent of his parents to enter the ascetic order; if he fails in his efforts to obtain their consent, he should make arrangements for their livelihood and leave them with the express aim of securing the antidote called *dharma* for disabusing the minds of his parents of *moha* (delusion) and cheerfully adopt the ascetic order at the hands of a worthy *guru*. The section is aptly called: *Pravrajyā-grahaṇa-vidhī* : “The mode of adopting the ascetic order.” The next section deals with the strict observance of the duties of a monk including reverential attitude towards his spiritual guide and preceptor while receiving instruction and advice from him and his actual study of the scripture. The section is appropriately called *Pravrajyā-paripālānā-sūtra* : “The section dealing with the observance of monastic life.” The concluding section treats of the fruit of asceticism, viz., *siddhī* or *moska* (liberation) By his rigorous monastic life and strict observance of *tapas* (austerities) and *saṁyama* (self-restraint) he completely annihilates his former karmas and his soul flies upward to the top of the universe and permanently dwells there in peace enjoying eternal happiness or bliss. In accordance with the contents the section is rightly called : *pravrajyāphalasūtra* : “The section dealing with the fruit of asceticism.”

This brief analysis of the contents would show how the author has carefully planned and arranged the different sections to constitute one well-organised whole—one single work.

(vi) The Style of *Pañcasūtrakam*

The work is religio-philosophical in its nature. It would be therefore unfair to judge it as a literary work. Even then when we go through the text we are struck by some of the noteworthy features of its style. The whole work is written in *Ardhamāgadhī* prose. Here and there the style is reminiscent of the style of the Jaina canonical prose. But on the whole it is refreshingly free from the glaring peculiarities that characterise the canonical prose. It is written in a didactic tone, no doubt, but not ‘in a dry-as-dust, matter of fact, didactic tone.’¹⁶ The prose passages are not ‘extremely prosaic’. They are not ‘positively dry and uninteresting, and their style is not ‘verbose, laboured and artificial.’¹⁷ A. N. Upadhye observes : “The whole work is written in *Ardhamāgadhī* prose...Generally the text is easy but it becomes difficult in the last two chapters where narration is intermixed with logical discussions.”¹⁸ And about the treatment of the subjectmatter he says : “The treatment of subjectmatter in this work is a queer admixture of personal exclamations, appeals to the authority,

moral injunctions, aphoristic maxims, homely illustrations and their application, cryptic statements and arguments, and of short descriptions.”¹⁹

As we read through this text we are struck by some literary excellences that lend a sort of beauty to this semi-religious and semi-philosophical treatise. In order to elucidate the various points pertaining to religion and philosophy the author makes effective use of some figures of speech and examples or illustrations. He is capable of epigrammatic brevity and writes brief, pointed, simple yet effective prose. We cite here below a few passages to illustrate our general observations regarding his style :

एवं सुहुममेयं, न तत्तओ इयरेण गम्मइ, जइसुहमिवाजइणा, आरुग्गसुहं व रेगिण ति विभासा ।

Here we have two apt similes to illustrate the point that none else than a liberated soul can truly realise the nature of the bliss of *mokṣa* just as one who is not a monk cannot realise the happiness of a monk or a person afflicted with disease cannot realise the happiness of good health. In the following passage we have an apt *mālopamā* :

सेवेज्ज धम्ममित्ते विहाणेणं, अंधो विय अणुकड्ढगे, वाहिओ विव वेज्जे, दरिदो विय ईसरे, भीओ विय महानायगे ।

A *śrāvaka* should follow his *dharma-mitras* (senior colleagues) just as a blind man follows his ‘leader’, a sick person his physician, a poor man his master and a person placed in danger a great general. Here is an appropriate simile :

....किरिया अकिरिया कुलडानारीकिरियासमा...।

The religious duties, performed by a monk, who does not respect his *guru* (spiritual teacher), are as good as not performed like the austerities etc. of an unchaste woman—which prove totally barren.

Here we have a *mālā-rūpaka* :

आणा हि मोहविसपरममंतो, जलं दोसाइजलणस्स, कम्मवाहिचिगिच्छासत्थं, कप्पपायवो सिवफलस्स ।

The Jaina *āgama* is the supreme spell or incantation to quell the poison of delusion, the veritable water to put out the fire of hatred and the like, the science of medical treatment to cure the disease of *karma*, the wish-yielding tree that bears the fruit of *mokṣa*. Here we have another *mālā-rūpaka* :

...मोहतिभिस्दीवे, रागामयवेज्जे, दोसाणल-जलनिही संवेगसिद्धिकरे हवइ अर्चितचित्तामणिकप्पे ।

The monk who practises asceticism sincerely is a veritable lamp that dispels the darkness of delusion, a physician who cures the disease of attachment, an ocean to extinguish the fire of hatred,...

Here we have a *virodha* (paradox) :

एस चाए अचाए । अचाए चेव चाए ।

This desertion is indeed no desertion (as he deserts them—his parents—with a view to securing their welfare). Not deserting them (the parents) would amount to desertion (as it would jeopardize their well-being).

Here we have striking *subhāṣitas* :

सव्वे जीवा पुढो पुढो ममत्तं बंधकारणं ।

All beings have their own individuality—Each being is different from all others. Self-interest (sense of mine) is the cause of bondage (to the cycle of birth and death).

करुणा य धम्मप्यहाणजणणी जणम्मि ।

Karuṇā (Compassion) is the cause of the rise or prosperity of *dharma*.

धम्माराहणं खु हियं सव्वसत्ताणं ।

Practising of the *dharma* contributes to the good of all beings.

The author has introduced about a dozen *jñātas* or *nyāyas* (*nāyās*)-examples or illustrations to elucidate the various points under discussion. A few of them may be noted here :

एगरुक्खनिवासिसउणतुल्लं

The perching of birds on one tree for the night and flying away the next morning—this illustration is introduced to explain the fact that union of beings ends in separation.

अट्टाणगिलाणोसहत्थचामनाय

The example of deserting (one's parents) who have taken ill in an out-of the way place in a forest with the intention of bringing medicine for them. The son who has intense desire to receive the *dīkṣā* but whose parents try to dissuade him, deserts them for bringing the medicine of *dharma* for their benefit.

आमकुंभोदगनासनाय

The example of water, poured in a raw pot, destroying the pot itself. This illustration is cited to explain that the knowledge of Jain *āgama* is not to be imparted to the unfit—unqualified as it would lead to their ruin.

The author when he means can write brief, effective, forceful prose. We may cite here a passage or two by way of illustration :

...न चित्तेज्ज परपीडं । न भावेज्ज दीणयं । न गच्छेज्ज हरिसं ।...एवं न भासेज्ज अलियं, न फरुसं, न पेसुत्रं, नाणिबद्धं । हियमियभासगे सिया । एवं न हिसेज्ज भूयाणि । न गिण्हेज्ज अदत्तं न निरिक्खेज्ज परदारं ।...

'He should not think of causing pain to others. He should not feel dejected. He should not feel elated...Similarly, he should not speak a lie, nor harsh words, nor indulge in slander or backbiting nor speak incoherently. He should speak friendly or salutary words and measured words. Similarly he should not cause injury to living beings. He should not take what is not given. He should not look at another's wife'.

तहा जागरिज्ज धम्मजागरियाए—को मम कालो किमेयस्स उचियं, असारा विसया नियमगामिणो विरसावसाणा । भीसणो मच्चू सच्चाभावकारी, अवित्रायागमणो, अणिवारणिज्जो,...धम्मो एयस्स ओसहं... परमाणंदहेऊ ।

"He should keep vigilant in the matters of *dharma*; what is now my age ? Is it proper at this age to adopt *dharma* ? Objects of senses are worthless; they are evanescent; they end in misery. Terrible Death destroys everything. He comes near you—approches you—stealthily. He is irresistible...*Dharma* is its antidote...is the source of supreme bliss'.

In conclusion, the author presents the dignified subjectmatter of *Pañcasūtraka* in equally dignified style.

(vii) The place of *Pañcasūtraka* in the post-canonical religious works of the Jains and the Jain community :

This ancient treatise "has occupied a position of high esteem among the post-*āgama* works on Jain religion."²⁰ It has been regarded by tradition as a priceless jewel among the religious works of the Jains. The work is no doubt, small in extent, yet it succeeds in describing effectively the preliminary stage of *śrāvaka-dharma* that prepares for the intensified stage of *sādhu-dharma* which in its own way leads to the *Mumukṣu's* cherished goal of *mokṣa*.

The *śrāvakas*, *śrāvikas*, the *sādhus* and the *sādhvīs*, especially belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect, daily recite, if not all the five *sūtras*, at least the first *sūtra*. This *sūtra* declares that "when it is properly recited, heard, and meditated upon, the inauspicious karmas are...destroyed and...auspicious karmas are attracted...begin to yield results and in due course lead to *mokṣa*". With this promise and hope held out, the Jains recite, hear and meditate upon this *sūtra*.

As pointed out by Muni Śrī Jambūvijayaji the later works and commentaries of reputed Jain authors and commentators show an unmistakable influence of *Pañcasūtraka*. Thus Haribhadrasūri's *Dharmabindu*

and Muni Candrasūri's *Vṛtti* on it adopt some portions from *Pañcasūtraka* and its commentary. Ācārya Hemacandra cites a passage²¹ from this work in his *svopajña* commentary on *Yogaśāstra*. Further, in his famous *Vitarāgastotra*²² he beautifully summarises the first *sūtra*. The noted commentator Malayagiri makes use of the introductory portion of the *Pañcasūtraka-Vyākhyā* in his own commentary on *Dharma-Saṃgrahaṇi*²³. These references lead us to conclude that our text was current and popular in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries of the Vikrama era. Much later in the seventeenth century we find Upādhyāya Yaśovijaya making liberal use of our text in his *Dharmaparīkṣāsvopajñāvṛtti*²⁴.

The daily recitation of this *Pañcasūtraka* and its influence on later celebrated Jain authors and commentators speak volumes of its exalted place in post-canonical Jain works on religion and the Jain community.

(viii) Ācārya Haribhadra²⁵, the commentator of *Pañcasūtraka* :

In the 8th century (700-770 A.D.) there lived one of the most distinguished and prolific writers of the Jains, Ācārya Haribhadra. He was born as the son of a *Brāhmaṇa* in Rajasthan and was well-versed in different branches of Vedic learning. After receiving the Jain-*Dīkṣā* he mastered Prakrit languages and literature including Jain *āgama* works. He thus combined in himself the Vedic and the Jain traditions and attained mastery over both Sanskrit and Prakrit. He wrote commentaries on *āgama-sūtras* as well as *āgama-bāhya sūtras* (including the present treatise), *Prakaraṇa* works and comprehensive philosophical texts, works dealing with *yoga*, *kathās* and *stuti*. He is said to have composed 1400 *Prakaraṇas* (systematic, *śāstrīya* treatises) ! This number is staggering, no doubt, but his extant works bear ample testimony to his versatile genius and encyclopaedic scholarship. "Haribhadra wrote both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He was an eminent composer in verse and in prose, and also wrote systematic scientific treatises (*Prakaraṇas*) and comprehensive philosophical works. Probably, he was also the first to write commentaries to the Canon in Sanskrit... While utilising the ancient Prakrit commentaries he retained the narratives (*Kathānakas*) in their original Prakrit form."²⁶

Compared to his predecessors and successors Ācārya Haribhadra leaves a deep impression on our mind of his two remarkable qualities : his non-sectarian approach and attitude, and courteous and respectful attitude towards his adversaries. His fair and impartial attitude is very well reflected in his famous statement :

पक्षपातो न मे वीरि न द्वेषः कपिलादिषु ।
युक्तिमद्वचनं यस्य तस्य कार्यः परिग्रहः ॥

Ācārya Haribhadra's meeting with the Jaina *sādhvī mahattarā Yākinī* marked the turning point in his life and led to his entering the ascetic order. Out of a sense of gratefulness he thenceforth called himself the spiritual son of the great nun Yākinī. It may be noted that got another name for himself, "bhava-vīraha", out of his zest for *mokṣa*.

(ix) Ācārya Haribhadra's *Pañcasūtraka-Vyākhyā*

There are various kinds of expositions in Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures. *Vyākhyā*, *Vṛtti*, *Paddhati*, *Vārttika*, *Vivarana*, *Bhāṣya*, *Pañjikā*, *Nijjutti* (*SK niryukti*), *Cūrṇi*, *Avacūri*, *Samikṣā* are well known types of exposition, each and every one of them having characteristic features of its own. In his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* Rājaśekhara defines some of these kinds of exposition. The term 'Vyākhyā' is thus defined :

"अर्थस्य अप्रतीयमानस्य पर्यायाभिधानेन विभज्य प्रतिपादनं व्याख्या, शब्दस्यापि व्युत्पादनं व्याख्या । एवमेते द्वे व्याख्ये (तयोरर्थपरिज्ञानमेकस्याः कार्यम्, शब्दपरिज्ञानमेकस्याः ।)"²⁷

The religio-philosophical nature and antiquity of this short but important *Pañcasūtraka* attracted a scholar of Ācārya Haribhadra's eminence and inspired him to write a commentary on it. He has not only put his finger on the stiff points and pointed out their exact meaning "which the ancient unknown author "seems to have intended but at places he has beautifully preserved the traditional explanations which obtained at his time. The commentary is small in compass but rich in meaning, and its style is lucid and graceful. In support of his explanations he cites passages from earlier works of Jaina *āgama* and post-*āgama* Jaina works and from poetic works as well. Thus we have citations from *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, *Brhatsaṃgrahaṇī*, *Niśīthabhāṣya*, *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*, *Āvaśyakasūtra*, *Śrāvaka-prajñapti*, *Bhagavatisūtra*, *Oghaṇiryukti*, *Tattvārtha*, *Praśamarati*, and *Aśvaghōṣa's Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita* and from his own other works like *Lokatattvanirṇaya*, *Yoga-dṛṣṭi-samuccaya* and *Yogabindu*, *Pañcāśaka*, and *Lalitavistara*. There are quite a few citations which remain to be traced to their sources. These numerous citations attest to Ācārya Haribhadra's wide reading and ability to use them on appropriate occasions. Ācārya Haribhadra's *Vyākhyā*, though learned, is not more erudite and difficult than the text, but explains the text clearly and unambiguously.

Notes and References :

1. Vide this edition p. 79, f. n. 2, p. 81 f.n. 1.
2. Vide this edition p. 79, f. n. 2.
3. Introduction to Prof. Shah's edition p. 9.
4. Introduction to this edition; see the footnote to the discussion (in Gujarati) about Author.
5. Introduction to this edition; see the discussion (in Gujarati) about Author.
6. M. Winternitz: *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 475.
- * The *Tattvārthasūtra*, however, enumerates the three *guṇavratas* and four *Śikṣāvratas* somewhat differently; The three *guṇavratas* are : (1) *Digvirati*, (2) *Deśavirati* and (3) *Anarthadaṇḍavirati*; and the four *Śikṣāvratas* are : (1) *Sāmāyika* (2) *Poṣadhovavāsa* (3) *Upabhogaparibhoga-parimāna* and (4) *Atithisamvibhāga*. In spite of this difference in the order of enumeration of these seven *vratas*, the fact remains that the nature of each and everyone of these seven *vratas* is the same according to the Jaina *āgama* tradition described in the main body above and the *Tattvārtha* tradition noticed in this footnote.
- * Shri Mahāvira Jaina Vidyālaya edn., Bombay, 1968, pp. 12-13.
7. The printed edition, published by Sri Jaina Atmanand Sabha Bhavnagar, 1914 bears the title :
चिन्तनाचार्यकृतं पञ्चसूत्रम्
The two editions of this text, prescribed for the B.A. Examinations of the University of Bombay for 1933 and 1934, are entitled *Pañcasūttam* : (1) Ed. with Introduction and Notes by Prof. A.N. Upadhye and pub. by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, 12 Connaught Road, Poona No. 1, 1932 (2) Ed. with Sanskrit rendering, introduction, Notes and Translation in English by Prof. V. M. Shah and pub. by Gurjar Grantharatna Karyalaya, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad, 1934, The edn. by Muniraj Rājasekharavijayajī, with translation in Gujarati and pub. by Bhāratīya Prācyā-tattva Prakāśana Samiti, Pindawada (Rajasthan) bears the title *Śrī Pañcasūtra*.
8. Vide, -(entry No. 75)
9. Vide the present edn., p.1, line 3, p. 24, l. 19, p. 33, l. 17, p. 44, l. 16, p. 65, l. 16, p. 80. l. 18, p. 81, l. 3
10. Vide the extract from the commentary on *Yogabindu* v. 179, cited in *Pañcamam Parisiṣṭam*, p. 112 of the present edn.
11. Vide the extract cited in f. n. 3. on p. 18 of the present edn.
12. Cf. the titles *Pañcatantra* and *Pañcatantraka*.
13. Cf. the titles *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Caruḥsūtrī*, *Dvādaśādhyāyī*, etc.
14. Ācārya Haribhadra, at the beginning of his commentary says :
किमिदं पञ्चसूत्रकं नाम ? उच्यते-पापप्रतिघातगुणबीजाधानसूत्रादीनि, पञ्च सूत्राण्येव ।
प्रव्रज्याविधानादीनि पञ्च वस्तूनि यस्मिन् प्रकरणे तत् पञ्चवस्तु, पञ्चवस्त्वेव पञ्चवस्तुकं ग्रंथे यथाक्रमम्...कीर्तयिष्यामि ।
—पञ्चवस्तुकप्रथमगाथास्वोपज्ञवृत्तौ
15. The commentator very well demonstrates how the five sections are closely interlinked

when he observes at the commencement of his *Vyākhyā* :

...न हि प्रायः पापप्रतिघातेन गुणबीजाधानं विना तत्त्वतस्तच्छ्रद्धाभावप्ररोहः, न चासत्यस्मिन् साधुधर्मपरिभाषना, न चापरिभाषितसाधुधर्मस्य प्रब्रज्याग्रहणविधावधिकारः, न चाप्रतिपन्नस्तां तत्परिपालनाय यतते, न चापालने एतत्फलमाप्नोतीति प्रवचनसार एष सज्ज्ञानक्रियायोगात् । —p. 2.lines 2-5

Professor K. V. Abhyankar, in his *Foreword* to the edition of *Pañcasūttarā* by Prof V. M. Shah, pub. by Gurjar Grantharantna Karyalaya, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad, 1934, observes thus :

...“is a small elegant treatise...The book has occupied a position of high esteem among the post-Āgama works on Jaina Religion. *In the small treatise the author has given a cogent and logical presentation of the spiritual uplift of the pious individual in five chapters which mark the five successive steps of his spiritual progress. The presentation is fully logical although a little bit unmethodical and the expression is chaste and adequate although a little bit archaic at places.* It is the semireligious character and antiquity of the book that attracted a great scholar like Haribhadrasūri to the book and inspired him to write a gloss on it.” (Italics ours)

16. *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, University of Calcutta edition, 1933, p. 426.
17. *The Daśavaikālikasūtra : A Study* by Prof M. V. Patwardhan, Willingdon College, Sangli, 1933.
18. *The Pañcasūttarā* of an unknown ancient writer, edited with Introduction and Notes by A. N. Upadhye and pub. by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, 72, Connaught Road, Poona No.1, Introduction, p. 10.
19. *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 4.
20. Professor K. V. Abhyankar in his *Foreword* to Prof. V. M. Shah's edition.
21. लाम्भोचियदाणे...लाम्भोचियनिहिकरे सिया । —p. 29, 11, 16-17
22. स्वकृतं दुष्कृतं गर्हन् सुकृतं चानुमोदयन् ।
नाथ त्वच्चरणौ यामि शरणं शरणोज्झितः ॥ —Prakāśa 17.1
and other verses, vide Appendix V. p, 111 (this edn.)
23. Vide this edn. f. n. Appendix V. p. 109
24. Vide this edn. p. 13, f. n. 4, p. 18 f. n. 3.
25. (i) M. Winternitz: *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, University of Calcutta edn. 1933, pp. 479, f. 485, 488, 507, 511, 519f, 522f, 526f, 561 and 583f.
(ii) Introduction to *Samarāicakahā* ed by Dr. H. Jacobi and pub. by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
(iii) *Samadarśī Ācārya Haribhadra* (in Gujarati) by Pandit Sukhlal Sanghavi, pub. by Bombay University 1961.
26. *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 480-481.
27. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1934 edn., p. 5.



THE SOURCE OF PRAKRIT LANGUAGES

The Indian grammarians of Prakrit Languages regard Sanskrit as their *prakṛti*—their basis or origin or source. I quote here a few passages from their works bearing on this subject :

- (i) प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं तत्र भवं प्राकृतमुच्यते । —प्राकृतसर्वस्व
- (ii) प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं तत्र भवं तत आगतं वा प्राकृतम् —सिद्धहैम व्याकरण
- (iii) प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं तत्रभवत्वात् प्राकृतं स्मृतम् । —प्राकृतचन्द्रिका
- (iv) प्रकृतेः संस्कृतायास्तु विकृतिः प्राकृता मता । —षड्भाषाचन्द्रिका
- (v) प्राकृतस्य तु सर्वमेव संस्कृतं योनिः । —प्राकृतसञ्जीवनी

The explanation of the word *Prakṛti* as Sanskrit, however, is not accepted by some scholars. They would like us to understand the word in the sense of the basis for a comparative study of these languages. They also point out that no Sanskrit lexicon records this “Sanskrit” meaning of the word : *prakṛti* and that at least in the context of the Deśya words this “Sanskrit” meaning does not fit in.

They derive the word as follows :

(१) प्रकृत्या स्वभावेन सिद्धं प्राकृतम् । —“Self-existent.”

or (२) प्रकृतीनां साधारणजनानामिदं प्राकृतम् ।

“What belongs to the masses, the common people.”

This derivation finds strong support in the writings of some reputed scholars and poets : For ready reference I quote here these passages :

प्राकृतसंस्कृतमागधपिशाचभाषाश्च शूरसेनी च ।

षष्ठोऽत्र भूरिभेदो देशविशेषादपभ्रंशः ॥¹ —

On this *kārikā* the comments of Namisādhu run as follows

प्राकृत इति । सकलजगज्जन्तूनां व्याकरणादिभिरनाहितसंस्कारः सहजो वचनव्यापारः प्रकृतिः । तत्र भवं सैव वा प्राकृतम् । “आरिसवयणे सिद्धं देवाण अद्धमागहा वाणी” इत्यादिवचनाद्वा प्राक्पूर्वं कृतं प्राकृतं बालमहिलादिमुबोधं सकलभाषानिबन्धनभूतं वचनमुच्यते । मेघनिर्मुक्तजलमिवैकस्वरूपं तदेव च देशविशेषात् संस्कारकरणाच्च समासादितविशेषं सत् संस्कृताद्युत्तरविभेदानान्पोति । अत एव शास्त्रकृता प्राकृतमादौ निर्दिष्टं तदनु संस्कृतादीनि । पाणिन्यादिव्याकरणोदितशब्दलक्षणेन संस्करणात् संस्कृतमुच्यते । तथा प्राकृतभाषैव किञ्चिद्विशेषलक्षणात्मागधिका भण्यते² । —Niranayasagar press edition, Bombay, 1909, p. 13.

Vākpatirāja, in his poem, called “*Gaūdavaho*”, observes :

सअलाओ इमं वाआ विसंति एतो य णेंति वाआओ ।
 एंति समुदं च्चिअ णेंति साअराओ च्चिअ जलाई³ ॥
 (सकला इदं वाचो विशन्ति इतश्च निर्यन्ति वाचः ।
 आयन्ति समुद्रमेव निर्यन्ति सागरदेव जलानि ॥)

In his play “*Bālarāmāyana*” Rājaśekhara writes :

यद् योनिः किल संस्कृतस्य सुदृशां जिह्वासु यन्मोदते
 यत्र श्रोत्रपथावतारिणि, कटुर्भाषाक्षराणां रसः ।
 गद्यं चूर्णपदं पदं रतिपतेस्तत्प्राकृतं यद् वच-
 स्माँल्लायँल्ललितार्ङ्गि पश्य नुदती दृष्टेर्निमेषत्रतम् ॥

Hemacandra, in his *Kāvyañuśāsana*, writes thus :

अकृत्रिमस्वादुपदां परमार्थाभिधायिनीम् ।
 सर्वभाषापरिणतां जैनीं वाचमुपास्पहे ॥

and in the course of his *Vṛtti* he says :

... अथवा अकृत्रिमाण्यसंस्कृतान्यत एव स्वादूनि मन्दधियामपि पेशलानि पदानि यस्यामिति विग्रहः ।
तथा सर्वेषां सुरनरतिरश्चां विचित्रासु भाषासु परिणतां तन्मयतां गतां सर्वभाषापरिणताम् । एकरूपापि हि भगवतोऽर्धमागधीभाषा वारिदविमुक्तवारिवदाश्रयानुरूपतया परिणमति ।

यदाह— देवा दैवीं नरा नारीं शबरश्च शाबरीम् ।
 तिर्यञ्चोऽपि हि तैरश्चीं मेनिरे भगवद्दिगरम् ॥

Mahāvīra Jain Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964 edn. pp 1-2.

In short, according to the view of these writers, the Prakrit language is the root-language and that Sanskrit and other languages are derived from it.

Now it needs to be seen whether this view stands a close scientific scrutiny :

Modern grammarians and philologists firmly hold that the Prakrits form a connecting link between the Sanskrit language—both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit including the Epic idiom (OIA) and the Modern Indian languages (NIA) like Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali etc. They concede the close connection

and dependence of Prakrit on Sanskrit but remark "This, however, need not mean that the source (Prakṛti) of these languages is Sanskrit."

If the Prakrits, as described by the grammarians, are not descended from Sanskrit, wherefrom are they descended ? Have they descended from "primary parent Prakrits" that were earlier than Sanskrit or contemporaneous with Sanskrit, both being vernaculars of those days ?

If we examine the vocabulary of the Prakrit language Māhārāṣṭrī from a comparative point of view we find that the *tatsama* (words identical in form with their Sanskrit equivalents) and the *tadbhava* (words arising from Sanskrit after undergoing some phonetic modifications) words nearly exhaust the Prakrit vocabulary. Only a few of them are of a different origin and are called Deśī words. The origin of the Deśī words is a problem. Some of them are obscure Sanskrit words changed beyond recognition, a few may have been borrowed from the Dravidian languages, and a few may have been Indo—Āryan words not retained in their refined form in Sanskrit. This fact of vocabulary, which is nearly identical, coupled with facts of grammar—Prakrit grammar only tends to simplify and reduce the number of forms, tenses etc. would lead us to conclude that the Prakrits are derived from Sanskrit.

This conclusion is supported by historical evidence too. R. G. Bhandarkar rightly observes that sometimes accidents in the history of a race, such as its coming in contact or being incorporated with another race, serve to transform its language within a short time. "It would seem that when the Āryas moved from abroad with their Bhāṣā into India and came in contact with native races and these races were closely incorporated into Āryan fold, these native races left their own tongue and learnt that of the more civilized Āryas and in learning it they corrupted it or developed it into Pāli and the various Prakrits. They were, however, unable to get over certain peculiarities of their own language such as the short ए and ओ, the change of dentals to cerebrals and a few words of their language (which came to be known, later on, as Deśī) for whom they had especial partiality and they introduced their usage in this newly acquired language."

The minute directions about the use of certain Prakrit dialects in the case of certain persons laid down by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* were motivated to represent in the drama a state of things actually existing in the country. We could safely infer that a few centuries before and after Bharata composed his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the Prakrits were spoken languages along with the Sanskrit language with this difference that the Sanskrit was the vernacular of the higher

or cultured class of the consolidated community whereas Prakrits were the vernaculars of the lower or uneducated classes of the community. The Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages thus existed side by side for some centuries and bore the same relation which we notice between high Marathi of the educated and cultured people of Poona and Bombay and the low Marathi of the lower or uneducated classes in these cities.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the Prakrits, described by the grammarians, form the group of Middle Indian Languages. They are developed through corruption and many grammatical phenomena from Sanskrit by the then native races of India, who were closely incorporated into the fold of Āryas who had migrated to India with their own Bhāṣā and that some centuries prior to Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra and some centuries after it, these Prakrits were the vernaculars of the lower or uneducated classes who had given up their original tongue, and thus the view of some scholars that Prakrit was the earlier and ancient language and Sanskrit represents its refined form cannot be maintained.

Notes and References :

1. Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaśāstram* II. 12, pub. Nirnaya Sagar Press, Mumbai, 1909 edn.
2. *Ibid*, p. 13.
3. *Gāudavaho* by Vākpatirāja ed. N. G. Suru, pub. Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad-9, 1975, *Gāthā* No. 93.
4. *Kāvyaśāstram* of Ācārya Hemacandra, ed. by R. C. Parikh and V. M. Kulkarni, pub. Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Bombay, 1964, pp. 1-2.



THE STORY OF KING VASU IN JAIN LITERATURE

The story of king Vasu is narrated, with some variations in details in early Jain works like *Paūmacariya* (Sk. Padmacarita) of Vimalasūri (c. 4th century A. D.), *Vasudevahindī* (The Wanderings or adventures of Vasudeva) a magnificent Prakrit prose romance earlier than the seventh century, according to some scholars still much earlier, earlier even than the *Paūmacariya* of Saṅghadāsagaṇi, *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa (678 A. D.), *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasena I (783 A. D.), etc. All these works are far removed in time from the great national epic, *Mahābhārata* in which this story of Uparicara Vasu occurs for the first time.

“Vasu was a great king of the *Satyayuga*. He was also known as Uparicara. He was a disciple of Br̥haspati and an ardent devotee of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). He used to worship the deity according to the tenets of the Sātvata or Pañcarātra *darśana*. An *āsvamedha* performed by him was remarkable for the fact that no animals were killed in the sacrifice, the oblations being made with the produce of the forest. Once while travelling through the sky, he was asked to act as judge or umpire in a debate between the gods and sages. It was about the interpretation of the word *aja* in the Vedic statement that sacrifices should be performed with *ajas*. The gods maintained that word *aja* meant ‘goats’ while the sages held that it meant ‘grains of corn’. Having first ascertained what opinion was entertained by each party, Vasu, moved by partiality for the gods, gave the decision in their favour, whereupon the sages cursed and condemned him to fall down from heaven and sink below the surface of the earth. The gods went to his hole and said that he should have the *vasordhārā* ‘the stream of Vasu’ for his sustenance—as long as he remained there—the stream of Vasu, clarified butter poured for him by the priests as an oblation in sacrifices. Advised by gods Vasu continued to worship Viṣṇu even in the nether regions. Through Viṣṇu’s favour Vasu regained his freedom and ascended to Brahmaloḳa”. (—Śāntiparva chs 335 ff). The story of Vasu is also referred to in the *Anuśāsanaparva* (6.34), where it is stated that he went to hell for speaking even a single falsehood.

Now, Vimalasūri relates the story of the king Vasu in the context of the origin of (Vedic) sacrifice. Ajita was the king of Ayodhyā and Vasukumāra was his son. Kṣīrakadamba was the priest (of the king). His wife's name was Svastimatī and their son's name was Parvatāka. This Parvatāka and Nārada, a young Brāhmaṇa (and prince Vasu) were the disciples of Kṣīrakadamba. One day he was expounding the teachings of the Āraṇyaka scriptures to his disciples when a kind-hearted monk, flying in the sky, out of compassion said "One of these four would go to hell." The priest heard this remark and felt frightened. He dismissed his disciples. Parvatāka went home but the priest didn't. His wife felt very anxious. Next day Parvatāka went out in his search; and he found him turned a monk. Svastimatī was deeply grieved to hear this. Then Nārada learning about the pathetic condition of Svastimatī went to her and consoled her. At that time king Ajita (Jitāri) placing Prince Vasu on his throne, himself turned a monk. Vasu's was a divine crystal throne.

Once there arose a dispute between Parvatāka and Nārada regarding the interpretation of the word 'aja' in the text 'ajesu janno kāyavvo'. Sacrifices should be made with *ajas*. Parvatāka interpreted the word to mean 'aja paśu' a goat whereas Nārada interpreted it to mean 'avijjā (abijjāḥ) 'yavādikāṅkuraparimuktāḥ' 'grains three year old—that are sterile, infertile, unproductive. Both of them agreed that they should request their classmate Prince Vasu to act as umpire, and accepting his decision as final. Parvatāka sent his mother to Prince Vasu to exert influence on him for announcing a decision in his favour. Next day Parvatāka and Nārada accompanied by people went to Vasu. Nārada said to Vasu "O king Vasu, you are known as truth speaker—for the speaking of truth (*satyavādin*); So declare what was the interpretation according to our teacher Kṣīrakadamba". Vasu declared that Parvatāka's interpretation was the right one. As soon as he made this false declaration Vasu, as he was seated on his crystal throne, went down (below the surface of the earth)—Vasu for his falsehood and support to killing of goats in sacrifices was born in the lowest seventh hell—the darkest one and the source of terrible tortures. People condemned Parvatāka and Vasu as liars and honoured Nārada then and there (as *satyavādin*). Condemned by people wicked Parvatāka practised austerities and after death he was born as a *rākṣasa*. Remembering his former birth (as Parvatāka) and condemnation by people he assumed the form of a Brāhmaṇa. Wearing sacred thread, with an umbrella, a *kamaṇḍalu* (water-jar) and a rosary of beads he began to think of and preach the killing of animals in Vedic sacrifices. Following his teaching hermits and Brāhmaṇas started performing animal sacrifices. In 'gomedha' sacrifice he recommended the drinking of liquor, illicit intercourse

with a woman (*agamyāgamana*)—intercourse with forbidden women (mother, sister). In sacrifices like *pitṛmedha*, *māṭṛmedha*, *rājasūya*, *aśvamedha* and *paśumedha* beginning with the name of a living being or creature he enjoined the slaughter of that being or creature in the accompanying ritual. The procedure of a sacrifice thus involved the killing of a creature the drinking of intoxicating liquor (*āsavapāna*) and eating flesh (*māmsa-bhakṣaṇa*).

The story of Vasu as stated in the beginning, is originally a Brahmanical legend. It is narrated with the express intention or purpose of describing the origin of (Vedic) sacrifice. The author of *Paūmacariya* probably wants simultaneously to illustrate the supreme importance of their doctrine of *ahiṃsā* and the disastrous consequence of speaking even a single falsehood. Notwithstanding the changes effected by Vimalasūri in his narrative, he reproduces the core of the story, the debate between Parvataka and Nārada regarding the interpretation of the word *aja* and Vasu's speaking a falsehood, without any change or modification.

Jainism attaches highest importance to the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. It is therefore very natural that Jain writers should strongly criticise killing of animals in Vedic sacrifices. It is also not surprising if they quote the views of certain Brahmanical thinkers, Sāṃkhyas, Vedāntins and Vyāsa in support of their thesis that killing of animals even for the purpose of Vedic sacrifices is a grievous sin. For example :

तथा च पठन्ति पारमर्षाः—

यूपं छित्वा पशून् हत्वा कृत्वा रुधिरकर्दमम् ।
यद्येवं गम्यते स्वर्गे नरके केन गम्यते ॥

वेदान्तिका अप्याहुः—

अन्धे तमसि मज्जामः पशुभिर्ये यजामहे ।
हिंसा नाम भवेद्धर्मो न भूतो न भविष्यति ॥

K. K. Handiqui has shown in his work *Yaśastilaka And Indian Culture* how Somadeva and other Jain authors have made misleading and erroneous statements regarding Vedic sacrifices¹.

Apart from this acrimonious aspect of the Jain adaptations of the Hindu tales, the Jain narrative literature is vast, varied and is of invaluable help for a critical and comparative study of the various legends, tales, and narratives in the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist narrative literatures—which reveal partial agreement and at the same time striking divergences among themselves.

Notes and References :

1. Chapter XIV, pp. 377-390.

TYPES OF STORIES IN SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT LITERATURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DHARMA-KATHĀ IN JAIN LITERATURE

(A) Kathā and its types as given in Prakrit Works

According to *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*¹, *kathā* is threefold. 1. *artha-* 2. *dharmā-* and 3. *kāma-kathā* whereas *vikathā*² is fourfold : 1. *strī-* 2. *bhaktā-* 3. *deśa-* and 4. *rāja-kathā*. Each of these four is further sub-divided into four sub-types. Further on, *Sūtra* 569³ declares that there are seven *vikathās* and adds to the above four types the following three *vikathās*. 5. *mṛdukāruṇikā*. 6. *darśana-bhedinī* and, 7. *cāritra-bhedinī*.

Sthānāṅga (*Sūtra* 282) divides *kathā* (or rather *dharmakathā*) into four sub-types. 1. *ākṣepanī*, 2. *vikṣepanī*, 3. *saṁvegajanānī* (or *Samvejanī*) and 4. *nirvedajanānī* (or *nirvedanī*).

According to *Vasudevahiṇḍī*⁴, the *kathā* is twofold : 1. *Carita* (narrative based on tradition, biography) and 2. *Kalpita* (work of imagination, fiction invention). *Carita* is twofold, 1. narrative of life of a woman or man. *Carita* is : whatever is seen, heard or experienced with regard to the achievement in the field of the three ends of human life, *dharmā* (virtue, sacred law or duty) 2. *artha* (wealth) and 3. *kāma* (pleasure). But whatever is opposite of this, i.e., whatever is invented by the poet or story-teller and added to what has been told by the wise is called *Kalpita*. Men and women are known to be 1. *uttama* (exalted, excellent) 2. *madhyama* (middlemost) and, 3. *nikrṣṭa* (low or vile or debased). Narratives based on their lives (*Caritas*) too are of the same kind.

Haribhadrāsūri in his Introduction (*bhūmikā*) to his own *Samarā-dītyakathā* informs us that according to the view of the ancient *ācāryas* the subjectmatter of a story may relate to (1) only divine characters or (2) divine and human characters together or (3) all human characters. A story in general could have four types :

1. *arthakathā*—a story wherein wealth plays a predominant role.
2. *kāmakathā*—a story wherein love plays a predominant role.
3. *dharmakathā*—a story wherein *dharma* (virtue, duty,) plays a predominant role, and
4. *saṁkīrṇa* (or *miśra*) *kathā*—a story wherein *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma* are mixed.

Arthakathā is one which has wealth as its predominant subjectmatter and which deals with war-fare, sending of letters, agriculture, trading and mechanical arts, the use of alchemy, making of alloys, etc., the use of expedients like conciliation (*sāma*), dissension (*bheda*), bribery (*upapradāna*) and punishment (open attack) (*daṇḍa*).

Kāmakathā treats of beautiful forms, proficiency in arts, which has for its essence respectful reception and union accompanied with horripilation caused by love, and which describes the activities of (maiden messengers or) go-betweens, amours, and propitiation, etc.

Dharmakathā is one which has *dharma* (virtue, duty) for its principal theme, which treats of virtues like forgiveness, humility, straightforwardness, freedom from greed, self-control, truthfulness, purity, non-possession, celibacy, and other religious matters like the five lesser vows, etc.

Samkīrṇakathā : (A mixed story) is one which deals with all the three human ends—*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, in *sūtras* and *kāvya*s and is told in public (while reciting *Rāmāyaṇa* etc.) in Vedas (in the course of performing a sacrifice) and in *Samaya* (*Taraṅgavatī*, etc.) and which is accompanied with illustrations and cause-effect relations.

As distinguished from *kathā* there is *vikathā*. It is so called because it is devoid of the distinguishing features of the *kathā* (story) or because it is opposed to the *kathā* and deserves to be shunned (*sūtra* 282).

The four types of *vikathā*, as listed in *Sthānāṅga* (*sūtra* 282) are quite easy to follow, a story or talk about (1) *women*, their charms etc., (2) *food*- 'how delicious !' 'how tasty the food is !' etc. (3) (country, region or) place—'how lovely' ! 'how beautiful it is !', etc. and (4) about the king or ruler of the land. The additional three, mentioned in *Sthānāṅga*, (*sūtra* 569), mean : (5) a *vikathā* which is marked by tenderness and pity or compassion. (6) a *vikathā* which adversely affects one's right faith and (7) a *vikathā* which adversely affects one's right conduct.

The *Daśavaikālikasūtra-niryukti* (gāthā no. 207) lists the following *vikathās* : 1. *strīkathā*, 2. *bhaktakathā*, 3. *rājakathā*, 4. *Corajanapada kathā*, 5. *naṭanartakajallamuṣṭikakathā*. The first three types have already been explained. 4. talk about a thief -‘a thief was caught today’, ‘he was thus hurt or oppressed’; ‘talk about a *janapada*—that a particular region or place is so lovely’, etc., and 5. talk about an actor, dancer, or a person doing tight rope-walking, a rope dancer or a wrestler.

Uddyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā* (779 A. D.) lists five types of stories : 1. *sakalakathā*, 2. *khaṇḍakathā*, 3. *ullāpakathā* 4. *parihāsakathā* and, 5. *saṁkīrṇakathā*. *Sakalakathā* (The entire story) follows its hero through a series of lives. The working out of actions and their results through several lives of the hero forms its subjectmatter. It is, as the name suggests, of very great length. Hemacandra gives Haribhadrasūri’s *Samaradityakathā* (8th century) as its example—although Haribhadra himself says his is a *dharmakathā*. The *Khaṇḍakathā* (‘short story’) narrates an episode from a long narrative which is already known through some other work. Hemacandra gives *Indumatī* as its example. This work however is not extant.

Both these types of *kathā* are known to be written in Prakrit only. The *Ullāpakathā* deals with voyage or love between a young man and a young woman which demands adventures on their part. The *Parihāsa-kathā* is ‘an amusing story’ The *saṁkīrṇa-kathā* is one which is distinguished by the characteristics of all the types of *kathā*, which is charming with its erotic sentiment (*śṛṅgārarasa*), which has its various constituent parts well-knit and which delights (the readers) with the display of knowledge of various arts.

Uddyotanasūri declares that this *saṁkīrṇakathā* is threefold : 1. *dharma*, 2. *artha*- and 3. *kāma-kathā*. The *saṁkīrṇakathā* is marked by all the distinguishing features and shows at the end the attainment of all three ends of human life. It deserves notice that as against the *Daśavaikālika niryukti*, which gives all the four *dharmakathā*, etc. as the four types of *kathā*, the *Kuvalayamālā* gives the three *dharma*-, *artha*- and *kāma-kathā* as the three kinds of the *saṁkīrṇakathā*. Like Haribhadrasūri Uddyotanasūri too gives the four sub-types of the *dharmakathā* and briefly yet lucidly explains them :

Of the four sub-types, the first *ākṣepaṇī* is pleasant or agreeable to the mind, the second *vikṣepaṇī* unpleasant or disagreeable to the mind, the third *saṁvega-janani* is the mother of, that is the source or cause of right knowledge and the fourth *nirvedajanani* is the mother of, that is, the cause of *vairāgya*, indifference to worldly objects and to life.

(B) Kathā and its varieties as given in Sanskrit works on poetics

We are not interested here in main literary forms- *ākhyāyikā* (Biography, e.g. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*), *Kathā* (Novel, e.g. Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*) and *Campū* (a literary composition in mixed prose and verse, e.g., Trivikramabhaṭṭa's *Nalacampū* but in *kathā* used in its general sense (a story). Some leave out of consideration the magnificent *Brhatkathā* which ranked beside the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as one of the great storehouses of Indian literary art.

Bhoja in his *Śrngāraprakāśa* (Ch. XI) and Hemacandra, following him and Abhinavagupta, in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (Ch. VIII) speak of the following types of *kathā* :

1. *Upākhyāna*, 2. *Ākhyānaka* (or *Ākhyāna*), 3. *Nidarśana*, 4. *Pravahlikā*, 5. *Manthullī* (or *Manthullikā*), 6. *Manikulyā*, 7. *Parikathā*, 8. *Khaṇḍakathā*, 9. *Upakathā*, and 10. *Sakalakathā* (Bhoja does not mention it)

Of these ten types, *Upākhyāna* and *Ākhyāna* really belong to tradition (History-*Itihāsa*). Since Bhoja and Hemacandra have mentioned them as types of *Śravya Kāvya* (*Kathā*), all these ten may briefly be treated here :

1. *Upākhyāna* (an eposide) : That which occurs in the midst of a long literary composition and gives an account for enlightening someone else is called *upākhyāna*—For example, the *Nalopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata*.

2. *Ākhyāna* : The *upākhyāna* gets the name *ākhyāna* when a reciter (granthika) relates or narrates or expounds it by reciting, acting and singing. *Govindākhyāna* is an example.

3. *Nidarśana* (which literally means 'illustration, example' or 'lesson') is didactic fiction either direct or couched in parable. It teaches through the actions or behaviour of animals or of men what is proper or improper to be done. (It is predominantly in prose.) Its examples are the famous *Pañca-tantra*, *Dhūrta-viṭa-sarṇvāda*, *Kuṭṭanīmata* and the like.

4. *Pravahlikā* is that composition which is presented in an assembly as a dialogue between two persons in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit discussing the merits etc. of the hero (*pradhāna*). Its example is *Ceṭaka*—which is not extant.

5. *Manthullī* (or *Manthallikā*) is a *kṣudrakathā* (short story) in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit as exemplified by two such stories (now lost), called *Gorocanā* and *Anaṅgavatī*. The titles are possibly the names of their heroine. Or, it may be a humorous story making fun of priests, ministers and hermits who undertake something but do not succeed in carrying it out.

6. *Maṅikulyā* : is a story with mystery, the secret of which is revealed at the end. Its example is *Matsyahasita* (The laughter of a fish, or 'A laughing fish'.) No work of this name is available or extant.

7. *Parikathā* : is a new type of story heard for the first time in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*. In *Parikathā* there is just a narration of the story and no intention at all of depicting sentiment (*rasa*). Abhinavagupta defines it as follows : *Parikathā* is the narration of numerous anecdotes one after another in a variety of ways to inculcate one of the four *puruṣārthas* (ends of human life). Bhoja defines it in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* as follows : That is called *Parikathā* wherein experts in narrating stories compete in the art one after another desiring to outshine each other by narrating a story each. Its example is *Śūdraka-kathā*, which however is not extant. According to *Locana* it may be in any language, according to Ratneśvara, Bhoja's commentator, it is in Prakrit.

8. *Khaṇḍakathā* : Ānandavardhana informs us that the *Khaṇḍakathā* and the *Sakalakathā* are well-known in Prakrit literature and abound in *Kulakas* (*Kulaka* meaning a number of verses ranging from five to fifteen and the whole forming one sentence) thus suggesting that both of them are mixed in prose and verse. According to Bhoja and Hemacandra it is one episode from a very popular work retold separately or independently, e.g. *Indumatī*. This work, however, is not extant.

9. *Upakathā* : Bhoja and following him, Hemacandra, define *upakathā* as follows : "An *upakathā* is what is very well-known by that name, a sub-story coming up in the middle of a main story." It thus resembles the *upākhyāna*. Bhoja cites *Citrālekḥā* as its example. It is not known whether *Citrālekḥā* is a separate composition or a chapter or section of another work. The latter is probable, says Raghavan.

10. *Sakalakathā* : Abhinavagupta defines it as follows : The narrative which ends with the attainment of all the desired aims is to be known as *Sakalakathā*. Hemacandra holds that the well-known *Samarādītyakathā* (original Prakrit name being *Samarāiccakahā*) is its example. We have already noted that *Khaṇḍakathā* and *Sakalakathā* are wellknown in Prakrit literature—implying that they were written in Prakrit.

After this detailed treatment of the types (and sub-types) of stories in Prakrit and Sanskrit literatures let us turn to the important topic of *Dharmakathā* in Jain Literature. There are quite a few *dharmakathās* in Jain Literature. It is not possible to treat of them in the limited space of this paper. We deal with one or two of the most famous *dharmakathās* and that too briefly

and draw attention to the distinguishing features of this literary form which is handled by Jain poets for the propagation of their *dharma* and for the edification and spiritual benefit of the adherents of Jainism.

The earliest *dharmakathā* was *Taraṅgavatī* by Pādaliptasūri (c. 1st century A. D.). However, the original has not come down to us but only an early abridgement in 1643 Prakrit stanzas entitled *Taraṅgalolā*. Its subjectmatter is briefly as follows :

A *sādhvī* (nun), conspicuous for her beauty, tells her story. She was the beautiful daughter of a rich merchant. Once she sees a couple of ducks in a lotus pond and paints. For she remembers that in a former life she had been a duck like this and that out of love for her male duck killed by the hunter she had burned herself with him. She yearns for the husband of her former life and after a long time full of love's sorrow she finds him by the aid of a picture which she paints of the couple of ducks. Her man carries her off. While running away they are taken captive by robbers, and they are to be sacrificed to the goddess Kālī. They are, however, rescued and the parents agree to their marriage. Soon after their wedding they meet a monk who delivers a religious sermon. Learning from him that he as hunter had killed the male duck in the former life, they are disgusted with *saṃsāra*, renounce the world and become monk and nun.

The romantic love story is very interesting even in its abridged form. It served as a prototype for Haribhadrasūri's famous *dharmakathā* called *Samarādityakathā* (second half of the 8th century A. D.). It narrates in nine successive births the story of two souls—a Prince Guṇasena who was handsome and his friend Agniśarman who was very ugly. The prince enjoyed fun at his friend's cost. As a consequence of this he became an ascetic. In due course Prince Guṇasena became the king, Once he met Agniśarman, repented for his past ill-treatment and invited him to take food at his place. He accepted the invitation. Thrice he went there, but Guṇasena for some reason or the other could not receive him. Agniśarman misunderstood Guṇasena. He was inflamed with fury and resolved "If I have acquired merit by my austerities, may I then be born again and again to kill him in every one of his births." Accordingly the souls of Prince Guṇasena and his friend Agniśarman were born in nine successive births as enemies, although outwardly they were the father and the son, the mother and the daughter, the husband and his wife, etc. Ultimately the soul of Guṇasena attains liberation and the soul of Agniśarman wanders in the endless cycle of birth and death.

The central idea, the dominant motif underlying the long narrative and

most of the tales inserted in it, is *nidāna*. It is a term borrowed from medical science meaning 'the disorder of the humours of the body (*dhātus*)'. Metaphorically it means 'bad karma' which upsets the moral constitution of the *Jīva*. It is mentioned as a kind of *ārtadhyāna* : When somebody practises austerities in order to get something in another life which is denied to him in the present life it takes the form of 'bartering away one's austerities for sensual pleasures in a future birth (as a sovereign ruler for example) or for revenging oneself for insults or personal injuries in the subsequent births. Thus Agniśarman makes the dreadful resolve : "If I have acquired merit by keeping my vow, may I then be born again and again to kill him in every one of his births." This *nidāna* on the part of Agniśarman underlies the whole narrative of the *Samarādityakathā*. The inexorable law of karma underlies the principal narrative as well as many inserted stories within the main narrative. Copious instructions on *dharma* (Jainism) are inserted in all convenient places. Generally speaking, the heroes and heroines—principal characters—after listening to religious sermons renounce the world and enter the Jain Order. Numerous tales, fairy tales and parables (e.g. the parable of the man in the well, otherwise known as *madhu-bindu dr̥ṣṭānta*) are introduced in the course of sermons delivered by the Jain monks. The author, Haribhadrasūri, illustrates by stories, parables, fairy-tales how good deeds are rewarded by pleasures of heaven and bad deeds punished with tortures in hell or lower animal births. The *Samarādityakathā* "is evidently intended to illustrate the evil consequences of vices, sins and all transgressions of the Jain code of morals and to warn the reader or hearer of it against carelessness in conduct." (Dr. Jacobi). In *Samarādityakathā* we meet with some interesting tales, romantic love-stories, such as that of Sanatkumāra and Vilāsavatī who are reunited after a long separation and after inexpressibly sorrowful adventures (Ship-wreck, etc.) The story of Dharaṇa and Laksmī, too, is a pretty fairy-romance, full of adventures on land and sea, with many familiar fairy-tale motifs.

We cannot help referring, in this connection, very briefly though, to another work, a *dharmakathā par excellence* by name *Upamitībhavaprapañcā Kathā* by Siddharṣi. The literary form—*dharmakathā* or (religious narrative or novel or romance) reaches its culmination in this allegorical Sanskrit novel *Upamitībhavaprapañcā Kathā* "The narrative in which the manifoldness of existence is presented in parable or allegory." It was composed by Siddharṣi in 906 A. D. Haribhadrasūri's *Samarādityakathā* served as a model for Siddharṣi. It is an elaborate allegory worked out with much skill and care. The separate stories inserted in the main (allegorical) narrative are also in part allegories. "The poet

distinguishes between two kinds of personages : “outward” companions of the hero, and “inward” companions. It is only the latter which are personifications, and they are indeed the main characters in the drama of mundane existence”—*samsāra-nāṭaka*—which the poet intends to unfold before the pious hearer.”

That this poem enjoyed great popularity among the Jains is shown by the fact that only 100 years after its appearance extracts and abridgments were made from it.

Winternitz has well observed : “All these works, be they stories in plain prose or in simple verse, or elaborate poems, novels or epics, are all essentially sermons. They are never intended for mere entertainment, but always serve the purpose of religious instruction and edification.”⁵

The distinguishing features of the literary form, called *dharmakathā*, may be set forth as follows : (i) The poet traces the destinies of a hero and his opponent in numerous births. (ii) The doctrine of karma, especially its phase *nidāna*, is the pivot—cardinal or central point. (iii) Religious sermons dwelling upon Jain ethics and the worthlessness of *samsāra* are introduced in the narrative, finding the slightest opportunity. (iv) The principal characters, the hero, heroine and the like renounce, towards the end of the narrative, the world and enter Jain Order. (v) Interesting and charming narratives and stories, the Jain poets employ simply to attract the readers; but their chief aim is their instruction and edification. (vi) Denigration of worldly life and high praise of asceticism form an essential part of the narrative.*

Notes and References :

1. *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*, *adhyāya* 3, *Uddeśaka*-3, *sūtra*- 194.
2. *Ibid*, *adhyāya*-4, *Uddeśaka*-2, *sūtra*-282.
3. सत्त विकहाओ पत्रताओ, तं जहा- १. इत्थिकहा, २. भत्तकहा, ३. देसकहा, ४. रायकहा, ५. मिउकालुणित्ता ६. दंसणभेयणी ७. चरित्तभेयणी.
4. *Vasudevhiṇḍī*, *lambha* X, Bhavnagar, 1931, pp 208-209.
5. *A History of Indian Literature* by M. Winternitz, Vol.II (p 521) University of Calcutta, 1933.

* I acknowledge with thanks my indebtedness to the authors of the following works on which I have freely drawn :

H. Jacobi : Introduction to his edition of *Samarāiccakahā*, V. Raghavan : *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Madras, 1963, A. N. Upadhye : Introduction to his edition of *Brhatkathākośa*, M.Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature*, Volume II, Calcutta, 1933.

NANDISUTTAM AND ANUOGADDARAIM*

The *āgamas* are invaluable as religious scriptures to the Jains. But, in addition, they are a valuable source for the history of religious institutions in India and a complete picture of the composite Indian Culture. A very rich linguistic, socio-cultural and historical material lies embedded in them. Neglect of these texts leaves incomplete the picture of Indian culture portrayed only on the basis of the Pāli canon and Sanskrit literature. One of the reasons for their neglect by modern scholars is the absence of a critical edition of all the Jain *āgamas* based on modern, scientific methods of research. Such a critical edition is a desideratum. The task of preparing it, the text of which could lay claim to finality is highly complicated and really tough. The basic *sūtra* texts of the Jain *āgama* reveal inter-relations and cross contamination. The Prakrit languages present dialectal variations and the MSS, in hundreds, variant readings. The Jain *sthaviras*, when writing the *sūtra*, *cūrṇi*, *ṭikā*, *vr̥tti* etc., extensively quote passages from the old *sūtras* and from their commentaries. Naturally, one comes across almost similar or completely identical passages in hundreds pertaining to the same subject. These passages reveal difference in interpretation of certain words due to different traditions of interpretation. Ancient and modern scholars have emended the readings without consulting MSS belonging to different groups and without taking into account the different traditions of interpretation. Copyists, not fully conversant with the old script, committed mistakes in copying the MSS written in old script and thus corrupted the text. Sometimes sectarian zeal is responsible for expunging passages from the text without MS evidence. Muni Puṇyavijaya, one of the three editors of the

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- ★ *Nandisuttam and Anuyogaddaraim* (edited by Muni Puṇyavijaya, Pt. Dalsukh Malvania and Pt. Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak) published as *Jaina-Āgama-Series No. 1* by Shri Mahāvīr Vidyālaya, Bombay-26, 1968, pp. 1-53+1-70 (in Gujarati)+1-127 (in English) + 1-476 (List of Abbreviations, Tables of Contents, Texts and Appendices)
Price : Rs. 40.00

present edition, who devoted his entire life to the study of the Jain *āgamas* and commentaries on them such as *niryuktis*, *cūrṇis*, *ṭīkās*, *avacūrṇis*, *ṭippanakas*, *vṛtti* and *bhāṣyas* and possessed long experience in the field of critically editing Jain *āgama* texts evolved principles of textual criticism to be followed in critically editing the texts in the *Jaina-Āgama-Series*. These principles are :

- (i) Use of old palm-leaf MSS.
- (ii) Use of critically corrected commentaries on *āgamas* such as *cūrṇi*, *ṭīkā*, *avacūri*, *ṭippanaka* etc.
- (iii) Use of quotations from the *āgamas* and also from their commentaries.
- (iv) Comparison with the *sūtra-pāṭha* found in the other *āgamas*.
- (v) Discerning wrong emendations made by commentators and / or by modern scholars.
- (vi) Discerning mistakes made by copyists.

The editors, judiciously applying these principles present in this volume the critical text of *Nandi* and *Anuyogadvāra sūtras* which form the *cūlikā*, as it were, to the entire *śruta*. It would seem strange that the editors begin with the end. But their explanation is quite convincing and satisfactory. The *Nandi* falls in the *aṅga-bāhya* class. Normally, it should occupy a place subsequent to the *aṅgas*. But on account of its extraordinary position in the whole body of the *āgama* texts, it is placed first. It has secured the place of *maṅgalācaraṇa* in the beginning of the study of *āgamas*. So the editors too accord it the first place not only in this volume but in the entire series of the project. If the *Nandi* serves as a *maṅgala*, the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* serves as a key to the understanding of the *āgamas*. Naturally, these two texts form a pair; and rightly the editors open the series with them.

The text of the *Nandisūtra* is mainly based on eight MSS that are very old amongst the extant ones. In finalising the text the editors have made thorough use of the *Cūrṇi*, Haribhadra's *Vṛtti*, Malayagiri's *Vṛtti*, Śrīcandra's *Ṭippana* and also consulted the *Dvādaśāranayacakra*, the *Samavāyāṅgasūtra* and Abhayadeva's *Vṛtti* on the *Bhagavatīsūtra* which abound in quotations and elucidation, etc, that have a bearing on the text of the *Nandisūtra*.

In the preparation of the critical edition of the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* the editors have used ten different MSS, some representing the unabridged text and others the abridged text. The text of this edition is mainly based on the

Cambay palm-leaf MS and gives readings which are in conformity with the *Vṛtti* of Maladhāri Hemacandra and represents the unabridged text (*brhad-vācanā*).

From among the various useful appendices the two giving the alphabetical index of all the words occurring in the texts of the *Nandisūtra* and the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* as well in footnotes to them are of great importance. They give Sanskrit equivalents of each and every Prakrit word and indicate the *deśya* words, indeclinables and adverbs by appropriate signs. It is for the first time that such all-comprehensive indexes of these *āgama* texts have been prepared. These and similar indexes of the remaining *āgama* texts will facilitate the task of preparing a complete and authentic dictionary of the *āgama* texts.

The editors when speaking about the present critical edition rightly lay emphasis on the task of making available correct and genuine readings, point out the deficiencies in the printed editions and expose, more in pain than in anger, the glaring defects in the so-called new commentaries of Ghasilalji and insist on the editor's prior equipment such as knowledge of tradition and history of *āgamas*. They fully discuss (Intro p. 107) some important readings such as *tesiyam*, *terāsiyam* (for *vesiyam* or *vesitam*, *Sk vaisīkam*) in the *Nandisūtra* (p. 29, 1.8) and *Kāvoyānam* or *Kānotānam* (for *Kāyānam-Kāya* or *Kāta* is a *deśya* word, meaning 'Kāvaḍi-vāhaka, or *vīvadhavāhaka* in *Sk.*) in the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* (p. 73, 1.10) and they also throw fresh light on what is *pasatthā jhavanā* and what is *apasatthā Jhavanā* rightly criticising the corrupt readings in the printed editions of the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, and conclude how the preparation of a truly critical edition demands of its editor such qualities as tremendous patience, perseverance, keenness for exactitude, vigilance and sincerity in scrutinising different MSS, in collating variants and in understanding the textual explanations given by commentators.

The critical edition is prefaced with a learned and masterly introduction treating of various topics such as the Jain *āgamas* and the *Vedas*, sources of the *āngas*, the Geographical Region of their composition, Language, Number, Classification, and Age of the *āgamas*, Author of *Nandisūtra-Devavācaka*, his Date, *Anuyoga* (Exposition), the Method of Exposition as demonstrated in the *Anuyogadvāra*, the Jain, the Buddhistic and the Vedic Methods of Exposition, Life and Date of the author and the Date of the *Anuyogadvāra* and, last but not the least, they treat of the rich socio-

cultural material found in the two texts.

In their Introduction the editors clearly point out the difference between the *Vedas* on the one hand and the Buddhist *Tripitakas* and the Jain *Āgamas* on the other. The former are *śabda-pradhāna* whereas the latter are *artha-pradhāna*. The Brāhmaṇas have preserved not only the original words of the *Vedas* but their correct pronunciation also. The Jains have tried to preserve the meaning of the words concerned and not the original words of their *Tirthaṅkaras*. This is a fact none can deny. It would not, however, be correct to belittle the importance of words. If words are to be depreciated there is hardly any sense in undertaking a project like the present one and discussing the principles to be followed in critically editing the *āgama* texts and collating scores and scores of copies of text and recording variant readings. It would only mean 'much ado about nothing.'

On p. 39 the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* is referred to as 'the earliest among the commentaries on the *Āvaśyaka*', but on p. 45 we are told that 'it does not provide us with an exposition of the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*'. The suggestion of the editors that '*Ghoḍamuharī*' and '*Nāgasuhumārī*' stand for *aśva-śāstra* and *hastī-śāstra* respectively deserves consideration. In his paper "*Identification of a Few Śāstras mentioned in the Jaina Sūtras*" (JOI, Baroda, Vol. XVIII, 1968) Shri Anantlal Thakur identifies these two *śāstras* with a work on erotics by *Ghoṭakamukha* and a work on the Science of Logic (*Sūkṣmonyāyaḥ*) respectively. The English rendering of the Gujarati Introduction is quite satisfactory. It covers the entire Introduction except the topics entitled "Nandisūtra—Anuyogadvāra-sūtrāntargata Sānskritic Sāmagrī" (Gujarati Introduction, pp. 52-70) which is summarised under the heading "*Discussion on Certain Secondary Subjects*" (pp. 72-76). The editors fight shy of discussing the example of *Vriḍanaka-rasa* as it refers to the ancient custom (prevalent in some parts of India) of taking the 'bridal garment' (*Vahu-poṭṭi*=*vadhu-nivasana*=*ānandapaṭa*) from house to house with a view to declaring the bride's virginity and its being saluted to by the bride's father-in-law and mother-in-law. Ācārya Haribhadra and Maladhāri Hemacandra do not, however, hesitate to explain fully this *gāthā* in their commentaries. We come across reference to such a 'bridal garment being carried from house to house in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* (V. 57) also. The editors understand the verse illustrating *hāsyā-rasa* somewhat differently from the commentators referred to above. It is also possible to take the *gāthā* as referring to the illicit love between the *vadhū* and her *devara*, especially in view of some *gāthās* in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* portraying such love between them. The editors rightly point

out that the list of nine *rasas* in the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* substitutes *vṛīḍanaka* in place of the *bhayānaka* in the traditional list. Here it may further be pointed out that the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* gives the pride of place to the *vīra* and not to the *śṛṅgāra rasa* as found in almost all the Sanskrit texts dealing with poetics. The explanation for this change by the author probably lies in the fact that the present work deals with the highest end of human life, viz., *mokṣa*, and that it is attainable through *heroic efforts in conquering the internal enemies* (such as *kāma*, *krodha*, etc). The definitions and the verses illustrating these nine *rasas* are such as are not to be met with in the treatises on the science of dramaturgy or poetics. Still further it may be pointed out here that the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* (3rd century A. D.) is the *first* among the available texts that speak of *Śāntarasa*. It is, indeed, extraordinary that none of the Jain writers on dramaturgy/poetics cares to take note of these significant changes in their treatment of the topic of *rasa*.

Incidentally, we may refer here to a few errors / misprints, although they are very minor, that have crept in through inadvertence : on p. 26, 1.12 (from below) we should read 'We' for 'I' as the Introduction is contributed by the three editors. On p. 35.1.11 (from below) we should read *destroys* for *destroy*. On p. 49, 1.4 we should read *refuted* and on the same page (L. 12) *Sthavira*). On p. 50, L. 16 we should read *pāpāt* for *pātāt*. On p. 59, I. 10 we should read *partially*. On p. 71 f. n. 59a the *Kaṇagasattarī* is referred to as 'this Sanskrit work.' Strictly speaking, it is not erroneous. But the Prakrit title is apt to mislead. On p. 92, 1.12 (from below) we should read *ucyante*. In the English translation of the Gujarati Introduction (p. 107) *Vaiśeṣikam* is given as the Sanskrit equivalent of *vesiyam*. It ought to have been *Vaiśikam*. The appendices at the end meticulously record all the words in the texts as well as the footnotes. But rare omissions could be detected. For instance, *mugundassa* (p. 63, 1. 17) is not included in the Appendix (p. 415). Further, the Sanskrit meanings of a few words given in the Appendices hardly add to our knowledge. 'śāstra-viśeṣa', 'vrati-viśeṣa', 'sūtra-bheda', 'śilpi-viśeṣa', 'dhānya-māna-viśeṣa', 'kālamāna-viśeṣa', etc., are some such instances. The reviewer ventures to suggest that a critical edition of an *āgama* text should invariably be accompanied by its Sanskrit commentary. For even to an advanced student of Prakrit the glossary of Prakrit words along with their Sanskrit meanings would not prove quite useful. In its absence an English translation or translation in Hindi or any other Modern Indian Language with detailed notes is an absolute must for the understanding of the text. Another suggestion the reviewer would like to make : There should be

separate volumes of the critically edited text accompanied by Introduction, Translation, Notes, etc., in English and in Modern Indian Languages—adding English translation of *Sampādakīya* (Editors' Note) and of *Prastāvanā* (Introduction) to the Gujarati preface as is done here—although considerations of resources at hand and of economy might have influenced this decision of bringing out the present edition in its present form does not appeal to one's aesthetic sense. Finally, the volumes of critically edited texts of the Jaina āgamas, should be, as far as practicable, brought out on *uniform pattern*.

These suggestions apart, it is superfluous to add that the present edition is simply superb. Its printing is pleasing to the eye and get-up excellent. The editors deserve warmest congratulations for presenting to the world of scholars, especially scholars of Jainology, this splendid critical edition.



STUDIES IN EARLY JAINISM (Selected Research Articles)

The book* under review is a collection of Dr. J. C. Jain's twenty-five research articles published from time to time in Indian and Foreign Oriental Journals. Of these, seven articles deal with one aspect or another of *Vasudevahindī*, a Jain Version of the lost *Brhatkathā* of Guṇādhya; five, with Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature; four, with Jainism including Religion, Mythology and worship; three, with Ancient Indian Culture; and one article each deals with "Trade and Commerce in Ancient India." "The School of Sarvāstivāda from Jain Sources," "Prakrit in the Background of Hīndī", "The Science of Prognostication : Nimittaśāstra", "Memorable Pilgrimage by Hieun Tsang—A Chinese Traveller" and finally, "The scope of Research in Jain Studies."

The above analysis would show that the title does not quite fit the contents of the book. The title raises the expectation that the book mainly deals with Early Jainism in respect of theology, ethics, logic and philosophy (and seeds of the later principal schisms and sects) as compared with its canonical and post-canonical forms. There are only four articles which, properly speaking, treat of Early Jainism :

1. Early Jainism, 2. Two great Religions of Magadha, 3. The Role of Dharāṇendra in Jain Mythology and 4. Jain worship : A Critical View. A majority of the articles included in this book deal with Jain Narrative Literature.

Dr. Jain is a renowned scholar of Prakrit and Jainism. He has been a Research Professor in the Department of Indology, University of Kiel and a Professor of Hindi in Peking. He is a reputed author. Numerous works on a variety of subjects are to his credit. The work under review is a valuable

★ *STUDIES IN EARLY JAINISM*, Jagdishchandra Jain, publ. by Mrs. Nirmal Singal for Navrang, Booksellers and publishers, RB-7, Inderpuri, New Delhi-110012, 1992, pp. 241, Rs. 280.00

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contribution to Jain Studies, especially to a critical and comparative study of Prakrit tales in the context of their original source and migrations to other countries of the world. The research articles are free from sectarian bias and attest to his objective attitude and high regard for truth in conducting research. His articles are very informative and of absorbing interest to inquisitive readers and scholars—especially to such readers who are keen on universal story literature as well as Jain religion and culture.

It is regrettable that the book has unfortunately numerous spelling mistakes and inaccuracies. A few of them are noted below :

p. 4, line 11	'After' for 'altar'.
p. 4, para. 2, line 7 (from below)	'Lightening' for 'lightning'.
p. 7, para. 2 last line	'Indental' for 'identical'.
p. 21, para. 2 (last lines)	'which can (be) only the BK'.
p. 27, para. 4, line 6	'harsh' (hard)...'stange' (strange).
p. 24, f.n., line 1.1	'peper' for 'paper'.
p. 81, para. 3, line 6	'behive' for 'beehive'.
p. 81, line 8	'Woridly' for 'worldly'
p. 83, para. 4, line 4 (from below)	'thew' for 'threw'.
p. 84, line 1	'multilated' for 'mutilated.'
p. 93, para 3, line 15,	'persuade' for 'persuade'.
line 19	'undergound' for 'underground.'
p. 125, line 13.	'...truth is many sides.'
	for...'many-sided.'
p. 146, para 2. line 6 (from below)	'(The Science of) deviation' for
	'devination'.
p. 148, line 4 (from below)	'indiscrimate' for 'indiscriminate'.
p. 155, para. 3, line 1	'has very <i>title</i> to do with' for 'little'
p. 195, sub-heading	'unforgettful' for 'unforgetful'.
p. 198, last bu one para. line 4	'Scared Books' for 'Sacred Books.'
p. 200, line 5	'a <i>renowened</i> scholar' for
	'renowned...'

Occasionally carelessness is noticed in citing printed Sanskrit names or quotations. For example on p.182 we read : 'henceforth he should call himself Satyakāma Jābāla (her mother's name was Jābāla)'. This sentence given in

round brackets is simply meaningless. Satyakama's father's name is not known. His mother's name is Jabālā. Satyakāma therefore calls himself, on his mother's advice, as Satyakāma Jābāla. The name Jābāla is metronymic and means 'born from Jabālā', 'Jabālā's son'. On p. 123 the author says : "In support of their view, Cārvākas have quoted a passage from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*." And on p. 127 under notes he cites the passage :

इदं महद्भूतमनन्तपारं....सयुत्थाय....न प्रेन्थ संज्ञास्तीत्यपरे ब्रवीमीत्तिहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः (2.4.12).

Now, the citation is not from *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* but *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*. Further the quotation is wrongly given. We should read the passage correctly as follows :

इदं महद्भूतमनन्तमपारं....समुत्थाय....न प्रेत्य संज्ञास्तीत्यरे ब्रवीमीति...

In spite of such spelling/printing mistakes and inaccuracies, Dr. Jain's work is a welcome addition to studies on Jainism and Universal story literature.



ĀYĀRAṄGA : PAḌHAMA SUTA-KHANDHA, PAḌHAMA AJJHAYAṆA (ĀCĀRĀṄGA : PRATHAMA ŚRUTA-SKANDHA, PRATHAMA ADHYAYANA) *

Several works forming part of the Śvetāmbara Jain Āgama (Canon) inform us that Mahāvīra delivered his religious discourses in the Addhamāgahā Bhāsā (i. e., Ardhamāgadhī language). He chose this language for his discourses as it was the spoken language of the people. It was so called, according to one view, because it was current in half of Magadha (modern Bihar) to which region, Mahāvīra himself belonged. According to another view, the language was so called because it shared some of the features of the dialects that were current in the adjoining regions. In other words, it was not wholly, but only partly Māgadhī (*ardham māgadhī*). But the language of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon which was finally fixed and reduced to writing at the conference of Valabhi under Devarddhi Gaṇin hardly shows characteristics common to Māgadhī. On the contrary it shows surprisingly great affinity with Māhārāṣṭrī. Scholars of linguistics explain the transformation as an inevitable result of the powerful impact of the dominant literary Māhārāṣṭrī. It is a well known fact that from the days of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* Māhārāṣṭrī has enjoyed the enviable status of *prakṛtam prakṛtam*—the best among all Prakrit languages. The language of the canon which was undergoing changes slowly and imperceptibly during the very long period of 1000 years from the days of Mahāvīra, when it came in contact with literary Māhārāṣṭrī, after migration, it was very natural, that it should be highly influenced by the latter (the literary Māhārāṣṭrī)

Muni Puṇyavijayajī has somewhat different explanation. The phonological changes in the readings of the text had not been due to a natural process but these changes in the spelling of the words have been brought about intentionally by the later Ācāryas at different times or on account of losing

★ Ed. K. R. CHANDRA, Prakrit Jaina Vidyā Vikāsa Fund, Ahmedabad, 1998, pp. 327, Rs. 150.00

contact with the original forms of the ancient Prakrit when the community of monks was unable to understand the original forms of the language (Ardhamāgadhī) Ācārya Abhayadeva, Ācārya Malayagiri etc., found it necessary to change old forms into the new or younger forms and it is they who have transformed old forms.

Whatever be the circumstances responsible for the changes, the fact remains that the original (Ardhamāgadhī) language of the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon is greatly influenced by the standard Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit.

Now, it is an admitted fact that the Jain Āgama texts are not *śabda-pradhāna* but *artha-pradhāna*. The Jains have tried to preserve the true meaning (*artha*) and not the original words (*śabda*) of Mahāvīra :

अत्थं भासइ अरिहा सुत्तं गंथंति गणहरा णिउणं ।

(Mahāvīra promulgates the true meaning of scriptures in the course of his religious discourses, and his Gaṇadharas—immediate disciples or apostles (chief disciples) undertake the task of arranging them in the *sūtra*-form—in the form of scriptures). If we remember this fact, we need not bother or worry too much about the nature of word forms—whether older or younger as both convey the original true meaning. Looked at from this point of view any attempt to restore old Ardhamāgadhī would amount to a futile exercise.

The above view is, it would seem, one-sided. The problem has another side too. From among the forty-five texts of the Jain *āgama* some like the *Ācārāṅga*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* are decidedly the oldest which retain older forms of the ancient Prakrit to a considerable extent. By adopting modern tools and methods of research and generally accepted principles of text editing we can fairly certainly hope to restore the ancient Prakrit—Ardhamāgadhī—in which Mahāvīra spoke and his immediate disciples—the Gaṇadharas—tried to preserve his discourses

Dr. K. R. Chandra, a veteran Prakrit scholar, has devoted a number of years to a study in depth of this problem of restoration of the ancient Prakrit—Old Ardhamāgadhī—in which Mahāvīra gave his religious discourses and his Gaṇadharas embodied them. In the work under review Chandra presents, after carefully applying the principles of restoration evolved by him, the restored text of *Āyārāṅga* I. 1 by way of a sample demonstration.

Chandra divides his work into the following six sections :

Section I : consists of Introduction both in English and Hindi. (pp. 1-12)

- Section II : presents comparison of the word-forms of the text of *Ācārāṅga* with that of its various editions and manuscripts, other *āgama* texts and older Prakrit texts. (pp. 15-72)
- Section III : gives restored text of *Āyāraṅga* I. 1, on the basis of available archaic word-forms. (pp. 75-156)
- Section IV : gives information about certain phonetic changes as seen in earlier and later word-forms. (pp. 157-166)
- Section V : gives a complete alphabetical Index of all the word-forms of the restored text. (pp. 167-195)
- Section VI : presents in parallel columns the restored text along with the corresponding texts of the earlier well-known editions.
(pp. 199-269)

At the end of this section (VI) H. Jacobi's text of the first chapter of *Āyāraṅga* is reproduced. Curious readers would find it instructive to compare Chandra's text with that of Jacobi (pp. 271-276). Then follows an Appendix presenting excerpts from the Reviews and Opinions on the linguistically re-editing of the *Ācārāṅgsūtra* and restoration of the original Ardhamāgadhī language (pp. 277-327)

In the beginning we meet with the opinions of Prof. Malvania, Prof. Bhayani, Prof. Ghatage and a few more scholars. We have finally the views of Muni Puṇyavijayji on the form of the original language of Jain Ardhamāgadhī texts as it is found altered in the preserved MSS. (pp. xi-xiv).

Dr. K. R. Chandra deserves warm congratulations for his brilliant piece of research. We earnestly hope he continues his work of editing the remaining part of *Āyāraṅga* on the same lines as followed in the present work.



ISIBHĀSIYĀĪM KĀ PRAKRIT-SANSKRIT ŚABDAKOŚA★

Isibhāsiyāim (Sk. *Ṛṣibhāṣitāni*) is a unique Jain canonical work—unique because it contains the Sayings (*bhāṣitāni*) of Sages (*ṛṣis*), who did not, strictly speaking, belong to the Jain fold. This work attests to the catholicity and magnanimity of heart of the early Jain thinkers who collected the sayings of the Non-Jain *ṛṣis* to form a canonical text. Incidentally, the text points to the existence of the common ethical thought in the various early religious sects.

It is generally accepted that the forty-five texts which form the Jain Canon cannot have originated at one period of time. Scholars have distinguished between the earlier and later strata of the Jain Canon. Regarding the antiquity of *Isibhāsiyāim* Dr. Walter Schubring observes : “That we have the old *Isibhāsiyāim* before us cannot be doubted. Numerous indisputably genuine reminiscences in language and style link the work up with the *Āyāra*, the *Sūyagaḍa*, the *Uttarajjhāyā* and the *Dasaveyāliya*, the seniors of the canon”. (Introduction to *Isibhāsiyāim*, 1974 edn p. 2). The Jains use the word *isi* (*ṛṣi*) in the sense of *muni*. In the present work, however, the word *isi* (*muni*) carries an additional or special meaning or idea of his being a *pratyekabuddha* (one who has attained or arrived at the highest knowledge by himself, understood the truth by his own efforts but does not preach it to others). The names of the *Pratyekabuddhas* include some names which figure in the Vedic and Buddhist literature.

It is very desirable to conduct a linguistic study of the senior canonical works for discovering the archaic form of the Ardhamāgadhī language. Dr. Chandra, an eminent scholar of Prakrit language and literature from Ahmedabad took upon himself this arduous task. He prepared the present exhaustive Prakrit-Sanskrit Word to Word Index of the *Isibhāsiyāim* along with those of other senior texts of the Ardhamāgadhī canon for the specific purpose of tracing the oldest Ardhamāgadhī vocabulary and archaic morphological forms to serve as an aid to linguistically re-editing the oldest portion of the Jain

★ Prepared and Edited K. R. Chandra, published by Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad-380009. 1998, pp.140, Rs. 60.00

canonical work *Ācārāṅga*. For it is well known that the language of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, handed down to us is greatly influenced by Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit.

Dr. Chandra has taken great pains in preparing the Index under review. It is bound to be of great use to scholars working in the field of Indo-Aryan Linguistics.

While going through this Index one notices a few misprints :

P. 16 col 1 : *ādyamadhya* (for *ādyamadhyā*) *vasānānām*

P. 63 col 2 : *tivravahne* for *tivra-vahneḥ*

P. 109 col 1 : *Saddhamava*—for *saddhamma-vakkadāṇam*

P. 112 col 2 : *Valkala-Cīrīṇā* for *ciriṇā*

One comes across a few errors as well :

P. 3 col 2 : *aḍaṇīe aṭavyām* for *mārge*.

Note : 'aḍaṇī magge'—*Deśi-śabda-saṁgraha* 1.16

P. 7 col 2 : *atthāhāe asthāghāyam* for *astāghāyām*

Note : *atthāha* adj [*astagha*].....*athāha*.....*gambhīra*
—PSM p.49, col 2

atthāha adj [*deśī*] see *atthaggha*—PSM, p. 49, col.2

atthaggha adj [*deśī*]....*agādha*, *gambhīra*—PSM. p. 48. col 3

P. 123 col : *Samvuḍe*—*Samvṛta*

saṁvuḍam-samvṛttam

There is some confusion. *saṁvuḍa* is to be rendered into Sanskrit as *saṁvṛta*. It conveys the meaning of 'restrained'. cf PSM, p. 853 col 2.

Samvṛtta means 'became, happened'.

p. 123 col 2 : The Prakrit expression *saṁsāra-kantāram* is thrice rendered into Sanskrit as *saṁsāra-kantāram*. It should be rendered in Sanskrit as 'saṁsāra-kāntāram'.

These few misprints and errors hardly detract from the great merit of Dr. Chandra's painstaking, industrious and thorough work, the Index, under review.



RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE JAINAS

World's Parliament of Religions was held at Chicago in 1893 A. D. V.R. Gandhi was an exponent of Jainism at this first Parliament. His lectures on Jainism and Jain Philosophy, delivered at this Parliament, were collected and published in two books entitled *The Jaina Philosophy* (1910 and 1924) and *The Karma Philosophy* (1913 and 1924). The present publication is a part of the Centenary Celebrations of that first Parliament. Dr. N. J. Shah, who is an eminent scholar of Jainism and Indian Philosophy, has from these lectures selected passages and arranged them in the present book in such a manner as to give a connected, consistent and systematic account of the Jain Philosophy and Religion. He has added at appropriate places headings and sub-headings to indicate the point under discussion.

The present book* is divided into four parts . Part I—Chapter I deals with 'Cultural Environment' : antiquity of Indian civilization and the Vedas, social status of early Hindus, moral status of the Hindus' life, its object and laws according to Hindus, six systems of philosophy, essential principles of Hinduism and essentials of Buddhism and thus prepares the ground for a proper understanding and appreciation of the Jain Philosophy and Religion (pp. 3-39).

Part II (consisting of Chapters 2 to 7) explains the essentials of Jain Philosophy. Chapter 2 presents bare outlines of the fundamentals of Jainism : nine principles, six substances, six kinds of living beings, four states of existence, transmigration, *Karma* and Jain ethics. Chapter 3 treats of the Jain conception of reality and knowledge. Chapter 4 treats of the Jain conception of soul. Chapter 5 deals with the Jain view of the universe, chapter 6, with the Jain view of God and Chapter 7 with Jain Symbolism (pp. 43-95).

Part III (consisting of chapters 8 to 16) is devoted to the exposition of the unique Jain theory of *karma*. It treats of the nature of *karma*, relation between soul and *karma*, and eightfold classification of *karma*, the causes of *karma*,

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subdivisions of the eight types of karma : 1. *Jñānāvaranīya* (knowledge-obscuring), 2. *darśanāvaranīya* (faith-obscuring), 3. *Vedanīya*, 4. *Mohaniya*, 5. *āyuh*, 6. *nāma*, 7. *gotra*, and 8. *antarāya karma* (pp. 99-142).

Part IV (consisting of only one Chapter i.e., chapter 17) is devoted to the exposition of the 14 *guṇa sthānas* which represent various stages of spiritual development (pp. 145-228) Incidentally, it may be noted here that the position of the subject 'Sixth Stage of 'Development' and onwards (pp. 222-228), which was left unwritten by Gandhi owing to his ill-health, is completed by the editor, Dr N. J. Shah.

The 'Contents' are prefaced with a useful Introduction (pp. 5-24) and a Table of Contents (pp. 25-32) by Dr. N. J. Shah, the editor. At the end is added an Appendix very briefly dealing with 'Contributions of Jainism to Literature and Progress'. (pp. 229-232)

Part I reveals V. R. Gandhi's deep love for Indian culture. His treatment of the *Pañca-mahā-yajñas* (five great sacrifices), by performing which animal man becomes human is indeed very instructive. He points out that according to the Jain conception of reality both the substance (*dravya*) and its modes (*paryāyas*) are real. He compares this view with that of Vedānta which regards *Paryāyas*, modes as unreal. He deals with the method of analysis (*nayavāda*) and synthesis (*syādvāda*) of the Jains and answers Śāṅkarācārya's criticism of *Syādvāda*. He puts forward forceful and cogent arguments in favour of rebirth and transmigration. He explains the Jain view of God. The Jains do not believe in a God who is a creator of the world. According to them, a perfected soul is a God and there could be any number of such Gods. The Vedic Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains agree on the conception that each *karma* (action) entails its fruit, it is the Jain thinkers however who have given deep thought to and studied it minutely from various points of view. They have developed the *karma* theory in all its aspects in their works dealing with the doctrine of *karma*. The conception of 14 *Guṇasthānas* as expounded by the Jains, though appears new, has some parallel in the stages of spiritual development mentioned in the yoga system.

The work under review reveals V. R. Gandhi's non-sectarian approach, his insight into the essentials of religion, his sound knowledge of other systems of Indian Philosophy, his close acquaintance with Western Philosophy and as stated earlier, his love for our culture.

It is an excellent handbook of the Jain Religion and Philosophy.

Dr. N. J. Shah, who has ably edited the work and prefaced it with his valuable Introduction deserves our warm congratulations for adding this splendid treatise, based on V. R. Gandhi's enlightening lectures, to the existing literature in English on Jain Religion and Philosophy.

HEMACANDRA'S TREATMENT OF THE ALAMKĀRA AND RASA TRADITIONS

At the outset, I sincerely thank the authorities of the L. D. Institute of Indology for inviting me to deliver a lecture in Śrī Hemacandra Navaśatābdi Vyākhyānamālā, organised under the auspices of their Institute. Ācārya Hemacandra, the polymath, is a precious gift of the Jain community of Medieval Gujarat to our country. He was a great man not only of his age but of all ages. He had profound knowledge of almost all branches of learning known to Medieval India and he himself contributed to them by writing authentic compendiums/works which won him the covetable title *Kali-kāla-sarvajña*. I pay homage to the sacred memory of this great Jain polymath/savant.

Now, I have been asked to speak on "Hemcandra's Treatment of the Alamkāra and Rasa Traditions". With the late Prof. R. C. Parikh I edited Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*. This co-operative venture has a history. Prof. Parikh had just about that time brought out his critical edition of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* with the *Samketa* commentary of Someśvara Bhaṭṭa which was till then unpublished. Then I was working at the Gujarat College. He gave me a complimentary copy. When I glanced through the pages of the *Samketa* commentary, I noticed question-marks at a number of places indicating that those readings were corrupt. I was prompted by these question-marks to a comparative study and I wrote a review article correcting a large number of passages by identifying their sources, and gave it to Prof. Parikh for pre-view. He was highly impressed by that review article and within a few days he invited me to join him as co-editor in the task of bringing out a second revised edition of Hemcandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* and I am happy to state that our edition has been welcomed by scholars in the field as a *standard* edition. I fully utilised the opportunity provided by Prof. Parikh, studied critically and comprehensively the work and the fruit of this study was my paper "*The Sources of Hemacandra's Kāvyaṅuśāsana*". This paper was greatly appreciated by an outstanding *ālamkārika* from Bengal, Prof. Siva Prasad Bhattacharya, who had earlier

published his paper on “Hemacandra and the Eleventh Century Poeticians of Kashmir” in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1957.

Hemacandra and The *alamkāra* tradition

Let us begin with Hemacandra and the *alamkāra* tradition. It appears that in ancient times *kāvya* and *nāṭya* (poems and plays) were looked upon as separate compartments. Poetics developed in distinction from dramaturgy. There were certainly predecessors of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍī whose works they have freely used but which are no longer extant. These *ālamkārikas*—writers on poetics, literary thinkers—in the course of their aesthetic investigation discovered that the prime source of beauty in *kāvya* is the *alamkāras*. This discovery of theirs gave the name *alamkāraśāstra* to poetics, and the word *ālamkārika* or *alamkārakāra* for a writer on poetics.

The word *alamkāra* in its widest sense denotes *saundarya* or *vakrokti* or *atiśayokti* (beauty, figurative speech or an extraordinary striking mode of expression). It is at the basis of each and every *alamkāra*. It constitutes the very life of *kāvya* (poetry). It distinguishes *kāvya* from *śāstra* (science) or ordinary everyday language of life (*lokaprasiddhabhāṣāvyaavahāra*). It is a deviation from ordinary or natural mode of expressing things or facts of any sort in order to produce a certain striking effect (*vicchitti* or *vaicitrya*) or an imaginative turn of speech (*bhaṅgibhaniti*). In this sense it applies to figures of speech because they beautify *kāvya*. Daṇḍī uses the term *alamkāra* in the restricted sense of figures of speech and in the widest sense also to cover anything which lends beauty to the poem :

काव्यशोभाकराधर्मानलंकारान् प्रचक्षते ।
ते चाद्यापि विकल्प्यन्ते कस्तान् कात्स्न्येन वक्ष्यति ॥ —*Kāvyaḍarśa* II. 1

and,

यच्च सन्ध्यङ्ग-वृत्त्यङ्ग-लक्षणाद्यागमान्तरे ।
व्यावर्णितमिदं चेष्टमलंकारस्तथैव नः ॥ —*Kāvyaḍarśa* II. 367

Bhāmaha, the greatest exponent of the *alamkāra* tradition, insists on the *alamkāras* as the most essential feature of *kāvya*. He emphatically declares :

न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनितामुखम् । —*Kāvyaalamkāra* I. 13cd

Not that these *ālamkārikas* were not aware of the *rasa* theory but they gave the *rasas* ‘a subordinate place’ from the point of view of the *ālamkārikas* who held *rasa* or *rasādi* (*dhvani*) to be the soul of poetry. Bhāmaha and others defined such *alamkāras* as *rasavat*, *preyas* etc., ‘making *rasas* subordinate to *alamkāras*.

Mammaṭa defines poetry as

तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलंकृती पुनः क्लृप्ति ।

Jayadeva, the author of *Candrāloka*, vehemently criticises Mammaṭa for his definition of poetry which omits *alamkāras*. He bursts out :

अङ्गीकरोति यः काव्ये शब्दार्थवनलंकृती ।

असौ न मन्यते कस्मादनुष्णामनलं कृती ।

We have the cause of the *alamkāras* in the poet's imagination (*kavipratibhā*) and their effect is a definite fact, species of charm. Mammaṭa's definition of *alamkāra* in effect accepts this fact :

वैचित्र्यं चालङ्कारः ।

'*Vaicitrya*' or '*vicchitti*' is a certain charm which gives an *alamkāra* its being and value. Such charm does not permit of exact description as it is as infinite as the poet's imagination which produces it, but it is this which forms the basis of any *alamkāra* and justifies our asserting that it is an *alamkāra* differentiating it from other arts. Theoretically speaking, there is no limit to the number of *alamkāras*. What is after all an *alamkāra* ? Ānandavardhana says :

अनन्ता हि वाग्विकल्पास्तत्प्रकारा एव चालङ्कारः । —*Dhvanyāloka*. p. 473

तत्र शब्दार्थवैचित्र्यप्रकारोऽनन्तः ।

—*Locana*, p. 25

अभिधानप्रकारविशेषा एव चालङ्काराः ।

—*Alamkārasarvasva*, p. 9

Bhāmaha and Daṇḍī hardly made any distinction between *guṇas* and *alamkāras*. Ruyyaka, the author of *Alamkārasarvasva*, rightly summarises the view of the exponents of the *alamkāra* tradition in these words :

इह हि तावद्भ्रामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरन्तनालङ्कारकाराः प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कारतयालङ्कारपक्षनिक्षिप्तं मन्यन्ते ।....उद्भटादिभिस्तु गुणालङ्काराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम् ।..... तदेवमलङ्कारा एव काव्ये प्रधानमिति प्राच्यानां मतम् ।

As against this *alamkāra* tradition we have the *Rasa* or *Rasādi-dhvani* tradition. According to this tradition *rasa* (or *rasādi*) is the very essence, the very soul, of *kāvya* (including *nāṭya*). *Rasa* is *pradhāna*, *alamkārya* and *alamkāras* adorn, or add to or heighten or enhance the beauty of the *pradhāna artha*—the *alamkārya rasa*. Just as bracelets, etc., when worn on her person by a *kāminī* (a lovely maiden) enhance her beauty and are called *alamkāras* even so *upamā*, *anuprāsa*, etc. the *arthālamkāras* and the *śabdālamkāras* when they heighten *rasa*, are called *alamkāras*. When defining *alamkāras* in a general way Hemacandra says :

अङ्गाश्रिता अलङ्कारः

—1.13

Hemacandra here echoes *Dhvanyāloka* II. 6 :

तमर्थमवलम्बन्ते येऽङ्गिनं ते गुणाः स्मृताः ।

अङ्गाश्रितास्त्वलङ्कारा मन्तव्याः कटकादिवत् ॥

—*Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, p. 34

For the present discussion we leave out the *śabdālamkāras* like *anuprāsa*, *yamaka* etc. and turn to Hemacandra's treatment of *arthālamkāras*. If Bharata speaks of four *alamkāras*, Mammata 61, Ruyyaka 75, Appayya *Dīkṣita* defines and illustrates 125 *alamkāras*. The increase in number is easy to understand for, as we have already seen, they are the several striking modes of expressing ideas and their number could be infinite—*ananta*.

Simultaneously with this tendency to increase the number of *alamkāras* there was the counter-tendency to reduce their number by rejecting the status of *alamkāras* to some alleged *alamkāras*. Bhāmaha is the first *ālamkārika* to deny this status to the alleged figure *vārtā* (Reportage) and the three figures *Hetu*, *Sūkṣma* and *Leśa*. Incidentally, it may be noted that Daṇḍī calls them "*Vācāmuttamabhuṣaṇam*". But neither of them advances any reasons, either against or in favour of them. The real credit for reducing the number of *alamkāras* by critically examining their nature goes to Kuntaka. By this examination he rejects about twenty *alamkāras*. He judges them by three criteria-principles-standards : 1. *alamkārarāntaratva* or *bhūṣaṇāntarabhāva*, 2. *śobhā-sūnyatā* and 3. *alamkāryatayā vibhūṣyatva*.

Hemacandra defines and illustrates twenty-nine *arthālamkāras* and rejects a very large number of *alamkāras* defined by his illustrious predecessors. The late lamented Prof. R. B. Athavale, a top-ranking *ālamkārika* of the old Bombay State, in his Gujarati edition of *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (Adhyāya I,VI *Arthālamkāras*), (Balagovinda Prakashana, Ahmedabad, 1959) discusses this topic at length, It is not necessary to cover the same ground again here. But two points need to be briefly mentioned. Prof. Athavale in the relevant discussion does not refer to Hemacandra's indebtedness to Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvitā*. Naturally enough, he could not have done it for the obvious reason that the full text of the work was not then available. The other point, however, needs some explanation. It is true that Prof. Athavale finds fault with Hemacandra for rejecting a good many well defined and illustrated *alamkāras* of his reputed predecessors. Now, we must not lose sight of the fact that the various *ālamkārikas* right from Bhāmaha to Jagannātha differ among themselves regarding the nature of certain *alamkāras* and whether they should be accepted or rejected. The reason behind this divergence of views is not far to seek. For the very concept of charm or beauty eludes a clear-cut and precise definition. Further, it is next to impossible to lay down precise quantum of charm for

constituting a separate figure (*vicchittiviśeṣa*) distinct from all the other accepted figures or of the slight difference of charm required for reckoning it as a sub-variety of the concerned distinct figure. Further more, the concepts of *aupamya* (similarity), *virodha* (opposition, contradiction or incongruity), *bheda* (difference) and *abheda* (identity) are all relative as they admit of degrees or stages. Inherently, the two tendencies, one of multiplying the number of figures and the other, of reducing the number of these figures are quite natural and useful in their own way.

As these eminent literary thinkers widely differ amongst themselves regarding the alleged figures, the question naturally arises whom we should follow as the authority. Jagannātha who 'was a poet of creative genius and who also possessed the faculty of aesthetic appreciation in an eminent degree' furnishes the answer to this question when he says more than once that in this matter *sahrdayas*—men of taste, competent, responsive, sensitive readers are the authority. This appeal to the *sahrdayas* implies that the apprehension of charm or beauty of a particular figure as distinct from other accepted figures depends as much on the poet's representation of a thing, situation or idea as on the temperament, training and poetic sensibility of the *sahrdaya*, such as Prof. Athavale.

Now, we take up Hemacandra and the Rasa Tradition.

Hemacandra and the Rasa Tradition

The earliest treatise of the *Rasa* tradition is Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a compilation unquestionably from previous works that have been irretrievably lost. The early writers on poetics were aware of the employment and importance of *rasas* but they did not treat them as the most essential or vital elements in *kāvya*. It was Ānandavardhana, the author of *Dhvanyāloka*, an epoch-making work, who systematically dealt with the relation of *rasas* to *kāvya*. Bharata unequivocally declared :

न हि रसास्ते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते ।

Everything, every activity or action in drama is directed towards the creation of *rasa*. He set down the key-formula—the famous *rasa sūtra*—for developing or producing *rasa* :

विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ।

The technical terms *vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *vyabhicāribhāva*, and *rasa* were deliberately invented to impress on the minds of spectators and readers that they relate to the world of drama (and by extension to the poetic universe) and not to the real world or everyday life where we use the terms like *kāraṇa*, *kārya*, *sahakāri kāraṇa* and *bhāva*. Bharata explains these terms : *Vibhāvas* are

determinants. In the later classification they fall into two divisions *ālambana* (fundamental) and *uddīpana* (excitant) determinants. *Ālambana vibhāvas* comprise the *nāyikā*, the *nāyaka*, for, without them there can be no development or creation of *rasa* in the audience—*prekṣakas*—spectators. *Uddīpana vibhāvas* are such conditions of place and time and circumstances as serve to foster *rasa* (sentiment), for example, the full moon, garden, the fragrant breeze, secluded place, etc.—all things which foster the sentiment of *śṛṅgāra* when the emotion of love (*rati*) has already arisen. The *anubhāvas* (consequents) are the external manifestations of the feeling, by which the actors suggest to the audience the feelings, the minds and hearts of the characters or persons of the drama, such as *kaṭākṣas* (sidelong glances); *smita* (smile), *āliṅgana* (embrace) and the like. Bharata singles out eight *anubhāvas*, *sveda* (perspiration), *romāñca* (horripilation) etc., and designates them as *sāttvikabhāvas* (they are called *sāttvika* as arising from a heart which is ready to appreciate the joys or sorrows of another (*sattva*)). Bharata mentions (33) thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas*—transitory feelings like *glāni* (weakness), *śaṅkā* (apprehension), *śrama* (fatigue or weariness), *asūyā* (envy), *cintā* (worry), etc. They are called *vyabhicāribhāvas* because they, like the waves appear on the surface of the sea for a while and submerge the next moment. They are like the gems woven in a thread—the *sthāyibhāva* and strengthen it. Bharata mentions eight such *sthāyibhāvas* (permanent emotions or feelings) *rati* (love), *śoka* (sorrow), etc. When they are developed we get the eight corresponding *rasas*, *śṛṅgāra*, *karuṇa* etc. Later writers add the ninth *rasa* called *sānta*.

Now, the *rasasūtra* has been differently interpreted by four different commentators—Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Nāyaka and Abhinava and their views are known as *utpattivāda*, *anumitivāda*, *bhuktivāda* and *abhivyaktivāda*. The commentaries of the first three commentators are lost and we know about their views from the summaries of their expositions recorded by Abhinavagupta in his commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*. It is not possible to give an exposition of these views even briefly within the allotted time. Post-Abhinavagupta *ālaṅkārikas*, with one or two exceptions, follow Abhinavagupta unquestioningly. The salient features of his exposition are :

(i) *Rasa* is not produced in the character of the play, say *Duṣyanta* nor inferred as existing in the *naṭa* (actor) who plays the role of *Duṣyanta*, but it is suggested/manifested/revealed (*abhivyakata*) as the spectator, *sāmājika*, witnesses the play. The *rasa* is to be located in the spectator, Thus according to Abhinava *rasa* is to be located not in the character of the play, not in the actor but in the spectator himself.

(ii) *Sthāyivilakṣaṇo rasaḥ*—*Rasa* is altogether different from the permanent feeling or emotion; *vasānās*-latent impressions which man carries from birth to birth. This *vāsanā* or *sthāyibhāva* is inborn. It is aroused by *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas*, etc., it is universalised/generalised and this generalised *bhāva* the spectator enjoys by identifying himself or herself with the hero or heroine (of course, on the unconscious level). This enjoyment or relish of *rasa* continues so long as the *vibhāvas* etc. are present. The *sthāyibhāva* when thus universalised and is attended by *vibhāvas*, etc. gets the name/title *rasa*. When the *vibhāvas* etc., disappear from view *rasa* ceases to exist.

(iii) *Rasa* is *alaukika* - out of the ordinary, extra-worldly or non-worldly, different from its *sthāyibhāva*. Because of this *alaukika* nature, even the painful feelings of our everyday life like *śoka* (sorrow), *krodha* (anger), *bhaya* (fear) and *jugupsā* (disgust) become pleasurable. All the eight (or nine) *rasas* are therefore *ānandarūpa* or *sukhātma* (pleasurable). Keith briefly summarises this view of Abhinavagupta in these words :

“The sentiment thus excited is peculiar, in that it is essentially universal in character; it is common to all other trained spectators, and it has essentially no personal significance, A sentiment is thus something very different from an ordinary emotion; it is generic and disinterested, while an emotion is individual and immediately personal. An emotion again may be pleasant or painful, but a sentiment is marked by that impersonal joy, characteristic of the contemplation of the supreme being by the adept, a bliss which is absolutely without personal feeling.” (*The Sanskrit Drama* p. 318).

Finally, although *rasa* is *alaukika* and *aprameya* (which cannot be known by any of the *pramāṇas*—proofs—it does not mean *rasa* does not exist. For it is *sva-samvedana-siddha*—it is felt.

In the course of his refutation of the rival theories of *rasa* Abhinavagupta briefly mentions the *Sāṃkhya*-view which holds that *rasa* is *sukha-duḥkhātma*—‘pleasant and painful’. This view is not made clear. Whether each *rasa* is both pleasant and painful or some *rasas* are pleasant and some others painful. Abhinava however rejects it summarily out of hand.

In his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* Hemacandra reproduces the whole section from *Abhinavabhāratī* dealing with the exposition of the *rasasūtra* and in unmistakable words declares that in regard to the doctrine of *rasa* he follows *Ācārya* Abhinavagupta.

It is very interesting to find that Hemacandra's close and devoted disciples, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, enunciate in their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* that

rasa is *sukha-duḥkhātma* and thus provide an exception to the ancient rule “*yathopādhyāyam śīṣyāḥ*”; we have no means to know whether these disciples had discussed their view with Ācārya Hemacandra and what the Ācārya’s reaction was. But for a spirited defence of their view with cogent arguments they have won praise from some modern writers on poetics.

Another Jain scholar, Siddhicandragani, a contemporary of Jagannātha, in his commentary *Kāvya prakāśakhaṇḍana* observes :

“तदपेक्षया कामिनी-कुच-कलश-स्पर्श-चन्दनानुलेपनादिनेव नाट्यदर्शनकाव्यश्रवणाभ्यां सुखविशेषो जायते । स एव तु रस इति नवीनाः ।”
-पृ० १६

According to the view of the Ancients, the *rasa* is *paramānandarūpa*. The Moderns (*Navīnāḥ*, including Siddhicandra himself, most probably,) however, say : “A Peculiar pleasure which arises on watching a dramatic performance or hearing the recitation of poetry is similar to the pleasure of anointing one’s body with sandal-paste or of pressing the breasts of a young beautiful woman. This peculiar pleasure is itself *rasa*. In other words, the Moderns regard the aesthetic pleasure as *on a par* with ordinary pleasures of the senses as only (*laukika*) worldly. As a corollary to this view they hold that there are only four *rasas* : the erotic, the heroic, the comic and the marvellous; and they reject the claim of the pathetic, the furious, the terrifying and the disgusting to the title *rasa*¹. From this description of the nature of *rasa* we can easily see how Siddhicandra, a Modern, has gone a step, rather far ahead in bringing *rasa* to the *laukika* level.

The view expressed by the authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and *Kāvya prakāśakhaṇḍana* has not been taken note of by the followers of the Ancients.

It is sometimes argued that Lollaṭa, Daṇḍī etc, held the view that *rasa* is *sukhaduḥkhātma*. This much is, however, true that they hold that the *sthāyin* when intensified to its zenith becomes *rasa*. Thus *śoka* when intensified to its highest point becomes *karuṇa rasa*. But this does not mean that the spectators who witness a *karuṇarasanīrbhara* play experience sorrow. We should make a distinction between the nature of experience the dramatist and the actor are trying to put across and the way the audience receive it through the medium of art—the poetic art of the dramatist and the art of acting of the actor renders any type of experience pleasurable. There is reason to believe that the ancient thinkers held that all *rasas* are pleasurable to the audience. But it is a separate topic and so we better leave it here.

Hemacandra’s *Kāvya ānuśāsana* and D. D. Kosambi’s Criticism

(Harvard University Press, 1957, p. xvii) D. D. Kosambi observes : "Every portion of the anthology is permeated by the theme of sex. Even in dealing with the gods, it is their night life which is most often treated. What may surprise the reader is that monastic scholars also enjoyed and perhaps wrote, such erotic poetry without the least sense of transgression or incongruity, without deviating from a puritanical doctrine and the ascetic life in any other way. The great Jain *ācārya* Hemacandra quotes and comments upon many of our stanzas with the zest of any other theorist of Sanskrit poetry, finding nothing in the act unworthy of his high position in a celibate religious life of unquestioned purity. Nor is he alone in this. These people were connected with the court as preceptors to kings.. It follows that the type of poetry had become as much the fashion as the Sanskrit language among the ruling classes and their educated dependants. The conventions developed by professional poets suited kings like Harṣa and Bhoja; so were taken over without thought of new departure by them as well as their pontiffs and abbots. In flavour, there is little to choose between the Buddhist Dharmakīrti and his Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava colleagues."

The charge of lack of originality and of plagiarism was levelled against Hemacandra in his life-time and he has met it in one of his subsequent works (*Pramāṇamīmāṃsā*). We do not know if the kind of criticism passed by Kosambi had reached Hemacandra's ears and if he has answered it in any of his later works. We have however clear evidence of such criticism directed against Rāmacandra, who was Hemacandra's very devoted and able disciple. Rāmacandra mentions it and refutes it in his prologue to the play *Mallikāmakaranda*. The relevant dialogue reads as follows :

"*Nata* : (disdainfully) Sir, the *munis* are solely devoted to *śama* (peace or quietude) and they use their dignified speech solely for the exposition of *dharma*. It is certainly unworthy of them to write plays portraying the sentiments of *śṛṅgāra* (love), *hāsyā* (laughter), *vīra* (heroism) and the like.

Sūtradhāra : O my worthy friend, now you speak things which betray that you do not have the cleverness of (even) a villager !

The whole world knows that *śama* is of the very essence to great monks and sages. Do not however, forget the fact that although gods are born in heaven they move about in all the three worlds."

The suggestion is : *Munis* too should occasionally leave the high pedestal and come down on earth and write poems and plays and appreciate them when sung and staged. Just as the gods do not lose their godhead or divine nature

simply because they move about in the three worlds, even so the *munis* who write poems and plays imbued with *rasas* like *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsyā* etc., do not lose their monkhood. This reasoning is rather facile.

The real point is that Hemacandra was preparing a critique on poetics—working out an anatomy of poetry and for this purpose a rational, highly objective and disciplined mind was necessary. Where else can a mind receive such a training if not in the strict world of the (Jain) *munis*? But to be a *muni* one doesn't have to cease to be human and it is a remarkable feature of Hemacandra's personality that the human qualities appear in him so sensitively alive in spite of his being a *muni* of great or high standing.

Kosambi's criticism also suggests an act of impropriety. A *muni* should have considered erotic experience as unworthy even for the purposes of reading and study. Probably the idea is that such a perusal and continuous perusal at that may have an adverse effect on the mind of even a *muni*. **This seems to be a poor view of the strength of the human mind. Virtue does not mean and should not mean running away from occasions of temptation but taking a firm stand to overcome them and discipline of a serious scholar should teach him to be detached enough.**

The writing of *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* by a *muni* like Hemacandra could be accounted for this way too : a person can have an experience, say, that of anger, and can treat it as an object of his awareness; thus the duality of subject and object is, or at least, can be present, even when the object is a mental phenomenon. A *sādhaka* (*mumukṣu*) can experience the traces of past experience, awakened by the stimulus—(here, a play) and can treat the newly evoked experience as the object of his awareness. Two options are available here for him : (i) He can give up his attitude of subject and get immersed in the aroused emotion, or (ii) he can treat it as an object, to test his spiritual strength, the extent of his spiritual attainment. If he adopts the second option it need not obstruct his spiritual progress.

A disciplined *muni* like *Ācārya* Hemacandra could adopt the second option and read, appreciate and even write *kāvya* portraying *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsyā* and other *rasas*. There is absolutely no inherent contradiction between ascetic life and engaging in creative literary activities.

Charge of plagiarism

A modern writer on Sanskrit poetics has charged Hemacandra of plagiarism. In his own times too, it appears, he was charged with plagiarism. For when writing his *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* he takes note of this unjustified criticism

and briefly answers it, basing his arguments on Jayantabhaṭṭa's famous *Nyāyamañjarī* which was composed about two centuries before *Kāvyañuśāsana*. This relevant discussion, though somewhat long, deserves to be reproduced at least partially :

“Before the advent of Akṣapāda who was there to establish the validity of the Vedas ? But it is a feeble objection. Who has interpreted the Vedas before Jaimini ? Who has given the analysis of words before Pāṇini ? Who has made a study of metres before Piṅgala ? From the dawn of creation these sciences are in vogue on earth like the Vedas. (The so-called authors do not invent the sciences but) they treat the existent or old subjectmatters either in an elaborate manner or in an abridged form; and from that point of view only they are called their authors.”²

In the same vein Hemacandra says : “These *vidyās* (sciences or disciplines) are without a beginning; they become new from the point of view of abridgment (*saṁkṣepa*) and/or detailed description (or amplification *vistāra*) and are said to be composed by the concerned authors.”³

Now, in Medieval India we find many writers of compendiums in *alamkārasāstra*. The *Kāvyaṣa* of Mammaṭa, the most important and most popular work on poetics is a compendium. It epitomizes all the important theories of poetics that were developed before him. Topics which were treated by his predecessors in different works were for the first time brought together and systematised by him in this work. The orderly and concise treatment of the main issues of poetics mark off his compendium from other compendiums as a splendid and marvellous achievement. The fact, however, remains that it is a compendium only and that it does not present any new theory or doctrine of poetics.

Hemacandra on the other hand treats of the topics of his predecessors elaborately presenting them as far as possible in their own form instead of summarising or paraphrasing or describing in his own language. His capacity to select choicest passages from his authorities and to organise them into a homogeneous and organic whole is supreme. It is indeed surprising that such a scholarly, carefully designed and well organised work on poetics should have remained almost entirely unacknowledged.

Hemacandra's invaluable services

Hemacandra's *Kāvyañuśāsana* is one of the authentic and most valuable sources for obtaining better or correct or original readings for scores and scores of passages in *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Dhvanyālokalocana*, *Vakroktijīvita*,

Sarasvatīkanthābharana, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, *Bhāmahavivarana*, etc., which have been judiciously used in its preparation. We may take up for consideration one of these source-books, utilised by Hemacandra, namely *Abhinavabhāratī*. The text of the *Abhinavabhāratī*, has been badly preserved in its manuscripts. The first editor of the text (The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*, Chs. I-VII ed, by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, second edn., Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1956, p. 63) remarked : "...even if Abhinavagupta descended from Heaven and saw the MSS, he, would not easily restore his original readings." Hemacandra has preserved intact the ideas and the language of some of the long sections from *Abhinavabhāratī* on the key chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Rasādhyāya*, the *Bhāvādhyāya*, the *Daśrūpakavidhāna* and the *Sandhyādhyāya* by incorporating them in their original form without abridging them. Thus, for instance, the pretty long section of *Abhinavabhāratī* extending over fourteen pages of the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (Ch. II, pp. 89-103) is preserved *in toto* by Hemacandra. At the end of the section he acknowledges his source in these words :-

इति श्रीमानभिनवगुप्ताचार्यः । एतन्मतमेव चास्माभिरुपजीवितम् ।

For all this we all owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to him.

Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra's *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and Ambāprasāda's *Kalpalatāviveka* that have freely drawn on *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Dhvanyālokalocana* are of immense help in correcting the corrupt text as printed in the editions of *Nāṭyaśāstra* with *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Dhvanyālokalocana*. I have published a series of articles all entitled "*Abhinavabhāratī : Text Restored*". I have also published two papers : "*Abhinavabhāratī : Ch. VII Recovered*" ? and "*Kalpalatāviveka on Abhinavabhāratī*". Even a cursory glance at these papers will convince scholars of poetics of the invaluable help rendered by these Jain authors to our better understanding and appreciation of the greatest and the most valuable commentaries of *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Dhvanyālokalocana*, of the master-critic and aesthete, second only to Anandavardhana, the author of the epoch-making work *Dhvanyāloka*.

Hemacandra does not claim any originality as regards discovering any new theory of poetics. He however claims originality in his method, manner, and treatment of the subjectmatter. And this claim is just and legitimate.

I have done. I thank the authorities of the Institute once again for their kind invitation and I thank you all for patient hearing.

Notes and References :

1. नवीनास्तु शृङ्गार-वीर-हास्याद्भुत-संज्ञाश्चत्वार एव रसाः । करुणादीनां यथा न रसत्वं तथा वक्ष्यते ।...अथ करुणादीनां कथं न रसत्वमिति चेत्, उच्यते...यत्तु शोकादयोऽपि रत्यादिवत् स्वप्रकाशज्ञानसुखात्मका इति तदुन्मत्तप्रलपितम् । एवं भयतिशयवर्णनं तत्तद्व्यक्तीनां मार्दवप्रतिपादनाय । वस्तुतस्तु कविभिः स्वशक्तिप्रदर्शनार्थमेव-पद्यबन्धाबन्धादिनिर्माणवत् तत्र तत्र प्रवर्त्यत इति । पृ. १६-२२
2. नन्वक्षपादात् पूर्वं कुतो वेदप्रामाण्यनिश्चय आसीत् । अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते । जैमिनेः पूर्वं केन वेदार्थो व्याख्यातः । पाणिनेः पूर्वं केन पदानि व्युत्पादितानि । पिङ्गलात् पूर्वं केन छन्दांसि रचितानि । आदिसर्गात् प्रभृति वेदवदिमा विद्याः प्रवृत्ताः । संक्षेप-विस्तर-विवक्षया तु तांस्तांस्तत्र कर्तृनाचक्षते ।
3.पाणिनि-पिङ्गल-कणादाक्षपादादिभ्योऽपि पूर्वं कानि किमीयानि वा व्याकरणादिपूत्राणीत्येतदपि पर्युत्तुयुङ्क्व । अनादय एवैता विद्याः संक्षेप-विस्तर-विवक्षया नवनवीभवन्ति तत्तत्कर्तृकाश्चोच्यन्ते ।



SOURCES OF HEMACANDRA'S KAVYANUSASANA

Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* is a very fine textbook on *alamkārasāstra*. It is remarkable for its free use of the illustrious *alamkāra* works that preceded it, as well as for its wealth of illustrations. It is admittedly a lucid compendium of the subject of poetics as developed by previous writers, most prominent of them being Bharata, Daṇḍī, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Rājaśekhara (KM), Kuntaka Abhinavagupta (Abh. and *Locana*), Dhanamjaya-Dhanika, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja (SK and ŚP), Kṣemendra, Mammaṭa and Rucaka or Ruyyaka (Samketa). The following table would give the reader a very good idea of the principal sources utilized by Hemacandra in the preparation of his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* :

Subject	<i>Kāvyaṅuśāsana</i> 'Principal Source/Sources'	
Kāvya-prayojana	Ch.I (pp. 3-6)	KP. I. pp. 6-10; RS p. I; Locana I pp. 40-41
Kāvya-kāraṇa	(pp. 7-33)	
—Pratibhā	—pp. 5-6	KM IV. pp. 12-13
—Vyutpatti	—pp. 7-13	Vāmana I-3; KM VIII (pp.35-41) and Kavik-V (pp. 17-20)
—Abhyāsa	pp. 13-14	Vāmana 1-3
—Śikṣā		
—Kavisamaya	} pp. 14-33	KM-XI-XIV
—Śabdārthaharaṇa		
Kāvya-svarūpa	pp. 33-42	KP.I. p. 13, p. 263, pp. 462-465, pp. 470-472 Dhv. and Locana pp. 223-234
Śabdārtha-svarūpa	pp. 42-87	Dhv. and Locana pp. 74,78,137- 139, 167-169, 255-257, 271-276, 351-356
	(pp. 47-57)	ŚP.VII (pp. 245-250)

In his Śr. Pra. (p. 708) Dr. Raghavan observes :

“Not only the Gāthās and Sanskrit verses given as illustrations by Bhoja, but Bhoja's comments thereon are also reproduced completely by Hemacandra in his Kāvyañuśāsana....These six conditions (Abhinaya, Apadeśa, etc.) and their illustrations are reproduced from the Śr. Pra.”

	pp. 65-66	KP. V. (pp. 223-256)
Rasalakṣaṇa	Ch.II (pp. 88-105) —pp. 88-89 —pp. 89-105	KP. IV-pp. 91-95 Abh.-(vol. I) pp. 272-287
Rasabhedas	(pp. 106-124)	Abh. (vol. I) pp. 267, 304, 306-307, 314, 315, 324-326, 328, 329, 330, 333-339. Dhv. and Locana pp. 391-394
Sthāyibhāvas	pp. 124-126	NŚ. VII and Abh. (Vol. I) pp. 282-283
Vyabhicāri- bhāvas	pp. 126-144	NŚ. VII and SK (V) and DR. (IV) with Avaloka
Sāttvikabhāvas	pp. 144-147	NŚ. VII and SK. (V)
Rasābhāsa and Bhāvābhāsa	pp. 147-150	Abh. (Vol.I) pp. 295-296; SK.(V)
Kāvyañhedas	pp. 150-158	Dhv. and Locana (II) pp. 261, 263-264, 282-283, 495 KP.V vv. 120 etc.
Doṣa-vivecana	Ch.III(pp. 159-273)	
—Doṣalakṣaṇa	(pp. 159-161)	CP. Dhv. and Locana (pp. 80- 83) KP. VII. vv. 321, 327, 330
—Rasādi-doṣas	(pp. 161-168)	Dhv. III (pp. 365-401) and KP. VII (pp. 450-460) DR. IV (p. 91) and Avaloka
—Rasadoṣas	(pp. 169-199)	Dhv. III (pp. 361-364) Locana (pp. 342, 344) KP. VII. 60-62 (pp. 433-445)

	(pp. 173-176)	KM.(pp. 42-44), NŚ XVIII. 98-99
	(pp. 179-198)	KM. XVII & XVIII (pp. 89-112)
—Pada-doṣas	(pp. 199-201)	SK I. 93 VV 126-127 KP. VII V. 202
—Vākyadoṣas	(pp. 201-226)	Vāmana II, ii, SK I, VV. II. KP. VII and X.
—Ubhayadoṣas	(pp. 226-261)	Vāmana II, i. Dhv. (II) & Locana VV. II; KP. VII
Artha-doṣas	(pp. 261-273)	Vāmana. II ii; SK I VV.II; KP, VII

Dr. Raghavan's remarks on Hemacandra's treatment of Doṣas are very apposite : "... Chapter III of Hemacandra's Kāvyaṅuśāsana is almost identical with chapter VII of Mammata's Kāvyaṅprakāśa. The number, nature and the illustrations of all the flaws are the same in the two books. In Hemacandra's own commentary on his work, Hemacandra has given additional matter drawn from Ānandavardhana and Mahimabhaṭṭa under the heads of Rasadoṣas, Avimrṣṭa-vidheya and Prakrama and Krama Bhaṅgas." (Śr. Pra. p. 246)

Guṇavivecana	ch.IV(pp. 274-294)	Mainly based on NŚ. XVII, KD; Vāmana; and KP. (VIII)
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Dr. Raghavan's observations on Hemacandra's treatment of Guṇas are very pertinent : "On Guṇas Hemacandra is a follower of Ānandavardhana and he draws upon Mammata and probably from Rājaśekhara also... As regards the three Guṇas, Hemacandra considers that Mādhurya is of the highest degree in Vipralambha, a little less in Karuṇa and still less in Śānta. शान्तरुणविप्रलम्बेषु सतिशयम् । "This is one of the views recorded later by Jagannātha..."

Hemacandra's treatment of Guṇas is noteworthy for his "reference to strange views on Guṇas". One view holds that Ojas, Prasāda, Mādhurya, Sāmya and Audārya are the five Guṇas (in the sense of Pāṭha-dharmas). The other view is these five Gunas belong to certain metres. Hemacandra criticises both :

Subject	'Kāvyaṅuśāsaṅa'	'Principal Source/Sources'
Śabdālamkāra- varṇana	Ch. V (pp. 295-338) —pp. 298-314 —pp. 314-332 —pp. 333-337	Mainly based on the NŚ. XVII. KD, Rudraṭa, Devīśataka with Kayyāṭa's commentary; SK II and the KP (VIII, X) IX Rudraṭa, Devīśataka, Kayyāṭa's commentary, KD, Bhāravi Rudraṭa (IV, V) and Devīśataka, Kayyāṭa's commentary NŚ XVII & Abh. (Vol. II) (pp. 385-392)
Arthālamkāra- varṇana	Ch VI (pp. 339-405)	Mainly based on the works of Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Kuntaka, Ma- mmata and to some extent on the SK and Locana
Nāyakādi-varṇana	Ch VII (pp. 406-431)	Mainly based on the NŚ XXII and the Abh. (Vol III) DR(II) and Avaloka and a few verses from SK.
Prabandhātma- kāvyabheda	Ch VIII (pp. 432-466) —pp. 432-455 —pp. 455-466	Mainly based on the NŚ XVIII and the Abh. and ŚP (XI) Kāvya-kautuka, the NŚ XXIII and Abh. (on NŚ IV. 268) ŚP XI (pp. 469-480)

"The treatment of Śravyakāvya in the VIIIth Chapter of the *Kāvyaṅuśāsaṅa* is completely a reproduction of the section on Guṇas and Alamkāras of Prabandha as a whole and the definitions with examples of the types of Śravyakāvya given by Bhoja in Chapters XI and XII of the Śr. Pra." (—Dr. Raghavan, Śr. Pra. p. 709). It is not clear why Dr. Raghavan mentions Chapter XII as Hemacandra's source for his treatment of Śravyakāvya. Chapter XII "is devoted to the study of the structure and technique of drama" and has very little to do with Śravyakāvya. The reader is referred to Śr. Pra. pp. 403-404 where Dr. Raghavan critically examines and appreciates Hemacandra's treatment of Śravyakāvya.

(Hemacandra and Rucaka :

Note : Only a few identical passages are indicated below to prove Hemacandra's indebtedness to Rucaka or Ruyyaka) :

Hemacandra	Rucaka
p. 5 (11 1-3)	p. 1
p. 77 (11 11-13, 1 22)	p. 31
p. 154 (11 19-23)	P. 40
P. 155 (1 12)	P. 8
P. 178 (1 18)	P. 52
P. 225 (11 27-28)	P. 74
P. 231 (11 6-8, 11 16-18)	P. 46
P. 238 (11 22-25)	P. 47
P. 274 (1 7) 275 (1 8)	PP. 204-205
P. 376 (11 9-11)	P. 70
P. 388 (1 20)	p. 69
p. 389 (11 2-6)	p. 63 .

It is rarely that Hemacandra mentions his sources by name;¹ but on many occasions when he happens to adopt even very long passages in either prose or verse from his predecessors' works he does not care to indicate their sources². A few long passages in the Viveka³, although not found in any of the source-books mentioned above, do not appear, by virtue of their language and style, to be Hemacandra's. In many places we come across the expression 'Vayaṃ tu brūmaḥ'⁴ or similar ones⁵, which lead us to believe that the views prefaced with these expressions are Hemacandra's own, but the fact is that in many cases at least, Hemacandra only repeats his masters' views faithfully in their own words. There are scores and scores of passages, some of them pretty long, common to Someśvara's Saṃketa and Hemacandra's KŚ. R. C. Parikh⁶ holds that Hemacandra borrows these passages from Someśvara. I have shown in my paper published in the Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat (1961-62) that probably the borrowing is the other way⁷. In view of the uncertainty of the mutual relation between Hemacandra and Someśvara it will only be right to leave out Someśvara's Saṃketa while considering the present problem. Parikh⁸ and Dhruva⁹ consider Hemacandra's KŚ to be unique in that it brings for the first time, Poetics and Dramatics within the compass of a single work. The work of Hemacandra, however, is not the first of its kind.

Hemacandra takes the lead from Bhoja's ŚP which treats of both Poetics and Dramatics¹⁰. The method of noting the sources of the illustrative verses and quotations in the KŚ adopted by the editor of the SMJV edition, although unexceptionable, is apt to lead one to believe that Hemacandra has drawn them directly from original sources but it is evident that in most cases Hemacandra has drawn them indirectly through the sources utilized by him in writing the KŚ.

It is clear from what has been said above that Hemacandra's work does not constitute an original contribution to the subject. It is, however, not quite correct to describe the *Kāvyānuśāsana* as a compilation exhibiting hardly any originality as Kane¹¹ does or to charge Hemacandra of plagiarism as De¹² does. Instead of briefly summarising or paraphrasing or describing in his own language the theories and doctrines of his predecessors too illustrious to be mentioned by name, if Hemacandra preferred to present them in their original form we need not find fault with him. Besides we cannot forget the fact that his writing was of a scientific nature and in scientific books such quotations are justified. We will only be betraying poverty of our imagination and scant respect for Hemacandra's intelligence if we were to insinuate that Hemacandra pretended that all the passages and excerpts which he quoted would pass as his own. The truth of the matter is that Hemacandra regards the masterpieces of his predecessors as the property of the entire world¹³. Hemacandra is a man of 'pratibhā' but his 'pratibhā' is more of the 'bhāvayitrī' and less of the 'kārayitrī' type. His capacity to select choicest excerpts from his authorities and to organize them into a homogeneous and organic whole is supreme. Moreover, Hemacandra shows independence of thought and judgment in good many places, refusing to follow blindly his acknowledged authorities. To wit, he rejects, and on logical grounds too, three of the six *Kāvyaprayojanas* given by Mammaṭa (pp. 5-6); he differs with Mukulabhaṭṭa and Mammaṭa for he holds that Lakṣaṇā is based on Prayojana alone and not on Rūḍhi or Prayojana (p. 46). He differs with Mammaṭa (p. 146) as he rejects *Ubhayaśaktimūla-dhvani* (p. 68) He rightly rejects the threefold classification of 'artha' into *svataḥ sambhavī*, *Kavipraudhoktimātranīṣpannaśarīrah* and 'Kavinibaddhavakṛtpraudhoktimātranīṣpannaśarīrah', as found in the Dhv. (pp. 72-73) and the KP. (IV. 39-40). Hemacandra criticises Dhanika for describing *Jīmutavāhana* as *Dhīrodātta* (vide KŚ p.123 II 19-21 and DR II. P. 37) If Mammaṭa speaks of the eight kinds of *Madhyama-kāvya*, Hemacandra holds that there are only three kinds of it (pp. 152-157). He seems to be hitting at Mammaṭa when he remarks : "Etena nirvedasyāmaṅgalaprāyatve' pi...tat pratikṣiptam" (p. 121 II. 9-10). He differs with Mammaṭa when he remarks "Ayaṁ bhāvaḥ-yathānyaiḥ praktikūlavarnaḥlakṣaṇo doṣa uktaḥ...tasya (p. 290 II.

19-20). His treatment of the topic of Guṇas (Ch. IV) is indeed remarkable, for its presentation and style invariably reminds us of Rājaśekhara's KM. Although Hemacandra takes his cue from Kuntaka and his reasoning in reducing the number of Arthālaṃkāras is not always satisfactory nor convincing, the fact remains that his treatment of this topic is, to a good extent, novel. In a few places we find him combining passages from different sources skilfully into one organic whole—adding his own remarks in between. In this connection we may point to Viveka pp. 203-4, (I. 13-30) where he combines passages from the Vyaktiviveka and the Vakroktijīvita, or Viveka p. 362 (I. 10 to p. 364) where he combines the *vṛtti* of the Dhv. and Locana adding his own remarks in between.

It would, therefore, seem that the criticism against Hemacandra's KŚ is not fair. It would be more correct to describe the KŚ as a good textbook lucidly setting forth various topics of Alaṃkāraśāstra in the very words of the masters and serving as a good introduction to the study of the well-known authorities¹⁴.

Notes and References :

1. For instance...*iti Śrīmānabhinavaguptācāryaḥ* (p. 103)
2. In regard to Hemacandra's source, the KM., it is sometimes argued the "The reason of not mentioning the name of Rājaśekhara here might be that, in the view of Hemacandra, Rājaśekhara also might have taken this matter from some other author." This argument in defence of Hemacandra, if accepted as valid, would lead to disastrous conclusions. For by this reasoning all those excerpts from Mahimabhaṭṭa, Abhinavagupta, Kayyāṭa and others would have to be considered as not their own—a conclusion which, on the very face of it, is absurd.
3. For instance, p. 155 (1.24)—156 (11 10-24); pp. 164 (1 24)—166.
4. For example, p. 110 (1, 24), p. 183 (1, 22), p. 217 (1,23), p. 337 (1.13).
5. To wit : p. 176 (II. 20-21), p. 178 (I. 14), p. 220 (lastline).
6. *Kāvyaṣṛāṅgī* (Part II), Rājasthāna Purātana Granthamālā, No. 47, Jodhpur.
7. In addition to the arguments set forth in my paper in favour of my thesis the following one may be stated : the treatment of *śravya* type of literature in the KŚ (and Someśvara's Saṃketa) is clearly based on Bhoja's ŚP (XI, pp. 469-480). The ŚP, however, does not mention *Sakalakathā*. Since Hemacandra adds its definition and example (the *Samarādityakathā*, a Jaina work) and Someśvara omits this example, it is reasonable to hold that Someśvara borrows not directly from Bhoja but from Hemacandra.
8. Introduction to *Kāvyaṣṛāṅgī* (p. CCC XXV), (1st edn.)
9. Foreword to *Kāvyaṣṛāṅgī* (p. 10), (1st edn.)
10. Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa by V. Raghavan : Detailed Notice of the Contents (Ch. V)
11. History of Sanskrit Poetics (1961 ed.), pp. 288-89.

12. Studies in the History of Sanskrit poetics Vol. I (p. 203).
13. Vide Hemacandra's remarks at the opening of his Pramāṇamīmāṃsā, he unambiguously and emphatically states; Anādaya evaitā vidyāḥ saṃkṣepa-vistara-vivakṣayā navanavībhavanti, tattatkartṛkāśca ucyante. "It is interesting to note that even this statement of Hemacandra is based on Jayanta's Nyāyamañjarī (p. 1 and 5).
14. The reader is referred to Shivaprasad Bhattacharya's Paper 'Hemacandra and the Eleventh Century Kashmir Poeticists"—in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol, XXIII 1957 No. 1.



HEMACANDRA ON SĀTTVIKABHĀVAS

Of all the chapters of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* the sixth *Rasādhyāya* and the seventh *Bhāvadhyāya* are the key chapters. For, they deal with the most important elements of *rasa* and *bhāva* (aesthetic or imaginative experience, and feelings or emotions) in drama. Bharata himself explicitly states 'without *rasa* no (dramatic) matter can arise.'¹ *Rasas* and *bhāvas* being intimately connected, the *bhāvas* too are equally important. There is clear evidence that verses on *rasas* and *bhāvas* existed even prior to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.² Chapters on *rasa* and *bhāva* frequently use technical terms like *vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *vyabhicāribhāva*, *sthāyibhāva* and *sāttvikabhāva* in the course of the exposition of the theories of *rasa* and *bhāva*. Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* emphatically states that "in the everyday world there are no such things as *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and the like. They are merely causes and effects." In other words they belong exclusively to the realm of art.³

Now, the sole intention behind the invention of this terminology is obviously to emphasize the point that the world of drama is different from the real world. And as Abhinavagupta observes in his commentary, in the theatre we live neither in the time nor in the space of the characters portrayed in the drama nor of the actors. Nothing "really happens" or "is affected" in a drama or on the stage as it happens in the real world; when this is not carefully understood something like the following happens :

A well-known actress and an actor were to enact in a film a scene of an attempted rape. That the scene should appear as *akṛtrima* (natural) as possible, the actress asked the villain to do his best and that she would resist his attempt with all her might. Later she told her friend that if the filming had gone on a couple of minutes longer she would have died of suffocation :

In another film in a particular scene the actress was to be slapped. she asked the actor to give her a slap with all force so that it should appear 'natural'. When the actor actually slapped her, her ear-drum was damaged and her eye too.

These things belong to real life and not the world of drama. What the sensitive spectators expect of the actors and actresses is their supreme skill in acting and that they make the scenes *appear* real although they are fake. Their art lies in concealing art.

Once an actor played the role of a villain so very well that one person from the audience rose in his seat, took out his 'Chappal' and threw it at that actor. The actor however, smilingly took it as a tribute to his power of acting. The poor fellow who however threw in his anger the 'Chappal' at the actor does not deserve to be called an ideal spectator. He failed to make the right distinction between reality and illusion. The poet, gifted with marvellous creative imagination—*pratibhā*, and permeated with latent *samskāras* (impressions) of worldly love depicts the *vibhāvas*, etc., through his play and the actor, trained and talented, presents the *anubhāvas* in such a way as to bring the enjoyment of love to the level of an imaginative expression of love⁴. The terms 1. *vibhāva*, 2. *anubhāva*, 3. *vyabhicāribhāva* correspond to *kāraṇa*, *kārya*, *sahakārikāraṇa* of our everyday life. The technical term *sthāyibhāva* (the permanent emotion running all through the play from the beginning to the end) corresponds to the related permanent emotion which is inborn with human beings. Bharata's categories of *sthāyibhāvas*, *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *sāttvikabhāvas*, are not unalterably fixed. This is quite clear from a perusal of the text⁵. The technical term *sāttvikabhāva* however, is somewhat confounding and calls for a detailed exposition.

A careful look at Bharata's treatment of *karuṇa*, *vīra* and *adbhuta* would show that Bharata gives some of the *sāttvikabhāvas* as *anubhāvas* and some others as *vyabhicārins*. This treatment implies that according to Bharata they partake of both characters—they are both *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *anubhāvas*.

Abhinavagupta, Bharata's commentator, makes explicit what Bharata implies when he speaks of *ābhyantara* (internal) and external (*bāhya*) *sāttvikabhāvas*. The internal *sāttvikabhāvas* are sometimes not in excess (*anudrikta*); they are represented by using a fan etc., and if in excess they manifest themselves as perspiration etc., on one's person and hence are described by Bharata as of the nature of *vyabhicārins*.

Further, Abhinavagupta draws our attention to the fact that Bharata mentions the *sāttvikabhāvas* as a separate class immediately after the *vyabhicāribhāvas* and just before the '*catvāro'bhinayāḥ*' (the fourfold dramatic representation). *Abhinayāḥ* mean *anubhāvas* themselves. This fact leads to the reasonable conclusion that Bharata regards that the *sāttvikabhāvas* partake of

the dual nature—they are *vyabhicārins* as well as *anubhāvas*.

Further on Abhinavagupta states that *vibhāvas* like seasons, garlands, etc. and *anubhāvas*, external manifestations of feelings like tears, etc., are exclusively of bodily or physical nature, and external and they can never be designated as *bhāvas*—mental states. (*cittavṛttiviseṣa*) and finally establishes :

Tasmāt sthāyīvyabhicārisāttvikā eva bhāvāḥ | (A.Bh. Vol. I, p. 343)

(Therefore, the *sthāyins vyabhicārins* and *sāttvikas* alone are called *bhāvas*—mental states).

Now, about the word *sāttvika* : Bharata after dealing with the *sthāyibhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas* treats of the *sāttvikas*. He raises the objection : “Are the other mental states (*sthāyibhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*) represented without *sattva* whence only these eight (*stambha*, *sveda*, etc.) are called *sāttvika*”? and himself replies : *sattva* is something which arises from the mind. It emerges from the concentrated mind. It is essential in drama. Situations of happiness and misery need to be properly presented on the stage with the help of *sattva* so that they appear completely realistic to the spectators. This itself is the *sattva* in an actor : feigning to be in an unhappy or in a happy state he has to shed tears or display horripilation. And that is why these states (*stambha*, *sveda*, etc.) are called *sāttvikabhāvas*.”⁶

Abhinavagupta explains the term *sattva* as concentration of the mind (*cittaikāgryam*). The authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* who generally follow Abhinavagupta echo him when they say : “When the mind is attentive it is called *sattva*. For if the mind be inattentive it is not possible for the actor to act out the *sāttvikabhāvas* like *svarabheda* (faltering voice), etc.

In continuation of Abhinavagupta’s discussion of the nature of *sattva* Hemacandra’s discussion of the *sāttvikabhāvas* deserves to be taken up. In a footnote to my paper “Abhinavabhāratī, Ch. VII Recovered ?” I wrote “The discussion of this topic (*sattva* and *sāttvikabhāvas*) in the *KĀŚ* (pp. 144-147) is possibly based on the portion in the *A. Bh.* on the *Bhāvādhyāya* (now lost). This guess is hazarded on the strength of a few significant phrases common to the *A. Bh.* and the *KĀŚ*⁶. The language, the style, the mode of presentation and the fact that Hemacandra freely adopts the whole section on *rasa* and passages after passages from *Abhinavabhāratī* on *Daśarūpakavidhāna* lead a careful student to believe that it is more likely than not that the whole discussion is taken over from the *A. Bh.* (on Ch. VII) now lost. The theoretical discussion in *Alamkāracūḍaṃaṇi* may briefly be presented in the words of the late Professor M. V. Patwardhan as

follows :

The word *sattva* means vital force (or energy) because of the etymology, viz. : the mind is lodged in it, and because vital force consists in an excess of *sattva-guṇa* and because of its inherent goodness (*sattva=sādhutva*). The *sāttvika-bhāvas* have their origin in *sattva* (in the vital force) and hence they are known by the name *sāttvika*.⁹ The *sāttvikabhāvas* are associated with the emotions such as *rati* (love) etc., which arise from *Prāṇa-bhūmi*—the bed-rock (*bhūmi*) of the vital force. They are distinct from the physical effects such as tears, etc., which are extraneous (to the vital force) and which are non-sentient (? bodily, of physical nature) in their or form (*jaḍarūpa*). They are produced only by the *vibhāvas* associated as causes with the emotions or psychic states such as *rati* (love), etc. and are beyond the pale of aesthetic experience, and their presence (i.e. the presence of the internal *sāttvikabhāvas*) is intimated or suggested by their consequents. To explain : The psychic states, when they enter into the predominantly earth-allied element in the vital force give rise to *stambha* (the blocking of sensation, when they enter i.e. affect) the predominantly water-allied element in the vital force give rise to tears. But as *tejas* (heat) is intimately allied to the vital force either intensely (acutely) or in a feeble manner (mildly) and it gives rise to perspiration and paleness of the body (? face) it is spoken of in that way. Perspiration due to the infusion (of *tejas*) into the water-dominated element of the vital force, for example, is thus illustrated in the following stanza, cited in *Viveka* (p. 146) :

“When in the course of gambling (with dice) for amusement (or diversion) her embrace was first won (as a wager) by her dear consort, and then, thereafter, the charming (delightful) offering of the lower lip (for being kissed) was won by her dear consort as wager, he again inquired of his beloved about the (next) wager to be put forward by her, she silently stretched out (extended) her *perspiring* hand in order to throw (cast) the dice (*śāra-visāraṇāya=akṣa-utkṣepaṇāya*), while her cheeks began to throb (quiver) because of the outburst of passion accumulated in her (mind) but held in check with a suppressed (inchoate) smile (*sāntarhāsa*). But (physical) paleness or loss of colour due to the infusion of *tejas* into the water-dominated element of the vital force in a feeble manner is thus illustrated in the following stanza, cited in *Viveka* (p. 146) :

“As that princess (Indumatī) seeking to choose a consort for herself (from among the assembled kings) (simply) passed by the various kings successively (without making her choice of any one of them) each of them became *pale* (lost colour) just as when a flame (torch) passing successively in

front of the mansions on the principal street in a city, each mansion became pale (and plunged in gloom)". When *ākāśa* (space) affects (*anugraha*) there arises *pralaya* (fainting). But when *vāyu* (air) affects the vital force either slowly or swiftly or in a manner midway between the two, it becomes transformed in a triple way viz., horripilation, tremor or trembling and faltering voice. Faltering voice due to *vāyu* (air) affecting the vital force swiftly is thus illustrated in the following stanza in *Viveka* (p. 146).

"When Kṛṣṇa went for *Dvārakā*, *Rādhā*, embracing the tender branch (*latā*) of the *Vañjula* tree (*Aśoka* tree), bent down because of his jumping down from it (in the river *Yamunā* flowing near it) sang with such deep longing, her song turning into a loud wail and her throat so choked with profuse tears that the ducks swimming in the water began to cry plaintively (in sympathy)." Such is the view of those who are conversant with *Bharata* (i. e. with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of *Bharata*)¹⁰

The final position is this : The external *sāttvikabhāvas* such as stupefaction, etc., are physical attributes and they operate as *anubhāvas* suggesting the (corresponding) internal *sāttvikabhāvas* and in reality they (ultimately) suggest emotions, psychic states such as love, world-weariness, etc.¹¹.

These *sāttvikabhāvas* occur in connection with each one of the *rasas* and they do not possess even a slight trace of independence (autonomy) not even like the *vyabhicāribhāvas* on the analogy of a king's servant engaged in his own marriage ceremony who is followed by the king (at the time of the marriage procession, i.e. in relation to his own servant the king occupies, for the time being, a position subordinate to that of his own servant.)¹². The whole discussion may briefly be summarised as follows :

The basic eight feelings are first felt by mind and later the mind allows or disallows them to be manifested physically through perspiration, or goose-flesh, or tears or pale complexion, etc. The fact to be noted is that all feelings are basically internal. They originate from human consciousness. They are in fact its vital part, hence termed as *sāttvika*.

Thus the whole section dealing with the theoretical knowledge about the *sāttvikabhāvas* and providing appropriate illustrations drawn from literature is remarkable for its originality and novelty. In the field of poetics it has been preserved for us by *Hemacandra* and *Hemcandra* alone. There is a solitary reference by *Kumārasvāmin*, the author of *Ratnāpaṇa*, a commentary on *Pratāparudrīya* to the final position—the concluding lines (f.n. 11) which he

introduces with the words “उक्तं च आचार्यहेमचन्द्रेण” । Kumārasvāmin, it would seem, thinks that the whole section on *sāttvikabhāvas* is of Hemacandra himself.

In conclusion, we should be grateful to Hemcandra who by his preference for eclectic writing has preserved for us the gold—the precious and best portions and passages from his illustrious predecessors and is of immense help in improving the corrupt readings from the texts of his source-books : *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Dhvanyālokalocana*, *Vakroktījīvita Śṛṅgārāprakāśa*, etc., and contributes to knowledge.

Notes and References :

1. न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते ।
—NS̄ VI v. 31-v. 32
2. For instance, Bharata introduces the two verses VI. 32-33 with the words : अत्रानुवंश्यौ श्लोकौ भवतः ।
The word *ānuvaṁśya* means “traditional”, “handed down as basic and authoritative”. Read also P. V. Kane : *The History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Bombay, 1951 edn, pp. 16-17.
3. i) न हि लोके विभावानुभावादयः केचन भवन्ति । हेतुकार्यावस्थामात्रत्वाल्लोके तेषाम् ।
—A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 292
(ii) लोके विभावानुभावाभिनयादिव्यवहारभावात् ।
—A. Bh. Vol. I on NS̄ VI-71
(iii) लोके हि न कश्चिद् विभावादिव्यवहार इति भावः ।
—A. Bh. Vol. I on NS̄ VI-36, 4th edn., p. 287.
4. कविर्हि लौकिकरतिवासनानुविद्धदस्तथा विभाववादीनाहरति नाट्यं चानुभावान् (नट्यानुभावान् ?) यथा रत्यास्वादः शृङ्गारे भवति । ‘आस्वादयितुरपि प्राक्क्षयां रत्यवगम उपयोगी’ इत्युक्तं प्राक् ।
—A. Bh. Vol. I (on NS̄ p. 302), 4th edn, p. 296.
5. Bharata defines the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* treating them almost as if they were *sthāyībhāvas*, and some of the *sthāyībhāvas* are given as *vyabhicāribhāvas* of other *rasas*. The *sāttvikabhāvas*, when the individual *rasas* are defined, are given as *vyabhicāribhāvas*.
6. इह हि सत्त्वं नाम मनःप्रभवम् । तच्च समाहितमनस्त्वादुत्पद्यते । मनसः समाधौ सत्त्वनिष्पत्तिर्भवति । ... एतदेवास्य सत्त्वं यद् दुःखितेन सुखितेन वाश्रुरेमाञ्चौ दर्शयितव्यौ इति कृत्वा सात्त्विका भावा इत्याभिव्याख्याता : ।
—NS̄ VII, pp. 374-75
7. अवहितं मनः सत्त्वं तत्प्रयोजनं हेतुस्येति सात्त्विकः । मनोऽनवधाने हि न शक्यन्त एव स्वरभेदादयो नटेन दर्शयितुम् ।
ND, Baroda, 1959, edn, p. 169
8. Vide my book *Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya-Śāstra*, B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan (North Gujarat), p. 77
9. सौदत्यस्मिन्न इति व्युत्पत्तेः सत्त्वगुणोत्कर्षात् साधुत्वाच्च प्राणात्मत्वं वस्तु सत्त्वम्, तत्र भवाः सात्त्विकाः । भावा इति वर्तते ।
—*Kāvyaṅśāsana*, Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Bombay, 1964 edn, p. 144.
10. ते च प्राणभूमिप्रसृतस्यादिसंवेदनवृत्तयो बाह्यजडरूपभौतिकनेत्रजलादिविलक्षणा विभावेन रत्यादिगतेनैवातिचर्चणा-

गोचरेणाहता अनुभावैश्च गम्यमाना भावा भवन्ति । तथा हि पृथ्वीभागप्रधाने प्राणे संक्रान्तश्चित्तवृत्तिगणः स्तम्भो विष्टम्भचेतनत्वम् । जलभागप्रधाने तु वाष्पः । तेजसस्तु प्राणनैकट्यादुभयथा तीव्रातीव्रत्वेन प्राणानुग्रह इति द्विधा स्वेदो वैवर्ष्यं च... आकाशानुग्रहे गतचेतनत्वं प्रलयः । वायुस्वातन्त्र्ये तु तस्य मन्दमध्येत्कृष्टावेशात् त्रेधा रोमाञ्च-वेपथु-स्वरभेदभावेन स्थितिरिति भरतविदः ।

—ibid, pp. 144-146

11. बाह्यास्तु स्तम्भादयः शरीरधर्मा अनुभावाः । ते चान्तरालिकान् सात्त्विकभावान् गमयन्तः परमार्थतो रतिनिर्वेदादिगमका इति स्थितम् ।

—Ibid, p. 147.

12. एते च सात्त्विकाः प्रतिरसं संभवन्तीति राजानुगतविवाहप्रवृत्तभृत्यन्यायेनापि व्याभिचारिवन्न स्वातन्त्र्यगन्धमपि भजन्ते. . .

—Ibid, p. 147.



DUAL NATURE OF SĀTTVIKABHĀVAS★

Of all the chapters in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* the sixth and the seventh chapters, called *Rasādhyāya* and *Bhāvādhyāya* respectively, are perhaps the most significant as they deal with *rasa* (sentiment, aesthetic experience) and *bhāva* (emotion or feeling), which according to Bharata are the vital elements of a drama. The *Bhāvādhyāya* treats of eight *sthāyī bhāvas* (permanent or dominant emotions), thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* (transitory feelings, accompanying emotions) and eight *sāttvikabhāvas* (involuntary states) which together make forty-nine *bhāvas*.

From Bharata's own treatment, it is, however, observed that the categories of *bhāvas* are not unalterably fixed. For example, Bharata declares : The accompanying transitory feelings of the sentiment of love (*śṛṅgāra*) are all *vyabhicārins* except laziness, violence and disgust (*jugupsā*). Now *jugupsā*, which is the *sthāyībhāva* (permanent emotion) of the sentiment of *bībhatsa* (the sentiment of horror or odium or disgust) is mentioned here as one of the *vyabhicārins* (transitory feelings) to be avoided when portraying the sentiment of *śṛṅgāra*. This statement of Bharata implies that the so-called *sthāyībhāvas* can or could come as *vyabhicāribhāvas* of some other *rasas*.¹ Further the very fact that Bharata defines all the thirty three *vyabhicāribhāvas* and treats them almost as if they were *sthāyībhāvas* in the seventh *adhyāya* indicates that the distinction between the two categories of emotions is rather slender. As regards the *sāttvika-bhāvas* Bharata gives them, when defining the individual *rasas*, as *vyabhicāribhāvas*.² This fact once again shows that the categories of *bhāvas* as *sthāyīns*, *vyabhicārins* and *sāttvikas* are not very strict. In this paper, we confine our discussion to the dual nature of the *sāttvikabhāvas* only.

While defining *karuṇa*, Bharata gives *aśrūpāta*, *mukhaśoṣaṇa smṛti-lopa* (which according to Abhinavagupta indicates *stambha* and *pralaya*) as some of its *anubhāvas*; and *stambha*, *vepathu*, *vaivarṇya*, *aśru*, *svarabheda* as some of its *vyabhicāribhāvas*.³ Again, while defining *bhayānaka*, Bharata gives *pulaka*,

mukhavatvarnya, svarabheda as some of its *anubhāvas*; and *stambha, sveda, gadgada, romāñca, vepathu, svarabheda, and vaivarnya*, as some of its (*vyabhicāri*) *bhāvas*.⁴ Once again, while defining *adbhuta* Bharata gives *romāñca, āsru sveda* as some of its *anubhāvas*; and *stambha, āsru, sveda, gadgada, romāñca, pralaya* as some of its (*vyabhicāri*) *bhāvas*⁵. This treatment of the so-called *sāttvikabhāvas* unmistakably implies that according to Bharata, they partake of both characters (i.e., they are both *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *anubhāvas*). Abhinavagupta, Bharata's commentator, makes explicit what Bharata implies when he speaks of *ābhyantara* (internal) and *bāhya* (external) *sāttvikabhāvas* : (i) "Loss or change of colour, tears and faltering voice—these *sāttvikas* are used here in the sense of internal feelings which have not manifested themselves externally. To explain : 'his throat is choked with tears but there are no tears in his eyes'. To show that tears, etc., depend on (i.e. partake character of) both *vyabhicāribhāva* and *abhineyatva* (= *abhinaya*), Bharata has described them between the thirty-three) *vyabhicāribhāvas*, and the (fourfold) *abhinaya*. This we have already said before (A. Bh. p. 268) and will say again (in the seventh chapter ?" (ii) "Even in the absence of internal *sāttvikas*, external perspiration, etc., are caused by swallowing poison or by fever, etc. In other words, perspiration, etc., are not invariably of the form or nature of mental states. The internal *sāttvikabhāvas*, when they are not in excess, are represented simply by using a fan, etc.; and if in excess, they manifest themselves as perspiration, etc., on one's person; and hence are described by Bharata as of the nature of *vyabhicārins*" (iii) "The words 'vāk', etc. are used in the sense of their functions i.e. *vācika abhinaya* etc... They produce *kāvyaṛtha* which is connected with *vācika, āṅgika* and *sāttvika abhinaya as karaṇa*. The *vācika* is of the form of speech; the *āṅgika* consists of gestures of hands, feet, etc.; and the *sāttvika* is of two kinds : internal and external."⁶

The fact that Bharata mentions the *sāttvikabhāvas* separately immediately after the *vyabhicāribhāvas* and just before *catvaro'bhinayāḥ* (fourfold dramatic representation) he ingeniously explains as follows : the *sāttvikas* depend on (i.e. partake of) both characters, viz., *vyabhicāribhāva* and *abhinaya* (acting or dramatic representation). That is precisely why they are described or classed separately.⁷ For 'abhinayas' mean *anubhāvas* themselves.⁸

When commenting on the technical term *bhāva*, Abhinavagupta says : by the word 'bhāva' particular mental states alone are meant... The *vibhāvas* like seasons, garlands, etc., and the external manifestations of feelings like tears, etc. (*anubhāvas*), which are absolutely inanimate, cannot be designated or called by the term *bhāva* (mental state)⁹. Citing this statement Raghavan observes : "They (tears, etc.) are *bāhya-anubhāvas*, physical manifestations and hence are *jaḍas*.

Abhinavagupta says that the *sāttvikas* cannot be called *bhāvas* at all strictly, though we speak of *sāttvikabhāva*. The name *bhāva* primarily applies to mental states, the *sthāyīns* and the *vyabhicārīns*".¹⁰ This observation holds good as far as the *bāhya sāttvika-bhāvas* (like tears, etc.,) are concerned. Abhinavagupta, however, recognises *āntara or ābhyantara vaivarṇya, aśru, svarabheda*, etc., also as *vyabhicārībhāvas*. Thus, it is very clear that as far as Bharata and Abhinavagupta are concerned, they admit *sāttvikabhāvas* to be both *vyabhicārībhāvas* and *anubhāvas*. In other words, they hold that the *sāttvikabhāvas* have dual character. And immediately after two or three lines following the passage which Raghavan has cited, Abhinavagupta himself concludes :

तस्मात् स्थायिव्यभिचारिसात्त्विका एव भावाः ।

Therefore *sthāyīns, vyabhicārīns* and *sāttvikas* alone deserve to be designated or called *bhāva*".

Now, immediately after dealing with eight *sthāyībhāvas* and thirty-three *vyabhicārībhāvas* Bharata goes on to consider *sāttvikabhāvas*. He starts off with the following *objection* : "Are the other mental states (*sthāyībhāvas* and *vyabhicārībhāvas*) represented without *sattva* whence only these (to be described soon) are called *sāttvika*" ? Reply : *sattva* is something which arises from the mind. It emerges or results from the concentrated mind. The *sāttvikabhāva* which is of the form of *romāñca* (horripilation or goose-flesh), tears (*aśru*) paleness or loss of colour (*vaivarṇya*), etc., and is in accordance with its appropriate feeling, cannot be acted out by an absent-minded actor. The *sattva* is essential in drama as it is an imitation or reproduction or representation or re-enacting of what happens in everyday life or of human nature. To explain : situations of happiness and misery that are to be enacted on the stage should be properly presented with the help or on the strength of *sattva* so that they appear completely realistic. How can sorrow which consists in weeping be acted out on the stage by anyone who is not himself unhappy ? (who has no experience of unhappiness) ? And how can happiness consisting in joy be acted out on the stage by any one who is not happy (by temperament) ? This itself is the *sattva* in an actor : feigning to be in an unhappy or in a happy state, he has to shed tears and display horripilation respectively. And that is why these states are called *sāttvika-bhāvas*".

These are the eight *sāttvikabhāvas* : 1. paralysis, 2. perspiration, 3. horripilation, 4. faltering voice, 5. trembling, 6. loss of colour or paleness, 7. tears and, 8. fainting.

Abhinavagupta explains the term *sattva* as concentration of the mind (*cittaikāgryam*). According to one commentator (*ṭīkākāra*) cited by Abhinavagupta, it means *manas samādhānam*, the same as *cittaikāgryam*. In one context, he paraphrases *sattva-samuttham* as *prayatnakṛtam*; in another context he explains it as what results from concentration of the mind (*manas-samādhānam*) and stresses the supreme importance of great effort (*prayatna*) for *sattva* (concentration of the mind) for *nāṭya* (drama) rests or is founded on *sattva*. “*Sattva* is something invisible but serves as the basis of mental states by means of horripilation, tears, and other *sāttvika* states displayed in accordance with the situations and sentiments.” Compared with *sāttvika abhinaya* the role of *vācika* and *āṅgika abhinayas* in drama is not so important, says Abhinavagupta.¹² It deserves our notice that the authors of *nāṭyadarpaṇa*, who generally follow Abhinavagupta, explain the term *sattva* after Abhinavagupta, though the words and expressions differ : When the mind is attentive it is called *sattva*. For if the mind be inattentive, it is not possible for the actor to act out the *sāttvikabhāvas* like *svarabheda*, etc.”¹³

In continuation of this (Abhinavagupta’s) discussion of the nature of *sattva*, Hemacandra’s discussion of the *sāttvikas* deserves to be taken up. For, it is surely enough based, to the best of our belief,¹⁴ on the missing portion of the *Abhinavabhāratī* (ch. VII) dealing with the *sāttvikabhāvas*; the relevant portion from *Kāvyaṅgī* as translated into English by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan is given at the end of this paper as an Appendix to facilitate ready reference. In this paper, we confine ourselves to the main points of the discussion :

Sattva means *prāṇātmakam vastu* (vital energy). It is so called because the mind dwells in it and because there is exuberance or predominance of *sattvaguna* in it and because it is characterised by intrinsic goodness. The *sāttvikabhāvas* arise from it. They are in the state of knowledge of *rati*, etc., which emerge from the *prāṇa-bhūmi*. (The idea is : the particular mental states like *rati*, etc., first appear as manifestations of consciousness. They then colour—by superimposing their own nature—the *ābhyantara* (internal) *prāṇas*. In other words, flowing from their original mental state, they rest in the internal *prāṇas* without transforming themselves into external manifestations of feeling (*anubhāva*) like paralysis (*stambha*), perspiration (*sveda*) etc.,). They are distinct from bodily or physical tears etc., which are external and inanimate (insentient or non-sentient) in their nature or form. They are produced by the same *vibhāvas* which produce *rati* etc.; to put it differently, the *vibhāvas* of the *sthāyins* like *rati*, etc., and of the *sāttvikabhāvas* like *stambha*, *sveda*, etc. are the same. They are beyond the range of aesthetic experience or relish. They are, however,

suggested—their presence is conveyed—by their consequents, i.e. by their external manifestations. Although physical weakness (*glāni*), laziness (*ālasya*); fatigue (*śrama*), stupor (*mūrcchā*) etc., are devoid of *ālambana-viṣaya*, still as they are caused by external factors, they are listed (or enumerated or counted) among *vyabhicārins*. The mental states like paralysis (*stambha*), etc. are, on the contrary, not caused by external factors, and hence they are called *sāttvikas*.

The external *sāttvikas* paralysis (*stambha*), etc., are bodily or physical attributes (*śarira-dharma*) and therefore are called *anubhāvas*. They first suggest their corresponding internal, *sāttvikabhāvas* but ultimately (really speaking or in reality) they suggest the mental states or emotions like love, world-weariness, etc.

These *sāttvikabhāvas* occur in connection with each one of the sentiments (*rasas*). They do not enjoy even a slight trace of independence (or of occasional predominance)—not even like the *vyabhicārins* on the analogy of a king's servant engaged in his own marriage ceremony who is followed by the king (at the time of the marriage procession). (That is in relation to his own servant, the king occupies, for the time being, a position subordinate to that of his own servant).

Dhanañjaya, who closely follows *Nāṭyaśāstra*, pointedly refers to the dual nature of the *sāttvikabhāvas* :

पृथग्भावा भवन्त्यन्येऽनुभावत्वेऽपि सात्त्विकाः ।

सत्त्वादेव समुत्पत्तेस्तच्च तद्भावभावनम् ॥ —DR IV.4 (b)-5 (a)

i.e., the *sāttvikas*, although they are of the nature of *anubhāvas*, are *bhāvas* other than *sthāyins* (permanent emotions) and *vyabhicārins* (transitory feelings). For, they arise from *sattva* and it (*sattva*) means 'making the spectator's mind or heart realize the joys or sorrows of the character portrayed'. It is the actor, who plays the role of Rāma, etc., who, by the strength of his fourfold dramatic representation, makes the spectator apprehend clearly or experience *almost directly* the joys or sorrows the character (Rāma) seems to have gone through. In the words of Keith : "The consequents are the external manifestation of feeling, by which the actors exhibit to the audience the minds and hearts of the persons of the drama... A special class is later made of those consequents, which are the involuntary product of sympathetic realization of the feeling of the person portrayed, and hence are called *sāttvika*, as arising from a heart which is ready to appreciate the sorrows or joys of another (*sattva*)".¹⁵ Raghavan explains *sattva* as follows : It is the making of our own hearts take the shape of what is presented in the poem or drama. This is *sattva*. This is how even *rājasa* and *tāmāsa bhāvas* like anger and sorrow came to be *sāttvika*. The

sāmkhya term *sattva* is used in this context with a specialised meaning imported (injected) into it and equated with *sattva* well-known in dramaturgy as meaning “*tanmayībhavana*”¹⁶ At another place he observes : “Surely *sattva* means *manas* and as all *bhāvas* are mental moods, they are all *sāttvikas*. *Sāttvika* also means from the point of view of the actor... those *bhāvas* in the acting of which the actor had to enter into the mind and show. Though such acting is common to all *bhāvas*, it is true most of the *sāttvikas*, for a tear has to be shown by an actual tear and horripilation by horripilation”¹⁷ Viśvanātha defines *sattva* thus :

Sattva “is a certain inward disposition which spontaneously reveals the repose of one’s soul *where it does not interfere to modify the indication*” and *sāttvikas* as “Those changes in a human being are called ‘involuntary or *honest and spontaneous*—which arise from *sattva*”. These *sāttvikas* differ from the *anubhāvas* (consequents) in general only in their taking rise in *sattva*—just in the same way as the bull differs from the cattle (*go-balīvarda-nyāyena*),¹⁸ in other words, the *sāttvikas* are a special class of the *anubhāvas* in general. Śāradātanaya deals with the *sāttvikabhāvas* in his *Bhāvaprakāśana*. Kumārasvāmin in his *Ratnāpaṇa* commentary on *Pratāparudrīya* takes note of his view along with those of others.

Kumārasvāmin’s *Ratnāpaṇa* commentary is remarkable for its resume of a variety of interpretations of *sattva*, the source of the eight *sāttvika-bhāvas*. He specifically mentions *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Ācārya Hemacandra, and *Rasanirūpaṇa* of Naraharisūri in the course of his exposition of the technical term *sattva* and the *sāttvika-bhāvas*. He is indebted to *Daśarūpakāvaloka* also for his explanation of *sattva* and the dual nature of *sāttvikabhāvas*. As already observed above, Hemacandra is almost certainly indebted to Abhinavagupta for his treatment of the *sāttvikabhāvas*. So Kumārasvāmin may be said to be indebted to Abhinavagupta through Hemacandra.

Abhinavagupta, Hemacandra and Kumārasvāmin unambiguously state that the mental states such as love, world-weariness, etc. become transformed into (internal) *sāttvikabhāvas*, *stambha*, etc., owing to sympathetic realization; and that they are indicated by the external, insentient, physical and bodily consequents such as *stambha*, etc.; and that ultimately—in reality—just the mental states such as love, world-weariness, etc., are suggested by the external manifestations.

Kumārasvāmin records four different views regarding *sāttvikabhāvas* held by “some” (*Kecit, Anye*). The first view stated by him is identical with Ācārya Hemacandra’s (or rather Abhinavagupta’s) view (cf. *Kāvyaṇūsāsana*, pp.144-45).

According to the second view, *sattva* is a particular kind of strength or energy (*bala*) which is of the nature of making the spectators or audience realize vividly, without the aid of other *bhāvas* (the *vyabhicārins*, transitory feelings) the particular *rasa*; and *sāttvikabhāvas* are those external manifestations of feelings which arise from that *sattva*. According to the third view, *sāttvikabhāvas* are stupefaction, etc. themselves, which though similar to *anubhāvas* (consequents like sidelong glances, etc.) are called *sāttvikabhāva* on the analogy of words like *paṅkaja*, etc. These words although etymologically mean anything produced in mud', by convention mean only 'a lotus'. The *sāttvikabhāvas* are the outcome of *sattva*, the manifestations of *sattva* but because of the predominance of the *annamayakośa* they convey external manifestations such as stupefaction, etc., through *yoga-rūḍhi* (etymology delimited by convention). According to the fourth view, the term *sāttvikabhāvas* is used to denote only the external manifestations of feelings like stupefaction, etc., because of its well-known usage in the *alāmkāra-sāstra* (poetics) just as in the Vaiśeṣika system of philosophy the word *padārtha* is used to indicate the three categories out of seven, viz., *dravya*, *guṇa* and *karma* (substance, quality and Action respectively). Out of these conflicting views, Kumāraswāmin has no special preference for anyone.

According to *Rasatarāṅgiṇī*, 'sattva' means living body; and the *sāttvikas* are its attributes i.e. the *sāttvikas* are physical effects—stupefaction, etc. are physical effects and are called *sāttvikabhāvas*. The *sthāyībhāvas* and *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, being internal, are (of course) not physical effects.¹⁹

Rasaratnapradīpikā (p.10) says : Although these *sāttvikas* in accordance with their possibility (*yathā-sambhava*) occur in one and all *rasas*, still disregarding their nature as *vyabhicārins* they are enumerated separately as *sāttvikabhāvas* since they originate in *sattva* alone. And that *sattva* means the extreme readiness of the actor's / spectator's heart to appreciate the sorrow (or joys) of another (the original character); and it arises from a (concentrated) mind.²⁰

Prabhākara says in his *Rasapradīpa* (p. 18) : "The *sāttvikas* are counted or included among *anubhāvas* as they are the effects of *rati* (love), etc. They are described separately as they are produced from *sattva*, their invariable cause. It is defined as follows : In poetics, the mind, when it is not affected or contaminated or influenced by *rajas* and *tamas* (the other two constituent elements of *prakṛti*) is called *sattva*. The *sāttvikabhāvas* are so called as they are able to produce or evoke *rasa* through their connection with it (*sattva*)".²¹

The explanation of *sattva* as *jīvaccharīra* given in *Rasatarāṅgiṇī* though novel is not in conformity with Bharata who very clearly and without any ambiguity whatsoever explains it with reference not to 'living body' but to concentration of the mind, i.e., what results from such a concentration. (N.Ś. Ch. VII, pp. 374-75).

Dr. J. L. Masson and Prof. M. V. Patwardhan observe in their Notes (*Aesthetic Rapture*, Vol. II, p. 63) : "Note Abhinava, p. 268 : *sāttvikā vyabhicāri-vṛttam abhinayavṛttam copajīvantīti prthagabhinayādibhyo ganitāḥ*. Abhinava's point seems to be that Bharata mentions them separately from the *vyabhicāribhāvas* because they have a dual character : they are transitory (*vyabhicāri*) and they depend on acting. But in so far as the *vyabhicāribhāvas* belong to the actor, they are also dependent on *abhinaya*. Abhinava's explanation is thus not very convincing. Perhaps, Bharata has mentioned the *sāttvikabhāvas* separately because they are harder to feign. It is easy to imitate delight, but more difficult to make one's hair stand on end (*romāñca*) either in fear or in pleasure". It is rather difficult to agree with the authors when they say "Abhinava's explanation is thus not very convincing." As Abhinava observes elsewhere (A. Bh. Ch. VI., p. 290) '*abhinayā anubhāvā eva*', the *sāttvikas* have a dual nature : they are transitory feelings, and at the same time, external manifestations of feeling. That is why a special class is made of the eight *sāttvikas*, stupefaction, perspiration, horripilation, etc., "which are the involuntary product of sympathetic realisation of the feeling of the person portrayed, and hence are called *sāttvika*, as arising from a heart which is ready to appreciate the sorrow or joys of another (*sattva*)."²² This nature helps us to distinguish very clearly these eight *sāttvikabhāvas* from the usual thirty-three transitory feelings and the other external manifestations of feeling. That the *sāttvikas* are harder to feign, as they involve or demand complete concentration of the mind on the part of the actor/spectator, is very true and acceptable to one and all.

The explanation given by *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* (Marathi) as to why the *anubhāvas*, *stambha*, *sveda*, etc., are called *sāttvikas* may briefly be stated as follows : "In everyday life, we find that in appropriate circumstances and situations, the *sthāyīns*, *rati* (love) etc., are awakened quite naturally; and their corresponding physical effects become manifest to discerning people. But, an actor has to produce with great effort these artificial mental states by means of sympathetic realisation of the feelings of joys and sorrows in others. To distinguish these artificial mental states from the natural mental states of love, etc., they are given different names on the basis of the particularly prominent

anubhāvas manifested on their awakening. The eight *sthāyīns*, *rati*, *hāsa*, *śoka-krodha*, *utsāha*, *bhaya*, *jugupsā* and *vismaya* may thus have been given the *sāttvika* names : 1. *pralaya*, 2. *svrabhaṅga*, 3. *aśru*, 4. *vepathu*, 5. *sveda*, 6. *vaivarṇya*, 7. *romāñca* and, 8. *stambha*. But later on there was utter confusion between these names of artificial *sthāyīns* and the *anubhāvas* bearing these very names. Consequently, a doubt might have arisen whether they are *anubhāvas* or *bhāvas*.”

This explanation is ingenious no doubt but not convincing. If the names of the eight *sāttvikas* were standing in the same order as we find in the case of the eight *sthāyīns* with reference to the eight *rasas*, the explanation offered by *Bhāratiya Nāṭyaśāstra* would have gained some worthwhile support from Bharata.

Abhinavagupta's theory of internal and external *sāttvikabhāvas* involving the Sāṃkhya and the Vedānta concepts of *sattva* (*rajas and tamas*), and the *Kośas* respectively is certainly novel and interesting. However, it does not seem to have found favour with later thinkers except Ācārya Hemacandra, Naraharisūri²³ and Kumārasvāmin. May be, they found it unconvincing or unsatisfactory or regarded it as unimportant and unworthy of consideration²⁴.

Appendix

(Note : Here is Prof. M. V. Patwardhan's translation of Ācārya Hemachandra's sections in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (MJV edn. Bombay 1964) dealing with the topic of the *sāttvikabhāvas* :

Now, he speaks of the *sāttvikabhāvas*).

Sūtra 79 : stupefaction (*stambha*), perspiration (*sveda*), horripilation (*romāñca*), faltering voice (*svrabhedā*, the same as *svrabhaṅga*), trembling (*kampa*, the same as *vepathu*), change of colour or paleness (*vaivarṇya*), tears (*aśru*) and fainting or loss of consciousness (*pralaya*)—these are the eight *sāttvikabhāvas*.

Alaṅkāracūdāmaṇi on the 'sūtra : The word *sattva* means vital force (or energy) (*elan vital*), because of the etymology, viz. : The mind is lodged in it, and because vital force consists in an excess of *sattva-guṇa* and because of its inherent goodness (*sattva=sādhutva*). The *sāttvikabhāvas* have their origin (or existence) in *sattva*, i.e. in the vital force and hence they are known by the name *sāttvika*. The *sāttvikabhāvas* are associated with the emotions (or psychic states) such as *rati* (love) etc., which arise (or emerge) from the bed-rock (*bhūmi*) of the

vital force. They are distinct from the physical effects such as tears, etc., which are extraneous (to the vital force), and which are non-sentient in their nature or form (*jaḍa-rūpa*). They are produced (*āhṛtā*) only by the *vibhāvas* associated (as causes) with the psychic states, such as *rati* (love) etc. and are beyond the pale of aesthetic experience (*aticarvaṇāgocareṇa vibhāvena*), and their presence (i. e., the presence of (the internal) *sāttvikabhāvas*) is intimated (or suggested) by their consequents.

To explain : The psychic states, when they enter into the predominantly earth-allied element in the vital force give rise to *stambha*—stupefaction, i. e. the blocking (inhibition) of sensation (*cetanā*; *ceṣṭā*—physical movement); when they enter (i.e., affect) the predominantly water-allied element in the vital force give rise to tears. But as *tejas* (heat) is intimately allied to the vital force, either intensely (acutely) or in a feeble manner (mildly), and it gives rise to perspiration and paleness of the body and as it (*tejas*) is the cause of that (perspiration and paleness ?) therefore it is spoken in that way (*tathā* ? sense not clear). When *ākāśa* (space) affects (*anugraha*) (the vital force), there arises *pralaya* fainting, loss of consciousness). But when *vāyu* (air) affects the vital force ? *vāyusvātantrye* ? obscure. We expect *vāyu-anugrahe* on the analogy of *tejas-anugraha* and *ākāśānugraha* as air (wind) affects, (becomes infused in (the vital force either slowly, swiftly or in a manner midway between the two, it becomes transformed in a triple way viz., horripilation, tremor or trembling and faltering voice. Such is the view of those conversant with Bharata (i.e. with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata).

Viveka on the above cited passage, p. 144 : “The bed-rock of the vital force”. The idea is as follows : The particular psychic states such as love, etc., first emerge into prominence as manifestations of consciousness. Then they affect (tinge) through the superimposition of their own natures the internal vital force. And this is not something that is incomprehensible. For instance, the infusion (or accession) first arises or manifests itself as something blazing up (or burning) (flushing, simmering) (emending the text ‘*Krodhāveśe antarā jvalateva*’ to ‘*Krodhāveśaḥ antarā jvalanniva*’), and then perspiration follows (due to exasperation). With this very idea in his mind Bāṇabhaṭṭa has said : First austerities drop down (i. e., become ineffective) and then the fluid of perspiration begins to ooze (from the body)* (*Harṣacarita*, I, p. 13).

When a particular psychic state attains to (or reaches) such a phase in that manner, it is also observed in the world to be restrained (or inhibited) from reaching a climactic point in the form of visible physical effects (or

manifestations). For example : ‘The mind (heart) of the beloved one, prone to passion (love), as it becomes agitated (excited) at the sight of the moonlike face of her dear lover does not come to rest (i. e. does not become pacified), although the manifestation of physical effects such as perspiration has been restrained through (fear of) its being noticed by the elderly people (near about) (*gurusamkama* = *gurusamkrama* = *gurujanadarśanabhaya* [In the *Viveka*, p.145, *gurusamkama* is explained as ‘*guru-viṣaye mā samkramīt* and hence I understand it to mean “It should not come to the notice of elderly people near about.

Viveka, p. 145 : The heart (mind) of the beloved one being prone to an upsurge of passion at the sight of (the face of) her dear lover, becomes agitated (or excited). And although the external physical effects of passion have been checked by her in order that they should not be noticed by elderly people (nearby), her heart (mind) does not become relaxed (restful) but is still full of agitation (restlessness (*kṣobhamaya*) caused by *sāttvikabhāvas* such as internal perspiration, (tremor), etc. Further in the stanza there is suggested an illustration (*nidarśanam* (illustrating the situation directly expressed, i.e., this stanza suggests a simile or comparison). To explain : The turbulent (*rai*=*rayin*=*vegavān*= *prakṣubdhah*) ocean agitated up to its innermost depth (*āhrdayam*) at the sight of the moon possessing a pleasing face (orb), and though having its advancing inundating waves checked by the huge embankment (or reclining wall) (along the coast), it does not come to rest (i.e. does not cease to have rising waves). The word *sāgara* has both the masculine and neuter genders in Sanskrit; or though it has only the masculine gender in Sanskrit, there is the mutation of its gender (into the neuter gender) in Prakrit. Thus in this stanza, the feeling of love, while giving up its purely psychic nature, does not lead to external, physical (visible, palpable) effects (such as perspiration, tremor etc.), and so it is described or presented (here) (by the poet) as resting on the bed-rock of the vital force itself.

Ratyādigatenaiveti—By only the *vibhāvas* associated (as causes) with love, etc.”—and not by any other *vibhāvas*, for they are independent of proneness (or orientation) to particular external objects (sense not clear to me). Although *glāni*, *ālasya*, *śrama*, *mūrcchā*, etc. are devoid of *ālambanaviṣaya*(?) still as they are caused by external factors they are enumerated (or enlisted) among the *vyabhicāribhāvas*. The mental effects or psychical states such as stupefaction etc. are not caused by external factors and hence they are called *sāttvikas*.

Stambho viṣṭabdha-cetanatvam iti—The mind becomes overpowered by joy, etc., and hence it does not move out to join the sense-organs, as it no longer

presides over the sense-organs which are restricted only to the vague (hazy, synthetic) perception of external objects, this perception not being analytical (*vikalpaparyantatāgamana-rahita*). For example :

Thereafter even their natural agility vanished, like the flare of lamps depicted in pictures, while their lustre faded, the flame of their eyes ceased to stir, and their courage ebbed away”.

(—*Setubandha* II. 45 as translated by K. K. Handiqui)

Similarly the following stanza is an example of tears (*bāṣpa*) caused by the infusion of *tejas* (heat) into the water-dominated element of the vital force.

“Put a check on (restrain or stop) your continuously flowing (gushing) tears by resorting to mental firmness. On this way, where you are not able to notice its ups and downs, your foot-steps are being placed unevenly by you.”

Tivrātīvrātveneti (intensely or in a feeble manner) :

Perspiration due to the infusion (of *tejas*) into the water-dominated element of the vital force is exemplified in the following stanza :

“When in the course of gambling (with dice) for amusement (diversion) her embrace was first won (as a wager) by her dear consort, and then, thereafter, the charming (delightful offering of the lower lip (for being kissed) was won by her dear consort as a wager), he again inquired of his beloved about the (next) wager to be put forward by her, she silently stretched out (extended) her perspiring hand in order to throw (cast) the dice (*sāra-visāraṇāya* = *akṣautkṣepaṇāya*), while her cheeks began to throb (quiver) because of the outburst of passion accumulated in her (mind) but held in check with a suppressed (inchoate) smile (*sāntarhāsa*)”.

But when the water-dominated part of the vital force is penetrated by *tejas* in a feeble manner, there results paleness of the body (physical paleness or loss of colour), as in the following stanza :

“As that princess (*Indumatī*) seeking to choose a consort for herself (from among the assembled kings) (simply) passing by various kings successively (without fixing her choice on any one of them) each of them became pale (lost colour) just as when a flame (torch) passing successively in front of the mansions on the principal street in a city, each mansion became pale (and plunged in gloom)”.

—*Raghu* VI.67.

Pralaya iti : Fainting (loss of consciousness) means the complete (*prakarṣeṇa*) absorption (or dissolution) of the faculties of the sense-organs into

the vital force. For example :

Because of the swoon resulting from the severe impact (of the fire from Śiva's frontal eye) which blocked up (arrested) the functioning of her sense-organs, Rati did not comprehend the nature and extent of the catastrophe that had overtaken her husband and because of this (ignorance on her part) a real favour was as it were done to her. —*Kumārasambhava* IV. 73.

'*Tasya* means 'prāṇasya'. (The infusion of) the vital force (by the mind element). '*Manda*' *iti*. When the vital force becomes infused with slow-moving air, horripilation is the result. For example :

"When my face was turned to his face, I turned my face down, and directed my glance at his feet; I closed my ears which were very eager to hear his speech; I concealed with my hands the perspiration on my cheeks breaking forth with horripilation. But, O my friends, what could I do when the seams of my bodice began to burst in a hundred places ? —*Amaruśataka*. V.11.

When the vital force is infused with air which is neither very slow-moving nor very fast-moving (but midway between the two) there is tremor (trembling or quivering of the body). For example :

"Be not puffed up with pride because your cheek is shining with the design of a blossom-spray painted thereon by your consort with his own hand. Cannot, O my friend, other women too have similar designs (painted on their cheeks by their husbands themselves) if it were not for the fact that tremor of their cheeks posed an insurmountable obstacle ?"

When the vital force is infused with very swift-moving air, faltering (or stammering) of the voice (chocking of the voice) is the result(takes place). For example :

When Kṛṣṇa (the enemy of the demon Madhu) left for Dvārakā, Rādhā embracing the tender branch (*latā*) of the Vañjula tree (Aśoka tree), bent down because of her jumping down from it (in the river Yamunā flowing near it) sang with such deep longing, her song turning into a loud wail and her throat so choked with profuse tears that the ducks swimming in the water began to cry plaintively (in sympathy)." —First cited in the *Locana on Dhvanyāloka* 1.4.

p. 147, 11 1-3 : The final position is this : The external *sāttvikabhāvas* such as stupefaction, etc., are physical attributes and they operate as *anubhāvas* suggesting the (corresponding) internal *sāttvikabhāvas*; and in reality they (ultimately) suggest psychic states such as love, world-weariness, etc.

p. 147, 11 23-25 : Because these *sāttvikabhāvas* occur in connection with each one of the *rasas* and because they do not possess even a slight trace of independence (autonomy) not even like the *vyabhicāribhāvas* on the analogy of a king's servant engaged in his own marriage ceremony who is followed by the king (at the time of the marriage procession; i. e., in relation to his own servant the king occupies, for the time being, a position subordinate to that of his own servant.) and because examples of the *sāttvikabhāvas* are easily available (in literature) they have not been cited in the *Vṛtti* (viz., *Alaṅkāracūdāmaṇi*).

Notes and References :

- ★ Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. 38, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1988, issue, pp. 91-106.
1. व्यभिचारिणश्चास्यालस्यौग्र्यजुगुप्सावर्ज्याः । —NS VI. p. 306
Cf. "The point is that normally *jugupsā* is the *sthāyībhāva* of *bībhatsa*. It is not given in the list of the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas*, but the very fact that Bharata says that it should not be used in love shows that he felt that it could be a *vyabhicāribhāva* as well as a *sthāyībhāva*. He, therefore, felt that under certain circumstances, ordinary *vyabhicāribhāvas* could become *sthāyībhāvas*, and *sthāyībhāvas* could become *vyabhicāribhāvas*." —*Śāntarasa*.. (p. 124, f.n.1)
 2. For example (i) व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य (करुणस्य) निर्वेद... स्तम्भ-वेपथुवैवर्ण्याश्रुस्वरभेदादयः । —NS VI. p. 317
(ii) भावाश्चास्य (भयानकस्य)...स्तम्भस्वेदगद्गदरोमाञ्जवेपथुस्वरभेदवैवर्ण्या...मरणादयः । —NS VI. p. 326.
 3. तस्याश्रुपातपरिदेवनमुखशोषवैवर्ण्या.. स्मृतिलोपादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य निर्वेद... स्तम्भ-वेपथु-वैवर्ण्याश्रुस्वरभेदादयः । —NS VI. p. 317
 4. तस्य प्रवेपित... पुलकमुखवैवर्ण्यास्वरभेदादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । भावाश्चास्य स्तम्भस्वेदगद्गदरोमाञ्जवेपथु-स्वरभेदवैवर्ण्यामरणादयः । —NS VI. p. 326
 5. तस्य नयनविस्तार... रोमाञ्जाश्रुस्वेद... भ्रमणादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । भावाश्चास्य स्तम्भाश्रुस्वेदगद्गदरोमाञ्जावेग.. प्रलयादयः । —NS VI. p. 330.
 6. (i) वैवर्ण्याश्रुस्वरभेदा अत्र बहिरुद्भिन्न [? बहिरनुद्भिन्न] स्वभावाश्चित्तवृत्त्यात्मानो गृह्यन्ते । तथा हि वक्त्रासे भवन्ति 'अश्रुणा पूर्णोऽस्य कण्ठो न च नयनजलं दृष्टम्' इति । एते ह्यश्रुप्रभृतयो व्यभिचारित्वाभि-नेयत्वोपजीवनार्थैव मध्ये निर्दिष्टा इत्यवोचाम वक्ष्यामश्च । तेन न पौनरुक्त्यम् । —A. Bh. VI. p. 318, Prof. Kangle's edn.
(ii) भावा इति व्यभिचारिणः । स्वेदादयो बाह्याः । आभ्यान्तराः सात्त्विका- (क)-भावोऽपि ? (?स्वेदादयो बाह्या आभ्यन्तरसात्त्विकाभावोऽपि विषस्पर्शज्वरादिना भवन्ति । ततोऽनैकान्तिकाः । आन्तरा अनुद्रिका व्यजनग्रहणादिभिरुद्रिकाः । (? "ग्रहणादिभिः, उद्रिका) बाह्यैः स्वेदादिभिर्व्यक्ता व्यभिचारिरूपाः पठिताः । —A. Bh. VI. p. 321, Prof. Kangle's edn. p. 285
(iii) वागङ्गेति । वागादयस्तत्कर्मसु वर्तन्ते । तेन वर्णनात्मना वाचिकेन संनिवेशवलनादी (? दि)-नाङ्गिकेनान्तर्बहिःशक्त्या सात्त्विकेन करणभूतेनोपेतान् सम्बद्धान् । —A. Bh. VII. p. 343, Prof. Kangle's edn. p. 367

7. व्यभिचारित्वाभिनयत्वोपजीवका इति (तदनन्तरं) सात्त्विकाः ।...सात्त्विका व्यभिचारिवृत्तमभिनयवृत्तं चोपजीवन्तीति पृथग्भिनयादिभ्यो गणिताः ।
—A. Bh. VI. p. 268, prof. Kangle's edn.p. 114
8. अभिनया अनुभावा एव ।
—A. Bh. VI. p. 290
9. भावशब्देन तावच्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषा एव विवक्षिताः । ...ये त्वेते ऋतुमाल्यादयो विभावा बाह्याश्च बाष्पप्रभृतयोऽनुभावा एकान्तजडस्वभावाः ते न भावशब्दव्यपदेश्याः ।
—A. Bh. VII. p. 342
10. *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, 1963 edn. (p. 448)
11. इह हि सत्त्वं नाम मनःप्रभवम् । तच्च समाहितमनस्त्वादुच्यते । मनसः समाधौ सत्त्विनिष्पत्तिर्भवति । तस्य च योऽसौ स्वभावो रोमाञ्चाश्रुवैवर्ण्यादिलक्षणो यथाभावोपगतः स न शक्योऽन्यमनसा कर्तुमिति । लोकस्वभावानुकरणत्वाच्च नाट्यस्य सत्त्वमीप्सितम् । ... एतदेवास्य सत्त्वं यत् दुःखितेन सुखितेन वाऽश्रुरोमाञ्चौ दर्शयितव्यौ इति कृत्वा सात्त्विका भावा इत्यभिव्याख्याताः ।
—NŚ VII, 374-75
12. सत्त्वं चित्तैकाग्र्यम् ।
—A. Bh. I. p. 346.
सत्त्वं मनस्समाधानम्. टीकाकारः ।
—A. Bh. I p.327
सत्त्वसमुत्थं प्रयत्नकृतम् ।
—A. Bh. I p. 328
सत्त्वं च मनस्समाधानजम् ।
—A. Bh. III p. 150
तस्माद् भूयसा प्रयत्नेन विना (न) सिद्ध्यतीति । ...सत्त्वस्य हि प्रयत्नाधिक्यमुपयोगीति वागङ्गयोरुपादानमलमेवेति - अलमनेत (? न) ।
—A. Bh. III p. 150
नाट्यं सत्त्वे प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
—NŚ XXII. 1. d.
सत्त्वातिरिक्तोऽभिनयो ज्येष्ठ इत्यभिधीयते ।
—NŚ XXII. 2. ab
अव्यक्तरूपं सत्त्वं हि विज्ञेयं भावसंश्रयम् ।
यथास्थानरसोपेतं रोमाञ्चास्त्रादिभिर्गुणैः ॥
—NŚ XXII. 3
सात्त्विकाभावे ह्यभिनयक्रियानामापि नोन्मीलति । अभिनयनं हि चित्तवृत्तिसाधारणता-
पत्तिप्राणसाक्षात्कारकल्पाध्यवसायसंपादनमिति । अत एवोक्तं सत्त्वे नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितमिति । —A. Bh. III. p. 150.
13. अवहितं मनः सत्त्वं तत्प्रयोजनं हेतुरस्येति सात्त्विकः ।
मनोऽनवधाने हि न शक्यन्त एव स्वरभेदादयो नटेन दर्शयितुम् ॥ —ND, Baroda, 1959 edn, p. 169
14. I had given expression to this belief in a footnote to my paper on *Abhinavabhāratī* : *Chapter VII Recovered ?* First published in *Journal, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. No XX, No. 3, March 1971*. The various passages from *Abhinavabhāratī* (ch. VI and VII) cited above have strengthened my belief almost into conviction.
15. *The Sanskrit Drama* by A. B. Keith, Oxford University Press, 1964 edn, p. 315
16. *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, Madras, 1963 edn, p. 484.
17. *Ibid*, p. 441
18. "सत्त्वं नाम स्वात्मविश्रामप्रकाशकारी कश्चनान्तरो धर्मः ।
विकाराः सत्त्वसम्भूताः सात्त्विकाः परिकीर्तिताः ।
सत्त्वमात्रोद्भवत्वाते भिन्ना अप्यनुभावतः ।
—'गोबलीवर्दन्यायेन' इति शेषः ॥
—Sāhityadarapaṇa III. 134-35.
19. ... अत्रेदं प्रतिभाति सत्त्वशब्दस्य प्राणिवाचकत्वात् । अत्र सत्त्वं जीवच्छरीरे तस्य धर्माः सात्त्विकाः । तथा च शरीरा भावाः स्तम्भादयः सात्त्विका भावा इत्यभिधीयन्ते । स्थायिने व्यभिचारिणश्च भावा अन्तरतया न शरीरधर्मा...।
—*Rasatarāṅgiṇī*. Section IV (*Sāttvikabhāvanirūpana*)
20. यद्यपि एते यथासंभवं सर्वेषु रसेषु व्यभिचरन्ति तथापि व्यभिचारित्वमनादस्य सत्त्वमात्रसंभवा भवन्ति इति सात्त्विका इति

भिन्नतया गणिताः । तच्च सत्त्वं परगत [-सुख-] दुःखादिभावनायाम् अत्यन्तानुकूलान्तःकरणत्वं मनःप्रभावः (? मनःप्रभवम्) । तेन सत्त्वेन वृत्ताः सात्त्विकाः ।

—*Rasaratnadīpikā*, Section III (*Vibhāvānubhāva-sāttvika-lakṣaṇa*)

21. अनुभावलक्षणमाह धनिकः... सात्त्विकास्त्वेतदन्तर्गता एव ।
तेषामपि रत्यादिकार्यत्वात् । भिन्नतया प्रतिपादनं तु नियत-कारण- सत्त्व-जनितत्वात् । तल्लक्षणं तु.
रजस्तमोभ्यामस्पृष्टं मनः सत्त्वमिहोच्यते ।
निवृत्तयेऽस्य तद्योगात् प्रभवन्तीति सात्त्विकाः । इति ।
अस्य रसस्येति प्रकृतपरामर्शः । —*Rasapradīpa*, Section II (*Rasaviveka*)
22. Keith : *The Sanskrit Drama*, 1964 edn, p. 315
23. एवं प्राचाम्मालङ्कारिकाणामनेकधा पारिप्लवं वर्तते ।...
विशेषान्तराणि नरहरिसूरिविरचिते रसनिरूपणे द्रष्टव्यानि ।
—*Pratāparudriya-Ratnāpaṇa* (Madras, 1914 edn, p. 160)
24. For translation of the two passages by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan vide Appendix.
- ★ (P. 10) Cf. P. V. Kane (edn. p. 4) observes : “The austerities (performed by the angry man) are (first) dissolved, i.e., have to give way before the wave of passion. The angry man (then) perspires”. —Kane’s edn., Notes

□ □ □

HEMACANDRA : AN ASSESSMENT

A careful, critical and comparative study of Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* shows that he has composed his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* incorporating the best and well known portions of the works of a number of his illustrious predecessors who wrote on Poetics (and Aesthetics) like Bharata, Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, Mahimbhaṭṭa Bhoja, Kṣemendra and Mammaṭa. He is an excellent judge of the whole range of scholarship on the subject, and knows the best authorities in the field. His work reveals that he is both a generalist and specialist rolled into one. This may sound paradoxical. In Sanskrit scholarship of the past as indeed in medical practice today we see a lot of significance being attached to the depth of knowledge of a specialist. In the field of poetics we find ancient authorities laying special emphasis on *alaṅkāra* or *vakrokti* or *rīti* or *dhvani* or *rasa* or *aucitya*. A poor student feels bewildered by their exclusive emphasis on their pet doctrines exactly as poor patient seeking opinion from the medical stalwart specialists today feels. In such a baffling situation to develop a right kind of understanding through proper perspective becomes almost impossible unless we go to the right guide and teacher. Hemacandra like his worthy predecessor Mammaṭa is such an unfailing guide for most of the students on the subject. He is an ideal teacher with the right understanding of the whole of the field of knowledge of Poetics. He has the ability to place every thing in its own place and guide students on the correct path as our family physician, a reliable general practitioner does. With a view to meeting the needs of primary students of *Sāhityaśāstra* he wrote a very lucid textbook called *Alaṅkāra-Cūḍāmaṇi* comprising (i) the *sūtras* : defining the various topics dealt with in it, (ii) the *vr̥tti* : a prose commentary on the *sūtras* explaining and sometimes supplanting them, and (iii) the *udāharaṇas* : illustrations—these are stanzas mostly quoted either from the works of preceding writers on poetics or from those of renowned poets. And with a view to meeting the needs or requirements of advanced students, who aspire to attain mastery, of *Sāhityaśāstra* he wrote a *svopajñā*, his own

commentary, called *Viveka*, on it incorporating the best and most well known portions of the works of previous writers on the subject. The way he chooses the passages and excerpts and the way he organises them in his two-graded scheme of study attest to his supreme wisdom, great critical faculty in selecting choicest excerpts and his marvellous power of organising them into a homogeneous and organic whole. His *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* may not be, in fact is not, distinguished by any great originality but it does display, like his other works, a truly encyclopaedic learning and enormous reading, and a practical approach without affecting the theoretical side.

The method Hemacandra has adopted in writing his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* has preserved for us many significant and worthwhile passages of books that are irretrievably lost. By way of illustration some of these passages may be noted here and their significance briefly discussed :

(a) *Ācārya* Hemacandra adopts, with some additions and omissions, the whole section dealing with the nature of *rāsa* from *Abhinavabhāratī* and acknowledges his indebtedness to Abhinavagupta :

...itt śrimān abhinavaguptācāryaḥ |
Etan matameva cāsmābhirupajīvitam¹ ||

In the above passage from *Abhinavabhāratī* when adopting it Hemacandra has omitted the example from Brāhmaṇa works² illustrating the concept of *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* (universalisation) and added in its place the following example : Śāmba worshipped the Sun-god and recovered his own health. Whoever worships the Sun recovers his health. Therefore I too worship the Sun for recovering my health.”³ This universalization (*sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*) enables the spectator to participate mentally, to identify himself with the character that is being represented, and understand and undergo the experiences presented on the stage.

From Hemacandra’s acknowledgement at the end of the long passage “*iti śrimānabhinavaguptācāryaḥ*” it would seem that this passage too he has adopted from Abhinavagupta. It is, however not found either in his *Abhinavabhāratī* (on *Rasādhyāya* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*) or *Locana*, commentary on *Dhvanyāloka*. R. Gnoli conjectures that the three *śloka*s about Śāmba are “no doubt taken from a work on poetics existing prior to A.G., perhaps the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka”.

(b) Another unique passage preserved by Hemacandra is about the dual nature of *Śāttvikabhāvas*. The whole discussion about the *sāttvikabhāvas*

(*Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, pp. 144-147) is most probably borrowed by Hemacandra from the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the seventh chapter—*Bhāvādhyāya* of *Nāṭyaśāstra* which is now almost lost). Kumārasvāmin in his commentary called *Ratnāpaṇa* on *Pratāparudrīya*⁴ cites a portion from his passage with the introductory remark : “*Tad uktam ācārya-Hemacandreṇa*”. This remark would make us believe that the portion cited, is Hemacandra’s own. But since Hemacandra adopts the whole section on *rasa* from *Abhinavabhāratī*, it is more likely than not, that the passage on *bhāva* too he has adopted from the same source. Following Bharata and Abhinavagupta, Hemacandra holds that the *sāttvikabhāvas* are of dual character. They partake of the nature of both : the *vyabhicārins* and the *anubhāvas*. The *sāttvikabhāvas* are of two kinds : internal and external. The external *sāttvikabhāvas* like *stambha* (stupefaction), *sveda* (perspiration), etc., are bodily or physical attributes and are *jaḍa* or *acetana* (inanimate) and therefore are called *anubhāvas*. These external *sāttvikabhāvas* first suggest their corresponding internal *sāttvikabhāvas* but ultimately they suggest the mental states or emotions like *rati*(love), *nirveda* (world-weariness). etc.⁵

(c) Discussion as to the nature and number of *guṇas* : In chapter IV of his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* Hemacandra briefly states in his *vṛtti* that *guṇas* are three (only) and not five or ten :

“*trayo na tu daśa pañca vā*”

He then discusses at great length the ten *śabdaguṇas* and *arthaguṇas* set forth in their works by Bharata, Daṇḍin and Vāmana. He incidentally refers to Maṅgala’s view also. V. Raghavan, in his encyclopaedic work, *Bhoja’s Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, surveys Hemacandra’s treatment of *guṇas* and remarks that Hemacandra must have borrowed this critical discussion from Rājaśekhara’s *Kāvyaṅimāmsā* which is now lost to us except for its first chapter. I have pointed out in my paper. “The Sources of Hemacandra’s *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*,”⁶ how Hemacandra’s method has been eclectic and he borrows from his illustrious predecessors in preparing his excellent text book on Sanskrit poetics. In the process he does a valuable service of preserving for us much significant material. Here, for instance, the unique discussion on *guṇas*, which is quite a hallmark in Sanskrit poetics, Hemacandra has preserved for us from Rājaśekhara’s original voluminous work *Kāvyaṅimāmsā* (now lost). Just as Hemacandra has borrowed freely great portions from Rājaśekhara’s chapters dealing with poetic conventions, plagiarism and *vyutpatti* (proficiency, scholarship-arising from a close study of the world, the various *śāstras* the works of earlier poets and such other works as *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, etc.) even so this critical discussion he

must have borrowed from Rājaśekhara. This conjecture is strongly supported by the way Hemacandra presents the subject and the style and diction he uses which is unmistakably Rājaśekhara's.

The critical survey of *guṇas* incorporated by Hemacandra in his *Viveka* commentary is also remarkable for the reference to the two 'strange' or peculiar views :

(i) ओजः प्रसाद-मधुरिमाणः साम्यमौदार्यं च पञ्चेत्यपरे । तथा हि यददर्शितविच्छेदं पठतामोजः, विच्छिद्य पदानि पठतां प्रसादः, आरोहवरोहतरङ्गिणि पाठे माधुर्यम्, ससौष्ठवमेव स्थानं पठतामौदार्यम्, अनुच्चनीचं पठतां साम्यमिति । तदिदमलीकं कल्पनातन्त्रम् । यद्विषयविभागेन पाठनियमः स कथं गुणनिमित्तमिति ।

(ii) छन्दोविशेषनिवेश्या गुणसंपत्तिरिति केचित् तथा हि स्रग्धरादिष्वोज... । इन्द्रवज्रोपेन्द्रवज्रादिषु प्रसादः...मन्दाक्रान्तादिषु माधुर्यं...शार्दूलादिषु समता...विषमवृत्तेष्वौदार्यं...इन्द्रवज्रादिष्वप्रसादः मन्दाक्रान्ता-दिष्वमाधुर्यं...शार्दूलादिष्वसाम्यं...।⁷
—*Viveka* pp. 287-288

These views are not met with in any of the extant works on poetics by Hemacandra's predecessors. From among his successors Māṇikyacandra, in his commentary *Samketa* on *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* (pp. 300-301; Mysore edn; 1922) has nearly reproduced the above text and Bhaṭṭa Someśvara in his *Samketa* commentary on *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* Jodhpur edn. 1959, p. 208) indifferently reproduces the following lines :

छन्दोविशेषविशेष्या गुणसंपत्तिरिति केचित् । तथा हि स्रग्धरादिष्वोजः इन्द्रवज्रादिषु समता विषमवृत्तेष्वौदार्यं, तच्च सव्यभिचारम् ।

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that Bharata lays down rules as to the use of particular metres in particular *rasas* and gives a general rule :

शेषाणामर्थयोगेन छन्दः कार्यं प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥ —*NS* XVI vv 114-119

These rules of Bharata recognise the intimate interrelation between metres and *rasas*. Abhinavagupta in his commentary on *NS* Ch. XIV, (pp. 245-46) quotes the view of one Kātyāyana :

यथोक्तं कात्यायनेन—

वीरस्य भुजदण्डानां वर्णने स्रग्धरा भवेत् ।

नायिकावर्णने कार्यं वसन्ततिलकादिकम् ॥

शार्दूललीला प्राच्येषु मन्दाक्रान्ता च दक्षिणे ॥ इत्यादि

In the light of Bharata's rules and Abhinavagupta's commentary there is scope to re-examine whether the second view 'छन्दोविशेषनिवेश्या गुणसंपत्तिः' has some merit.

(d) Hemacandra's freely borrowing passages and whole sections from the

works of his renowned predecessors helps us in another direction. These passages and sections serve as transcriptions of old manuscripts that were available to Hemacandra and enable us to restore corrupt passages from the works he has drawn upon. The text of *Abhinavabhāratī* (*Nāṭyaśāstra* Ch. VI) bristles with corrupt readings. Hemacandra, who has freely drawn upon *Abhinavabhāratī*, especially on the four key chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chs. VI, VII, XVIII and XIX dealing with *rasa*, *bhāva*, *daśarūpaka* and *sandhisandhyāṅga-vikalpa* respectively) is of immense help in restoring many passages. The editors of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, published in GOS, Baroda, have made use of, partially though, in restoring the text of *Abhinavabhāratī*, I too have corrected passages, small and big, by scores, and published them in a series of articles in the Journal, Oriental Institute, Baroda (and now included in my book : *Studies in Sankrit Sāhityaśāstra*)⁸. By way of illustration here I restore two corrupt passages not covered in the series of papers referred to above.

(i) The printed text of *A.bh.* (Vol. I, p. 344) reads :

चित्तवृत्तय एवालौकिकाः वाचिकाद्यभिनयप्रक्रियारूढतया । स्वात्मानं लौकिक-
दशायामनास्वाद्यं कुर्वन्तीत्यतस्ता एव भावाः ।

This sentence as it stands, does not give any consistent meaning; in fact it is self-contradictory. For Abhinavagupta in his exposition of *Sāntarasa* remarks :

यथा च कामादिषु समुचिताश्रितवृत्तयो इत्यादिशब्दवाच्याः कविनटव्यापारेणास्वाद्ययोग्यताप्रापणद्वारेण
तथाविधहृदयसंवादवतः सामाजिकान् प्रति रसत्वं शुद्धरादितया नीयन्ते. —(*A.Bh.* Vol. I. p. 333)

The permanent emotions (of every day life) like love, etc., are rendered relishable through the activities of the poet and the actor (i.e. the drama created by the poet's creative imagination and its presentation on the stage by the actors endowed with marvellous skills in the art of representation) and are transformed into the erotic sentiment, etc., with reference to the sensitive spectators. Now, how could Abhinavagupta contradict himself, and further, make such an absurd statement ? The whole controversy is not about the four permanent emotions of love, laughter, dynamic energy and wonder (of our everyday life) and the corresponding *rasas* (sentiments) of *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsyā*, *vīra* and *adbhuta*, which are admittedly pleasurable (*ānandarūpa*, *sukhātmake*) but about how the permanent emotions of sorrow, anger, fear and disgust (of our everyday life) which are patently painful, when transformed into their corresponding *rasas* (sentiments) of *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *bhayānaka* and *bībhatsa* become pleasurable or enjoyable—become full of all pleasure ? Abhinavagupta's reply is that these worldly painful emotions become pleasurable or enjoyable

through the activity of the poet's creative imagination and the talent and skill of the actor in the art of representation (*abhinayakauśala*). When we bear in mind this position and read the sentence quoted above we are led to believe that the text here is defective and needs to be corrected. Here Hemacandra comes to our help who preserves the original reading intact when adopting the lines in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (p. 124, lines 9-11) :

भावयन्ति चित्तवृत्तय एवालौकिकवाचिकाद्यभिनयप्रक्रियारूढतया स्वात्मानं लौकिकदशायामना-
स्वाद्यमप्यास्वाद्यं कुर्वन्ति (यद् वा भावयन्ति व्याप्नुवन्ति सामाजिकानां मन इति भावाः, स्थायिनो
व्यभिचारिणश्च ।)

A careful look at this text reveals that the copyist of the Manuscript of the *NS* has slurred or passed over the letters स्वाद्यमप्या through the presence of letters स्वाद्यं that follow them.

(ii) The printed text of *A. Bh.* Vol. 1, p. 280 reads :

सर्वथा तावदेषास्ति प्रतीतिरास्वादात्मा यस्यां रतिरेव भाति ।...

तथैव चोपचयावस्थासु देशाद्यनियन्त्रणादनुकारोऽप्यस्तु ।

भावानुगामितया करणात् विषयसामग्र्यपि भवतु विज्ञानवादावलम्बनात् ।

सर्वथा रसनत्मकवीतविघ्नप्रतीतिग्राहो भाव एव रसः ।

Hemacandra (*KĀŚ*, p. 99 lines 13-18) presents this passage with the following reading and punctuation marks which are far superior and yield happy and consistent meaning and therefore must be the original ones :

सर्वथा तावदेषास्ति प्रतीतिरास्वादात्मा यस्यां रतिरेव भाति ।...एषैव चोपचयावस्थास्तु देशाद्यनियन्त्रणात् ।
अनुकारोऽप्यस्त्वनुगामितया करणात् । विषयसामग्र्यपि भवतु विज्ञानवादावलम्बनात् ।

The point which Abhinavagupta wants to emphasize, with all the force at his command is : *rasa* has for its essence *āsvāda* relish or enjoyment; it is a perception which is characterised by a generalised emotion, say, *rati* (love), this perception is entirely free from spatial, temporal and such other) conditions or limitations or specifications. This perception of (generalised) emotion, as it is free from spatial and other limitations, may be called a state of intensification (*upacayāvasthā*) as Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa does; or a reproduction (*anukāra*)- a production which repeats or imitates or reenacts the emotion of the character, as Śaṅkuka does; or a combination of different elements or factors (*viśayasāmagri*) as does a critic who subscribes to the Sāṅkhya system, by following the doctrine of Idealism (*Vijñānavāda*).

In conclusion, Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* and other works of Jain

writers like the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, two noted disciples of Hemacandra, Māṇikyacandra's *Samketa* commentary on Mammata's *Kāvya prakāśa*, and Ambāprasāda's *Kalpalatāviveka* deserve to be studied very carefully as they are mines of gold preserving best portions of works from their famous predecessors and render invaluable help in restoring corrupt passages from the texts of the predecessors.

Notes and References :

1. *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of Ācārya Hemacandra, Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay 1964 edn.
2. The passage, cited in *Abhinavabhārati* :
 यथा हि 'सत्रमासत' 'तामग्नौ प्रादात्' इत्यादावर्धितादिलक्षितस्याधिकारिणः प्रतिपत्तिमात्रादितिवृत्तप्ररोचितात् प्रथमप्रवृत्तादनन्तरमधिकैवोपात्तकालतिरस्कारेण, 'आसे', 'प्रददानि' इत्यादिरूपा संक्रमणादि स्वभावा...प्रतिपत्तिः तथैव काव्यात्मकादपि शब्दादधिकारिणोऽधिकास्ति प्रतिपत्तिः ।
 —*Rasa-bhāva-vicāra* by Prof. Kangle, p. 154
3. आरोग्यमामवान् शाम्बः स्तुत्वा देवमहर्षतिम् ।
 स्यादर्थावगतिः पूर्वमित्यादिवचने यथा ॥
 ततश्चोपात्तकालादिन्यक्कारेणोपजायते ।
 प्रतिपत्तुर्मनस्येवं प्रतिपत्तिर्न संशयः ॥
 यः कोऽपि भास्करं स्तौति स सर्वोऽप्यगदो भवेत् ।
 तस्मादहमपि स्तौमि रोगनिर्मुक्तये रविम् ॥ —KĀŚ. p. 98
4. *Pratāprudrīya* of Vidyānātha with *Ratnāṇa*, Treplicane, Madras. 1914. p. 180.
5. The problem of "*The Dual Nature of Sāttvikabhāvas*" is fully discussed by me in a separate paper.
6. "The Sources of Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*", *Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda*. Vol. XIV No. 2. December 1964. now included in my book. *Studies In Sanskrit Sāhityasāstra*, pub. by B. L. Institute of Indology. Patan (North Gujarat) 1983 (pp. 149-154).
7. The reader is referred to V. Raghavan's *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* for a clear and complete appraisal.
8. Vide f.n. no. 6 *supra*.



SOMEŚVARA BHAṬṬA AND HEMACANDRĀCĀRYA

Someśvara's relation to Hemacandra presents a knotty problem to the student of Sanskrit Poetics. Someśvara and Hemacandra use freely their predecessors in writing their *Kāvyaḍarśasamketa*¹ and *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*² respectively. Even when we leave out all such parallelisms between the two works as are due to their common sources we still find numerous passages that are common to them. It is possible that some of them are taken from works which are now lost. There are, however, clear indications that one of the two has used the other. *It is extremely difficult to decide who has borrowed from whom for want of direct, positive, and convincing evidence. With greatest reserve, therefore, I present the view that Someśvara³ probably knew Hemacandra and set forth the arguments in support of this view.*

The following table sets forth the parallel passages between Someśvara and Hemacandra excepting those that are due to their common sources :

Parallelisms in the *Samketa* of Someśvara and the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of Hemacandra (excepting, of course, such parallelisms as are due to their common sources).

Someśvara	Hemacandra
1. p. 9 (11 27-29)	p. 51
2. p. 23 (1 10) to p. 24 (1 10)	pp. 155-56
3. p. 28 (1 20) to p. 29 (1 15)	pp. 65-66
4. p. 34 (11 15-23)	p. 53
5. p. 56 (1 27) to p. 57 (1 27)	pp. 147-149
6. p. 89 (11 25-27)	p. 154
7. p. 112 (11 17-23)	p. 34
8. p. 123 (11 19-22)	P. 236
9. p. 127 (11 21-25)	pp. 246-47

10. p. 136 (11 19-20)	p. 202
11. p. 143 (1 24) to p. 144 (1 17)	pp. 203-204
12. p. 145 (11 21-24)	p. 212
13. p. 150 (11 23-14)	p. 220
14. p. 151 (11 22-25)	p. 264
15. p. 158 (1 19) to p. 159 (1 13)	pp. 269-70
16. p. 159 (11 23-25)	p. 270
17. p. 161 (1 25) to p. 162 (1 19)	p. 40
18. p. 163 (11 25-27)	p. 262
19. p. 164 (11 21-29)	p. 266
20. p. 167 (11 22-28)	p. 228
21. p. 169 (11 16-19)	p. 238
22. p. 182 (11 20-24)	p. 178
23. p. 193 (11 14-24)	pp. 165-66
24. p. 198 (1 6) TO p. 201 (1 15)	pp. 35-42
25. p. 201 (1 25) to p. 202 (1 19)	pp. 34-35
26. p. 209 (11 15-23)	p. 290
27. p. 211 (1 20) to p. 213 (1 7)	pp. 455-466
28. p. 218 (11 11-13)	p. 445
29. p. 221 (1 18) to p. 222 (1 6)	pp. 445, 446, 449
30. p. 226 (11 16-18)	p. 297
31. p. 227 (11 15-25)	pp. 296-97
32. p. 235 (1 22) to p. 236 (1 10)	p. 307
33. p. 240 (1 21) to p. 241 (1 14)	pp. 331-32
34. p. 243 (11 13-14)	p. 329
35. p. 245 (11 22-25)	p. 330
36. p. 249 (1 3) to 251 (1 17)	pp. 307, 308, 313, 322-24
37. p. 253 (1 22) to p. 254 (1 27)	pp. 340-41
38. p. 259 (11 15-27)	pp. 343-44
39. p. 262 (11 12-28)	pp. 345-46
40. p. 264 (11 12-16; 11 22-25)	pp. 339, 348

41. p. 266 (1 10) to p. 267 (1 13)	p. 349, p. 348
42. p. 267 (11 22-26)	p. 387
43. p. 268 (11 15-19)	p. 350
44. p. 270 (1 25) to p. 271 (1 21)	p. 351
45. p. 276 (11 22-28)	p. 382
46. p. 277 (11 28-29)	p. 379
47. p. 288 (1 9) to p. 289 (1 16)	p. 357, 356
48. p. 292 (11 20-25)	p. 383-84
49. p. 294 (11 13-14)	p. 384
50. p. 298 (11 25-27)	p. 384
51. p. 302 (11 11-27)	pp. 379-381
52. p. 303 (11 13-15)	p. 380
53. p. 304 (1 25) to p. 305 (1 25)	pp. 377-78
54. p. 310 (11 19-25)	p. 404
55. p. 319 (11 19-22)	p. 397
56. p. 335 (11 25-29)	pp. 404-405
57. p. 350 (11 6-16)	pp. 238-239
58. p. 350 (11 17-24)	pp. 234-235

Let us consider a few remarkable parallelisms from those listed :

When we compare the two passages indicated by the number 11 we find that the passage in Someśvara is *defective* as the lines "अत एव तृतीयः पक्षो न संभवत्येव । एकस्यैव शब्दस्यावृत्तिमन्तरेणानेकार्थप्रतिपादनसामर्थ्यासंभवात् । न चासावनिबन्धना शक्या कल्पयितुम् ।" are left out by Someśvara or the scribe from the original passage found in the *Vyaktiviveka*⁴ from where Hemacandra borrows it. Hemacandra's *long* passage is made up of passages borrowed from *Vyaktiviveka* and *Vakroktijīvita*. Someśvara's short passage appears to have been adopted from Hemacandra.

The two passages numbered 37 contain one very significant detail. Hemacandra illustrates द्रव्येण उपमानोपमेययोर्भेदः by तीर्थकर इव गणधरः पूज्यः । Someśvara's illustration reads : शिव इव केशवः पूज्यः । These two examples are in conformity with the respective creed of the two authors. Barring these examples, the two passages are nearly, identical. This fact indicates that the passage with a suitable change has been lifted by one from the other.

The two passages bearing number 41 are related in a way to a passage found in Namisādhu who is decidedly earlier than both of our writers. These passages deserve special attention. Let us set forth the three passages for a comparative study :

Namisādhu :

अथ यत्र साम्यमात्रे सति विनैवोपपत्त्या संभावना भवति न चोपमाव्यवहारस्तत्र कोऽलंकारः । यथा-

- (१) यश्चाप्सरोविभ्रममण्डनानां संपादयित्री शिखरैर्बिभर्ति ।
बलाहकच्छेदविभक्तसगामकालसन्ध्यामिव धातुमत्ताम् ॥ —Kumāra, I.4

तथा-

- (२) 'आवर्जिता किञ्चिदिव स्तनाभ्याम्' इत्यादिषु । —Kumāra. III.54

अत्र ह्यकालसन्ध्यादीनां संभावने न काचिदुपपत्तिर्निर्दिष्टा । न चाप्युपमाव्यवहारः । यतः सिद्धमुपमानं भवति । न वा काले सिद्धत्वम् । तथा यद्यर्थाश्रवणान्नाप्युत्पाद्योपमाव्यवहारः । न चाप्यतिशयोत्प्रेक्षासंभवोऽस्ति । अत्रोच्यते-उपमायामसंभव उत्प्रेक्षायां त्वनुपपत्तिरत उभयत्रापि लक्षणस्य न्यूनतायामुपमाभासो वा स्यादुत्प्रेक्षाभासो वा । एवम्

- (३) पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः —Kumāra I 1
इत्यादावपि द्रष्टव्यम् । —On Rudrāṭa VIII. 37

Someśvara :

- (१) अकालसन्ध्यामिव धातुमत्ताम् । —Kumāra I. 4
- (२) आवर्जिता किञ्चिदिव स्तनाभ्यां वासो वसाना तरुणार्कसगम् ।
सुजातपुष्पस्तवकावनम्रा संचारिणी पल्लविनी लतेव ॥ —Kumāra III. 54
- (३) अचिराभामिव [च]घनां ? (विघना) ज्योत्स्नामिव कुमुदबन्धुना विकलाम् ।
रतिमिव मन्मथरहितां श्रियमिव हरिर्विषसः पतिताम् ॥ —Kuṭṭanūmata 258
- (४) स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः । —Kumāra I. 1
- (५) हिरण्मयी साऽऽस [?] साल-] लतेव जङ्गमा
च्युता दिवः स्थास्नुर्वाचिरप्रभा । —Bhaṭṭi II. 47
- (६) बालेन्दुवक्राण्यविकाशभावाद् बभुः पलाशान्यतिलोहितानि ।
सद्यो वसन्तेन समागतानां नखक्षतानीव वनस्थलीनाम् ॥ —Kumāra. III. 29

इत्यादिषु उत्प्रेक्षैव । धातुमत्तादीनां हि प्रत्यक्षत एव अकालसन्ध्यादिसादृश्यमुपलभ्य अकाले सन्ध्या न भवतीति असंभाव्यमानवस्त्वध्यवसायस्य संभावना क्रियते । 'अकालसन्ध्यामिव' इति प्रत्यक्षोपलब्धौ च न युक्त्यन्तरं मार्गणीयम्, न तु उपमा, उपमानस्य असंभवात्, नाप्यसंभवोपमा, अस्माद् असंभाव्योपमेयदर्शने सति तस्याः प्रयोगात्,.....

Hemacandra :

एवं च—

- (१) हिरण्मयी साललतेव जङ्गमा च्युता दिवः स्थासुरिवाचिरप्रभा ।
शशाङ्कान्तेरधिदेवताकृतिः सुता ददे तस्य सुताय मैथिली ॥
—*Bhatti*. II. 47
- (२) तथा-अकालसन्ध्यामिव धानुमत्ताम् ।
—*Kumāra*. I. 4
- (३) आवर्जिता किञ्चिदिव स्तनाभ्यां वासो वसाना तरुणार्करागम् ।
सुजातपुष्पस्तवकावनप्रा संचारिणी पल्लविनी लतेव ॥
—*Kumāra*. III. 54
- (४) तथा-अचिरभामिव विघनां ज्योत्स्नामिव कुमुदबन्धुना विकलाम् ।
रतिमिव मन्मथरहितां श्रियमिव हरिवक्षसः पतिताम् ॥
—*Kuṭṭanimata* 258
- (५) तथा-'स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः' ।
—*Kumāra*. I. 1

इत्यादावुत्प्रेक्षाबुद्धिर्न विधेया । यद्यप्येषु स्वरूपतो विशेषणतश्चोपमानं कल्पितं तथाप्युपमैव ।
उपमानोपमेययोः साधर्म्यस्य तद्वाचकानां च प्रतीयमानत्वात् । —*Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, p. 349

It is found on comparison that Namisādhu discusses *three* stanzas from the point of view of 'alamkāra' present in them and concludes that they contain Upamābhāsa or Utprekṣābhāsa. Hemacandra has quoted the three verses cited by Namisādhu and *added two more* verses and remarks that they should not be taken to contain Utprekṣā but Upamā and Upamā alone. Someśvara cites *all the five* verses found in Hemacandra and *adds the sixth one* and *emphatically* asserts that they all contain Utprekṣā and Utprekṣā alone and not Upamā. This comparative study of the three passages suggests that Someśvara is *probably* later than Hemacandra.

The two passages, which are numbered 53, are of special interest. A comparison of the two passages clearly shows that Someśvara includes in his gloss the passage found in Hemacandra and another found in Ruyyaka's *Alamkārasarvasva*⁵. It appears likely that Someśvara may have combined the two passages from the two authors. If Hemacandra had before him Someśvara he would not have probably left out the beautiful passage from *Alamkārasarvasva*.

The verse found in these passages numbered 55 is read differently by different writers :

आयुर्धृतं नदी पुण्यं भयं चौरः सुखं प्रिया ।
वैरं द्यूतं गुरुर्ज्ञानं श्रेयो ब्राह्मणपूजनम् ॥

Namisādhu on Rudrāṭa VII-83; Someśvara. Hemacandra reads the fourth quarter as श्रेयो ब्राह्मणभोजनम् । Māṅikyacandra reads it as follows :-

आयुर्घृतं यशस्त्यागो भयं चौरः सुखं प्रिया ।
वैरं द्यूतं गुरुज्ञानं श्रेयः सतीर्थसेवनम् ॥

Hemacandra's change of reading in the fourth quarter might be deliberate but it is possible to explain that he introduced this change in the text provided by Namisādhu and *not necessarily* by, Someśvara.

It is possible to take Someśvara's remark 'यद्यपि मुक्तकादावपि एतत् संभवति तथापि प्रबन्ध एव भाविकस्य चारुत्वम्, अत एव अन्यैर्नास्य उदाहरणं दत्तम् । (p. 307) as pointing to Hemacandra's text भाविकं तु...अभिनेयप्रबन्ध एव भवति । यद्यपि मुक्तकादावपि दृश्यते तथापि न स्वदत्ते । (pp. 402-403).

The use of the dignified expression 'वयं तु ब्रूमः' (p. 144) by Someśvara is, indeed very *unusual*. In Hemacandra's *Kāvyañuśāsana* we come across this expression over a number of times.⁶ Everytime the expression is used we need not believe that the remark that follows is Hemacandra's *own* view.⁷ At times we find that Hemacandra prefixes a remark borrowed from his predecessor with this or similar expression. This expression eminently suits the style of Hemacandra. Someśvara's use of the expression 'वयं तु ब्रूमः' *once* only, and that too, *in the corresponding context* found in Hemacandra who uses it in *several other contexts* also possibly points to Someśvara's borrowing from Hemacandra.

Now, let us consider Hemacandra's relation to Ruchaka or Ruyyaka which would help us in deciding the interrelation between him and Someśvara. I have shown in a separate paper the indebtedness of Someśvara to Ruyyaka's *Alamkārasarvasva* by listing the parallel passages. Prof. R.C. Parikh has demonstrated Someśvara's indebtedness to Ruyyaka's *Samketa* in his learned introduction to the edition of *Kāvyaṅprakāśa*. It is thus firmly established that Someśvara is later than Ruyyaka whose *Samketa* and *Alamkārasarvasva* he has used *freely*. On a comparison between Hemachandra's *Kāvyañuśāsana* and Ruyyaka's *Samketa* we find that Hemachandra has used not only *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* but also Ruyyaka's *Samketa* on it. The parallelisms noted below are enough to prove that Hemacandra has used Ruyyaka's *Samketa*.⁸

Hemacandra	Rucaka
1. p. 77 (11 11-13, 1 22)	p. 31
2. p. 154 (11 19-23)	p. 40
3. p. 225 (11 23-26)	p. 74
4. p. 376 (11 9-11)	p. 70
5. p. 388 (1 23)	p. 69
6. p. 389 (11 2-6)	p. 63

On a careful scrutiny it is found that there is not a single passage common between *Alamkārasarvasva* and *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*. A few verses which are common to them are found in earlier works such as *Sarasvatikanthābharāṇa*, *Kāvyaṅprakāśa*, *Rucaka's Saṅketa*, etc.

Considering the fact that Hemacandra freely draws upon his predecessors and the *Saṅketa* commentary of his contemporary Ruyyaka but shows no acquaintance with his contemporary's *Alamkārasarvasva* one is inclined to believe that probably Hemacandra wrote his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* before Ruyyaka had composed his *Alamkārasarvasva* or at least before that work had reached him.

Someśvara, who uses freely Ruyyaka's *Saṅketa* and *Alamkārasarvasva* as well, and reveals many similarities with Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, probably, therefore, knew Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*.

Notes and References :

1. *Rajasthana Puratana Granthamala*, edited by Prof. R. C. Parikh.
2. *Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay*, edited by Prof. R. C. Parikh.
3. For the view that Someśvara is possibly earlier than Hemacandra, vide, Prof. R.C. Parikh's Introduction to the edition of *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* with *Saṅketa*. Part II, pp. 14-19.
4. Kashi Sanskrit Series Edition (1936) -page 334.
5. *Nirnayasagara* edition, 1939, vide p. 105, II 13-18.
6. p. 110, 183, 204, 217, 337, etc.
7. It deserves notice that the passage which follows the sentence 'वयं तु ब्रूमः' is taken over from the *Vyaktiviveka* (pp. 259-60) and incorporated as his own by Hemacandra (see pp. 217-18). This practice of taking over the words from the original work and incorporating them among one's remarks was followed by very reputed authors. (Cf. Kane : *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 169).
8. —Edited by Shivaprasada Bhattacharya, *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol, II. Nos. 6 and 12.



KALPALATĀVIVEKA : A STUDY

The publication of the *Kalpalatāviveka*, a hitherto unpublished work on Sanskrit poetics, is a valuable addition to the existing literature on Sanskrit poetics. It is an Addendum to the *Pallava* which is a commentary on the *Kalpalatā*. The author of the *Kalpalatā* and *Pallava*, both of which are irretrievably lost, is, as first pointed out by Pt. Dalsukh Malvania, Ambāprasāda, the Chief-minister of Siddharāja Jayasimha (1094-1143 A. D.). It has not so far been known whether the same author wrote this book or it is somebody else. His expressed aim is to explain whatever was passed over by the *Pallava*. But he has gone beyond this declared aim and has incorporated in his Addendum detailed portions dealing with Nṛtta-nāṭya, Dhvani, Prastāra, 33 Bhāvas, and the famous Rasa-sūtra of Bharata from the standard works which together take about 160 printed pages, i.e. one half of the Addendum.

The editors deserve to be congratulated on critically presenting the text based on three MSS. and adding useful Indexes at the end. Prof. Vora's Introduction, very elaborate, is highly useful in understanding and appreciating the elliptical passages in the text. His was, indeed, a very arduous task to trace the sources; for the text in many places gives only *pratīkas* of Sanskrit *kārikās*, Sanskrit and Prakrit illustrative verses, and of the gloss on them. Sometimes it gives synonyms or adds remarks by way of explanations or criticism. Some of these *pratīkas* are not the words with which the *kārikās* or the illustrative verses open. Naturally, Prof. Vora's task of tracing the sources became all the more difficult. It must be said to his credit that he has, to a great extent, accomplished his task with admirable success. Besides tracing the sources in the course of the topicwise survey of the contents of the four chapters on Doṣa, Guṇa, *śabdālamkāra* and *arthālamkāra* he has critically and ably discussed the various topics of the authorship of the *Kalpalatā*, its Age, the title of the work, the inter-relation between the *Kalpalatā* and the *Kalpalatāviveka*, the scope of the *Kalpalatā*, the *Pallava* and the *Kalpalatāviveka*, the structure of the *Kalpalatā*, the authorship of the *Kalpalatāviveka*, the contribution and usefulness of the

Kalpalatā and the *Kalpalatāviveka*. He has rightly stated that the *Kalpalatāviveka* is highly useful in understanding Bhāmaha's Chapter on *nyāyanirṇaya* and that it offers very happy readings of some corrupt passages in the *Abhinavabhārati* and the *Locana*.

The Appendixes to the *Kalpalatāviveka* leave out many Sanskrit and Prakrit illustrative verses, The primary/secondary sources of a good many illustrative verses and verses cited as authorities have not been indicated. In his Introduction Prof. Vora has traced many verses to their (secondary) sources. It would have been appropriate if he had supplemented the work of the editors by adding an Appendix towards the end of his Introduction. A separate Index of Prakrit verses with their Sanskrit *chāyā* and primary and / or secondary sources would have proved a welcome feature of this edition.

Prof. Vora could have considerably reduced the bulk of his Introduction by refraining from covering the ground already covered. He need not have explained at length the passages traced to their well-known sources. In a scholarly introduction meant for advanced students it would have been but proper if he had pointed out the passages only. It would have enhanced the value of this Introduction if he had discussed and shown how the present text helps us on the one hand to correct the corrupt passages in the source-books and how the sources on the other help us to correct, at some places, the text of the present work. A perusal of the text and the sources traced by Prof. Vora shows that one very important source, viz., Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*, of the present work has completely escaped his attention. Occasionally, one comes across erroneous statements in the Introduction, such as "When it (*Pratijñā*) is established by a powerful means of proof one Doṣa arises".—p. 68 "*Nityaḥ Śabdah Kṛtakatvāt.*" Here the *hetu* being a product is not present in the similar case (*ākāśa*) and also in the dissimilar case (*ghaṭa*)"—P. 70, f.n.1; P. 131, f.n.7. The illustrative quotation which the *Kalpalatāviveka* refers to in this context is not मुख इव साललता वधूश्चुम्बे । —*Kirāta*. X-34 but

हिरण्मयी साललतेव जङ्गमा च्युता दिवः स्थास्नुरिवाचिस्रभा ।

शशाङ्कान्तेरधिदेवताकृतिः सुता ददे तस्य सुताय मैथिली ॥ —Bhatti II. 47.

This is indisputably clear from the significant words used by the *Kalpalatāviveka* : *sālalateva...sthāsnuriva* (P. 251, 11. 20-21) "(P. 264, 1.28) Daṇḍi's ill.". It is not Daṇḍi's but Vāmana's illustration. "All the figures...are given after Vyāghāta, Mammaṭa's last *śabdālamkāra*".—p 166. Vyāghāta is not a *śabdālamkāra* but an *arthālamkāra*.

"(P. 105, 1.12) Then follows a long long section...*Viveka* which has drawn

upon the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana*, without adding anything original,—p. 112. The *Kalpalatāviveka* has certainly drawn upon the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana* but it also has added in suitable contexts a large number of passages from Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*. On page 30 the Prakrit word *Madaha* is wrongly spelt as *Mahaḍa*. In a few sentences we find wrong English usage : "No purpose is served by consigning Vatsa to Ujjayinī".—p. 63. "He then carried out this vow in a feat of anger."—p. 74. " Thus Binna (? Bhinna)- mārḡa and Pūrṇa-svara cannot co-exist, at the same time." ...though *apārtha* by itself is a *doṣa*, as is *universably* known."—p. 83...The latter is further divided into *imaginable* (*bhāvya*) and *conceptual* or *contemplable* (*vāsanīya*)....*contemplable* or *conceptual*."—p. 103. *Bhāvya* and *Vāsanīya* could be rendered in English as understandable and comprehensible.

Prof. Vora has added a long list of corrections in the Corrigenda but still a large number of mistakes and misprints have remained unnoticed. Mistakes of spelling and misprints on such a scale really disfigure the work and positively annoy the reader. The Prakrit verses, cited in the Introduction (under footnotes, are presented rather poorly and carelessly. A few instances may here be cited :

- (P. 113, f.n. 3) पत्ता अ..... (Cf. *Setu* I.56)
 (P. 113, f.n. 5) धूमाइ (Cf. *Setu* V. 19)
 (p. 139, f.n. 10) ए एहि...भजाम (? K.P. X v. 471)
 (P. 140, f.n. 12) "Probably पत्तिय (p. 270, 1.22) is a misreading for it is एत्तिअ in S K.....". पत्तिय इति । प्रतीहि । is perfectly all right.
 (P. 141, f.n. 9) णमह.....(Cf. *Setu* I. 1)
 (p. 143, f.n. 3) पीणत्तुण.....(Cf. *Setu* I. 3)
 (P. 144, f.n. 5) सा उप्पडी....(Cf. *Hemacandra-Prakrit Grammar* 4.420)

Prof. Vora's remark : "It should be *Kāvi* in the text and not *Kavi*" is absolutely unwarranted. "*Kavi*" is perfectly all right in *Apabharaṃśa*. Hemacandra's text reads *bhaḍu* in place of *bhiḍīya*. Our text reads *bhaḍī [itī]* *Kasyāścīt sambhodhanamidam]* and it appears to be a genuine reading.

- (P. 147. f. n. 1) जो ती अ (? तीअ).....
सवत्तिअणेषु (? ँणअणेषु)
 (P. 154, f. n. 2) रइ विअ (? पिअ).....
 (P. 156, f. n. 6)तणुम्मिपि (? तणुअं पि) तणएई(? ँइ)
 (Cf. *Saptaśatī* II. 61)

Occasionally, in tracing the passages to their sources, Prof. Vora is not

quite precise in citing references but makes general observations which are not very helpful. The following is an instance in point : (P. 254, 1.20). "The varieties of Rūpaka, viz., Vākya-rūpaka and Samāsa-rūpaka, and their varieties and Sub-varieties as given by Rudraṭa are discussed and some of the illustrations given by Rudraṭa and Nami are reviewed".

However, I would like to say that these critical observations in no way detract the value and importance of Prof. Vora's learned introduction.

That the *Vakroktijivita* is one of the sources drawn upon by the *Kalpalatā-viveka* will be clear from the following table :

<i>Kalpalatāviveka</i>	And <i>Upamā</i>	<i>Vakroktijivita</i>
1. विवक्षित.....न सम्भवति । —P. 241 lines 15-18	विवक्षित.....क्रियापदम् ॥ -III. 30-31 and Vṛtti on these <i>kārikās</i>	
2. यान्त्या मुहुः माञ्जिष्ठीकृत इत्याकर्णित रमेण —P. 242 lines 7-10	P. 438 p. 438 P. 439 P. 438	
3. तद्वल्गुना यदि...इह तु वाक्यैकत्वे नेत्यभिप्रायः । —P. 242 11. 18-21	P. 444 तद्वल्गुना...पद्यम् ॥ Note : There is loss of text after this stanza. Probably it is preserved by <i>Kalpalatāviveka</i> .	
4. उभौ यदि...P. 242, I. 24	उभौ यदि...(from <i>Śiśu</i> III, 8)-De, p. 201. -Viśveśvara, p. 442, f.n. 1.	

Note : According to Daṇḍī, Rudraṭa and Mammaṭa, this verse would be an illustration of *adbhutopamā*, *utpādyopamā* and *atiśayokti* respectively. Kuntaka takes it as an illustration of *tulyayogitā*, Ācārya Viśveśvara, however, considers the verse to be out of context and relegates it to the footnotes.

5. सौन्दर्यधरोति	P. 242, 1. 26	सौन्दर्यसारवधि	P. 444. 1. 9
तत्पूर्वानुभवे	P. 243, 1, 2	तत्पूर्वानुभवे	P. 444, 1, 7
एवंविधम्	P. 243, 1. 4	एवंविधम्	P.445, 1. 1

Note : 'सौन्दर्यधार' is, probably, a scribal mistake for 'सौन्दर्यसार'.

6. प्रत्येकम्...नियम...	P. 243, 1. 6	प्रत्येकं प्राधान्यात्, नियमानिश्चितेश्च
रूपान्तर...	P. 243, b. 7	...रूपान्तर...उपमिति:

उपमिति:	P. 243, 1. 9	—P. 446, lines 1-4
7. दर रइय	...P. 243, 1. 12	X X X
यत्काव्यार्थ	...P. 243, 1. 14	यत्काव्यार्थ...
		—P. 443, lines 3-4.

Note : The Prakrit verse opening with “*dara raiya*” is probably adopted from the *Vakroktijīvita*. This surmise is based on the fact that there is loss of text just before *yatkāvvyārtha* etc. and the present verse “*dara raiya*” occurs in the *Kalpalatāviveka* just before “*yatkāvvyārtha*”.

8. सदयं बुभुजे	P. 243, 1.20	सदयं बुभुजे- III.33. (V) 129
समुच्चितोपमोदाहरणम्	P. 243, lines 20-21	भवति उपमितिः एषा चालङ्कृतिः समुचिता उपमा पूर्ववत् एव । P. 446

Note : (i) The reading ‘*samucitā*’ (in the *Vakroktijīvita*) is obviously wrong. It ought to be *samuccitā* (Cf. Daṇḍī’s *samuccayopamā*-II. 21) (ii) The verse, indicated by the *Pratīka ayam ranaḥ* (p. 243, 1. 21), is probably adopted from the *Vakroktijīvita*. It follows the verse “*sadayam bubhuje*” in the *Kalpalatāviveka* and the verse “*sadayam bubhuje*” in the *Vakroktijīvita* is followed by marks showing loss of text.

9. खड्गप्रहारम्	P. 244, lines 3-5	शस्त्रप्रहारं ददता-(III. 33. V. 133)
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Note : Daṇḍī (II.356) reads *śastra*^o. The author possibly quotes from memory, hence the V.L. *Khadga*^o. After this verse in the *Vakroktijīvita* we have mark showing *grantha-pāta*. Possibly, the *Vṛtti* ‘अत्र बहूनां भूभुजां... भवत्युपमितरेवालङ्कृतिरिति’ and the Prakrit illustration सिवे (? वि) णे वि (With the *Vṛtti* विदर्शना उपमितिः एव इति) that follows it formed a part of the text of the *Vakroktijīvita* (now lost).

Utprekṣā

10. अत एव तदिवेति तदेवेति वा द्वाभ्यां प्रकाशभ्यां...	तदिवेति तदेवेति वा द्वाभ्यां प्रकाशभ्याम् ।
—(p. 244, 1. 11)	— <i>Vṛtti</i> on III. 25-27 (p. 424)
11. बोधयन् इति बोधयन्नेव बोधयन्निववेत्यर्थः । ...मन्दद्युतिरित्यत्र...उपमायाः प्रतिपाद- कतां प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः ।	अयं मन्दद्युतिर्भास्वान् प्रतिगच्छति । उदयः पतनायेति श्रीमतो बोधयन् नरान् ॥ The verse is followed by a mark indi- cating <i>granthapāta</i> . (p. 449-p. 450, 1.1)
P. 244, lines 14-19	

Note : Probably the *Vṛtti* is based on the portion following the verse *ayam mandadyutiḥ* etc. in the *Vakroktijīvita* which is now lost.

12. तदिव इति सादृश्यपक्षे । तदेव इति तु
सम्भावनानुमानपक्षे योजनीयम् ।
काल्पनिकम् इति
—P. 252, lines 11-12

सम्भावनानुमानेन सादृश्येनोभयेन वा ।
तदिवेति तदेवेति...

—III. 24-26
and the Vṛtti on it (p. 422-425)
especially, द्विविधं सादृश्यं संभवति वास्तविकं
काल्पनिकं च ।...

13. आपीड-इति
राशीभूतः-इति
निर्मोक-इति
तिक्खारुणं तं इति...उभयसाधनेयमुत्प्रेक्षा ।
नीसासा इति...इयमप्युभयसाधनोत्प्रेक्षा ।
उत्फुल्ल-इति
—P. 252, lines 15-26

आपीड...
राशीभूतः...
निर्मोक...
उत्फुल्ल...
—De, pp. 193-194
—Viśvesvara, pp. 425-26

Note : De's observation on the two missing Prakrit verses is as follows : "The *Vāstavasādrśyodāharaṇam* is a Prakrit verse which cannot be reconstructed from the MS. So is the Prakrit verse given as *ubhayodāharaṇa*". (p. 193). The two Prakrit verses in the *Kalpalatāviveka*, which illustrate *ubhayasādhanotprekṣā* are *most probably* the same two verses referred to by De in the quotation cited above. It must, however be conceded that according to De they are not both illustrations of *ubhayasādhanotprekṣā*.

(*Samśaya*=) *Sasamdeha*

14. रञ्जिता तु (? नु) इति ।
—P. 253, 1. 26
निमीलद् इति ।
—P. 253, 1. -27

रञ्जिता नु...(Kirāta IX.15)
—P. 473, lines 2-3
निमीलदा* (Kirāta, VIII-53)
—P. 473, lines 5-6

Dīpaka

15. विच्छित्तेः कारणम् इति ।
—P. 255, 1.5.
उपशोभाया निमित्तभूतं-
—P. 255, 1.5

वर्णनीयस्य प्रस्तावाधिकृतस्य पदार्थस्य विच्छित्तेः
उपशोभायाः कारणं निमित्तभूतम् ।

—Vṛtti on III. 19, p. 404, lines 1-2

Śleṣa

16. मालामुत्पल इति ।
—P. 259, 1.11

मालामुत्पलकन्दलैः
—III, 34-v. 141 (p. 452, lines 2-5).

Aprastutaprasāmsā

17. लावण्य इति । अत्र लावण्यसिन्धूपलशशि-
प्रभृतयः पदार्थाः पदमात्राभिधेया अप्रस्तुता
उपवर्णिताः ।—P. 264, lines 28-29

छाया इति । अत्र तालेनेति पदार्थः सकल-
वाक्यव्यापकतया उपवर्णितः ।

—P. 264, 1.29 to p. 265, 1.1

साम्यसमाश्रयणात् वाक्यान्तर्भूतप्रस्तुत(?°भूता-
प्रस्तुत)पदार्थप्रशंसा । यथा-लावण्यसिन्धुरपरैव...
—P. 415, lines 1-3.

साम्याश्रयणात् सकलवाक्यव्यापकप्रस्तुत(?°व्यापका
प्रस्तुत)पदार्थप्रशंसा । यथा-

छाया नात्मन एव...

...तालेन बाला वयम् ॥

—P. 415, lines 4.8

Dr̥ṣṭānta

18. वस्तुसाम्यम् इति ।

—P. 265, 1. 21

सरसिजमित्यत्र

—P. 265, 1. 23

वस्तुसाम्यं समाश्रित्य...।

दृष्टान्तनामालङ्कारः...॥

—III. 38 (p. 467)

सरसिजमनुविद्धं...

.....मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् ॥

(Śākuntala I-20)- P. 458, lines 1-5.

Dīpaka

19. चंक्रमति इति ।

अत्र कवयः प्राकरणिकाः स्फुटमेव
प्रतीयन्ते । —P. 266, 1. 15

कइकेसरी इति ।

अत्रापि कविकेसरी प्राकरणिकः ।

—P. 266, lines 15-16

चंक्रमति

दुखं वणे च कइणो

—P. 396, lines 3-4.

कइकेसरी... .. ।

... .. ॥

—P. 399, lines 7-8.

20. पङ्क्तिःस्थम् ।

—P. 267, 1.6

दीपयत्यन्यत्तदन्यदिति ।

—P. 267, 1.7

तद्दीपकं कर्मभूतं तेषामिति अन्यत् कर्तृभूतं
श्रियं इति दीपयति । अन्यदपि च कर्मभूतं
ताः इति । अपरं कर्तृभूतम् । अचापलमिति ।
दीपयतीति सम्बन्धः । एनमेवाह-अन्यस्या-
तिशय इति । अन्यस्य इति क्षोणीमण्डलस्य ।
दीपकम् इति नृपतयः । क्रौर्यं इति क्रौर्यक्रिय-
यालङ्क्रियाम् । —P. 267, lines 8-11.

एकं प्रकाशकं... ..

केवलं पङ्क्तिःस्थं वा ... ॥

—III.18 (p. 398)

दीपयत्यन्यत्रान्यत् (?दीपयत्यन्यत्तदन्यदिति) इति

अन्यस्यातिशयोत्पादकत्वेन दीपकम् । यद्दीपितं

तत्कर्मभूतमन्यत्, कर्तृभूतं दीपयति, प्रकाशयति

तदप्यन्यद्दीपयतीति दीपकदीपकम् । क्षोणीमण्डल-

मण्डनं नृपतयस्तेषां श्रियोभूषणम्

ताः शोभां गमयत्यचापलमिदं... .. शौर्य-

क्रियालङ्कृतं

[Note : The reading śaurya, found in the *Vakroktijīvita*, seems to be better.]

—P. 400, lines 4-11.

21. यदि तद्दीपितं कर्तृभूतं स (? सा) इति ।
अन्यत् कर्मभूतम् । अनङ्गम् इति । तदपि
कर्तृभूतं स इति । अन्यत् कर्मभूतम्, प्रिया-
सङ्गमोत्कण्ठामित्येवं दीपयति तदायं तृतीयः
प्रकारो भवति ।

—P. 267. lines 11-13.

22. यदि...रामस्य पाणिरसीति करुणा कुतस्ते...
निर्भगर्भखिन्नदेवीप्रवासनपटो रामस्य कर-
स्त्वम्...

—p. 276, lines 19-21.

...वचनीयताम् उच्यतां सः... ..
...नेश्वरे परुषता सखि साध्वी ।
आनयैनमनुनीय कथं वा विप्रियाणि जनयन्न-
नुनेयः....

—P. 276, lines 21-P. 277, 1.2.

किं गतेन न हि युक्तमुपैतुं...

कः प्रिये सुभगमानिनि मानः ।

—P. 277, lines 2-5

हे पर्वतराज मया वियुक्ता रामात्र त्वया
दृष्ट

—P. 277, lines 6-7

प्रधानार्थपरत्वेनप्रधानार्थपरत्वेन

—P. 277, 1.9.

शब्दार्थद्वय इति

—P. 277, 1.9

युगपदर्थद्वयप्रकाशनलक्षणः

—P. 277, lines 11-12

मदो जनयति प्रीतिं सानङ्गं मानभङ्गुम् ।
स प्रियासङ्गमोत्कण्ठ...॥

(Bhāmaha II-27)—P. 402, 1. 2.

हे हस्त दक्षिण...

रामस्य पाणिरसिनिर्भरं

सीताविवासनपटो करुणा कुतस्ते ॥

(Uttara-rāma-carita II. 10)

—P. 462, lines 9-12.

उच्यतां स वचनीयम्...

(Kirāta IX-39) —P. 463, lines 2-3

किं गतेन...

(Kirāta IX-40)—P. 464, lines 1-2

सर्वक्षितिभृतां नाथ...दृष्टा... ।

रामा मया विरहिता त्वया ॥

(Vikramorvaśīya-IV-27)

—P. 464, lines 3-4.

—P. 465, lines 3-4

शब्दार्थद्वयप्रकाशनम्

—P. 465, 1.6

युगपत्प्रदीपप्रकाशवदर्थद्वयप्रकाशनम्

—P. 465, 1.5.

Note : Kuntaka gives these four verses to illustrate his own definition of Sahokti. They are adopted by our author from Kuntaka and not from the original works. This is clear from the fact that they are cited in the same order as found in the *Vakroktijīvita*.

23 "यत्रैकेनैव वाक्येन" इत्यादिलक्षणलक्षिता या सहोक्तिः सैतस्य ग्रन्थकारस्यालङ्कारतया संमता । या पुनर्भामहादिभिरुक्ता सा नालङ्कार इत्यर्थः ।

—P. 277, lines 13-19

'Kuntaka cites discusses and rejects Bhāmaha's definition and illustration of Sahokti. He defines Sahokti as follows :-

यत्रैकेनैव वाक्येन वर्णनीयार्थसिद्धये ।

अर्थानां युगपदुक्तिः सा सहोक्तिः सतां मता ॥

—III. 37, p. 461.

Parivṛtti

24. एकस्य...पूर्वम्...

यदेति...तद्रूपतया च...

These Pratīkas are possibly based

on the text of the *Vakroktijīvitā*

This conjecture is supported by

the Pratīka which immediately

follows :

तस्य इति । अक्षसूत्रस्य ।

—P. 277, 1. 27.

विसृष्टरागादधरात्रिवर्तितः...।

.....अक्षसूत्रप्रणयो.....॥

(*Kumārasambhāva* V. 16)

—P. 447, lines 5-6

(Discussion of) *Rasavat*

25. पक्षिपङ्क्तिरेव रशना यस्या इति सम्बन्धः ।

इयं नदी इति.....भावशब्देन समासे

—P. 316, lines 5-7

[Note : 'पक्षिपङ्क्तिः' is obviously a paraphrase of विहगश्रेणि...]

तरङ्गभूभङ्गा क्षुभितविहगश्रेणिरशना....

नदीभावेनेयं....परिणता ॥

(*Vikramorvśīya* IV. 28)

—P. 350, lines 1-4

26. निश्चायक इति विनिहतेषु

प्रोषितेषु च पतिषु प्रमदाजन...

प्रवासविप्रलम्भस्य...

रिक्तबाहुवल्लयत्वरोदन...

स्वप्नान्ते प्रियतमेषु

—P. 316, lines 12-16.

कुतो विप्रलम्भस्य पृथक्त्वव्यपदेशगन्धो-

ऽपीत्याह- —P. 316, 1. 19

भवद्विनिहतवल्लभो...

—P. 316, 1. 22.

पर्यायोक्तन्यायेन

—P. 316, 1. 23.

प्रेयोरूपः प्रधानभूतः

—P. 316, 1.24

किं हास्येन...

स्वप्नान्तेष्विति...प्रियतम...

बुद्ध्वा रोदिति रिक्तबाहुवल्लयस्तारं

रिपुस्त्रीजनः ॥

—P. 361, lines 1-4.

कुतःप्रवासविप्रलम्भस्य

पृथग्व्यापारे रसगन्धोऽपि । —P. 364, 1.7

भवद्विनिहतवल्लभो...

—P. 361. 1. 5.

पर्यायोक्तान्यापदेशन्यायेन

—P. 364. 1. 10

...प्रेयसः प्राधान्ये...

—P. 364, 1.8.

अन्यो (? अन्या)पदेशन्यायेन

—P. 316, 1. 25

स्वरूपाद् इति स्वरूपादतिरिक्तस्य
परस्याप्रतिभासनात् ।

—P. 316, 1. 28

अलङ्कार्यश्चेद्रसः तदन्येन केनचिदलङ्कारणेन
भवितव्यम् । वर्ण्यमानोऽलङ्कार्यस्तदन्येन

—P. 316, lines 29-30

उपोढरगेण...

—P. 317, 1.2

स्वात्मनि क्रियाविरोधात्

—P. 317, 11. 3-4.

तत्तुल्यवृत्तान्ततया इति

—P. 317, 1. 7-8.

चलापाङ्गाम् इति

—P. 317, 1.3

कपोले पत्राली

—P. 317, 1.3

संसृष्टिव्यपदेशः सङ्करव्यपदेशो

वा प्रसजन्न प्रत्याख्यातुं शक्यते ।

—P. 317, 1. 10

स कविना..कामपि कमनीयतामधिरोपितः ।

—P. 317, lines 13-14

राजभुजङ्ग पल्लवमृदुः

—P. 320, lines 2-3

पर्यायोक्तान्यापदेशन्यायेन

—P. 364, last line-P. 365, 1.1.

स्वरूपादतिरिक्तस्य परस्याप्रतिभासनात् ।

—P. 370, 1. 10

यदि शृङ्गारादिरेव प्राधान्येन

केनचिदलङ्कारणेन भवितव्यम् ।

—P. 339, lines 1-2

उपोढरगेण...

—P. 385, lines 3-4.

...स्वात्मनि क्रियाविरोधात्

—P. 371, 1.2.

शेषस्य पुनस्तुल्यवृत्तान्ततया

—P. 388, lines 3-4.

चलापाङ्गां....

.....हतास्त्वं खलु कृती ॥

—P. 386, lines 3-6

'कपोले पत्राली' इत्यादौ ।

—P. 387, 1.3

न...संसृष्टिसङ्करव्यपदेशप्रसङ्गः

प्रत्याख्येयतां प्रतिपद्यते ।

—P. 388, 1.5

...कविना कामपि कमनीयतामधिरोपितः ।

—P. 389, 1.5

Samsrṣṭi

म्लानिं....

नीता राजभुजङ्ग पल्लवमृदुर्नूतं...

—P. 477, lines 2-5.

The sources of the *Kalpalatāviveka* help us in correcting its text. The editors have done their best to present the text of the *Kalpalatāviveka* as faithfully and carefully as possible. The text, however, needs to be corrected in many places. Some of the important and significant corrections are noted below for the benefit of readers :

	For	Read
P. 23, 1. 16	रूपपति°	भूतपति°
P. 23, 1. 18	आहत [?] कामः	आहतवपुः कामः

P. 25, 1. 7.	आतिष्ठ इति आचर...	आतिष्ठ इति । आचर ।
P. 31, 1, 16	ससङ्कोच°	स सङ्कोच°
P. 31, 1. 23	देवधिष्यमिव	देव धिष्यमिव
P. 40, 1, 24	वाचो युक्तिः	°वाचोयुक्तिः
P. 45, lines 12-13	°विचारेति प्रपञ्चः	°विचारेऽतिप्रपञ्चः
P. 47, 1. 1.	प्रत्यक्षं	प्रत्यक्षं
P. 60, 1. 7	शब्देऽविद्यमानत्वात्	शब्दे विद्यमानत्वात्
P. 72, 1. 22	शुभमरकत	शुभमरकत-
P. 87, 1, 12	बद्धा	बद्ध्वा
P. 87, 1. 25	तदुपजीव्यदोषो	तदुपजीव्य दोषो
P. 89, lines 22-26		

The passage should be read as follows :

इति...विलासलक्षणे...प्रयुक्तो [भरतमुनिना] नारायणकविना यथातत्त्वं नाधिगतार्थ इति, अधिकृतो ह्यत्र वीरस्स इति । एवं दोषोऽयमभिहितः ।

The text as it stands is apt to mislead readers. It is not Nārāyana but Bharata who has employed the word “*ratibhoga*” when defining ‘Vilāsa’, one of the Aṅgas of Pratimukha-Sandhi. Again, the two sentences given within inverted commas are not the two *kārikās* (*kārikā-dvaya*) referred to. In fact, they are not *kārikās* at all. The two *Kārikās* meant here are : इतिवृत्तवशायातां...and सन्धिसन्ध्यङ्घटनं...(Dhvanyāloka III. 11 and 12). This interpretation is based on *Locana* (p. 341 and p. 361).

P. 96, 1. 2 and 1. 5	मा. भीः	मा भैः
P. 107, 1. 8	°नुष्णम्	°नुस्थानम्
P. 107, 1. 28	जायं तु	जायन्तु
P. 110, 1. 23	दशनरदन	रदनदशन
P. 111, 1. 9	तृतीय एव स ध्वनि°	तृतीय एव रसध्वनि°
P. 111, 1. 18	°निष्पन्द°	°निष्पन्द°
P. 117, 1. 9.	ह्युद्याने (? ह्युच्यमाने स) हृदयादिर्भावो ह्युद्यानेन्दूदयादिर्भावो	
p. 119, 1. 7	इत्थं स्थितिर्वरार्थाचेत्यादि । The footnote reads आद्येऽर्धे अनुप्रासो द्वितीयेऽर्थान्तरन्यासः । The whole verse, however, is nowhere given in the text. The full verse runs as follows :—	

इत्थं स्थितिर्वरार्था चेन्मा कृथा व्यर्थमथिताम् ।
रूपेण ते युवा सर्वः पादबद्धो हि किङ्करः ॥ —Udbhata, P. 70

P. 119, lines 8-9 मैवमेवास्वसच्छयेति[?]मैवमेवास्व (V.L. स्थ) सच्छयेति

The full verse runs as follows :-

मैवमेवास्थ सच्छयवर्णिकाचारुर्णिका ।
अभोजिनीव चित्रस्था दृष्टिमात्रसुखप्रदा ॥ —Udbhata, P. 70.

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|
| P. 119, 11. 21-22 | कमलायरण-मलिया | कमलायरा ण मलिया |
| P. 127, 1. 24 | सीतामप्युपेक्षिका | सीता मय्युपेक्षिका |
| P. 160, 1. 24 | मनोहरसुरस्यमन्मथदेवस्य | मनोहरसुरस्य मन्मथदेवस्य |
| P. 161, 1. 23 | तैरसद्रुपायते | तैरसद्रुपायते |
| P. 161, 1. 27 | अंकपाली सहीए | अंकपालीसहीए |
| P. 164, 1. 11 | हुमि अवहत्थियरे होइति | हुमि अवहत्थियरेहो इति |
| P. 165, 1. 4 | शोभितैकेन | शोभिनैकेन |
| P. 166, 1. 4 | कस्त्रातात् | कस्त्राता |
| P. 173, 1. 4 | कृष्यते । प्रकृष्यते च | कृष्यते प्रकृष्यते च |
| P. 174, 1. 6 | दाहार्थं भोगिनं...शाव° | दाहार्थमुद्योगिनं...शव° |
| P. 176, 1. 7 | मा पुंसय [प्रोज्जयस्व] | मे हताक्षिणी is the correct reading. |
| P. 178, 1. 17 | साधितुरित्यादावपि | सा धेनुरित्यादावपि |
| P. 183, 1 4 | आक्षुण्णास्ते | अक्षुण्णास्ते |
| P. 183, lines 26 etc | The Prakrit verse needs to be corrected and the Sanskrit gloss on it needs punctuation marks. | |
| P. 184, 1. 4. | The <i>Dhvanyāloka</i> and the <i>Locana</i> (p. 479) present the text of this portion correctly. | |
| P. 186, 1. 1 | सदेवं | स देवं |
| P. 187, 1. 14 | पत्तायेति | पत्ता य इति |
| P. 190, lines 5-6 | Note : The <i>Danda</i> after <i>sthūlam</i> (1. 5) should be deleted. <i>upodharāgeti</i> is the <i>Pratīka</i> of its illustration. For <i>sūkṣmamātām</i> , we should read <i>sūkṣmam matām...</i> | |
| P. 235, 1. 4 | तन्वी निमित्तम् | तन्वीनिमित्तम् |
| P. 238, 1. 9 | श्यामा लतेव | श्यामालतेव |
| P. 251, lines 20-21 | एवोत्पेक्षा बुद्धि° | एवोत्पेक्षाबुद्धि° [Cf. Hemacandra P. 349, 1, 20] |
| P. 253, 1. 26 | रञ्जिता तु | रञ्जिता नु |

P. 274, 1. 28	धवलत्वं	सरलत्वं
P. 275, 1. 24	भोगान्निर्विकक्षोः	भोगान् निर्विकक्षोः
P. 277, 1, 1	सखिसाध्वीति	सखि साध्वीति
P. 278, 11. 5-6	अन्यथा कासादीनामपि	अन्यथा आकाशादीनामपि
P. 281, 1. 16	उभयापाश्रयः	उभयाश्रयः
		cf. Nami on Rudraṭa VII. 77
P. 306, 1. 7	स्थायिभावान्नसत्त्व°	स्थायिभावान् रसत्त्व°
P. 309, 1. 8	अयोग्यता	अयोग्यता-
P. 311, 1. 24	परिकल्प [?]	परिकल्प्य
P. 315, 1. 3	निषेधः	निषेधः

Note : While reading the text I compared it to the sources drawn upon by the *Kalpalatāviveka* and whenever I thought that the sources present happy readings I noted them. These corrections are based on the authority of the source-books.

The text of the *Kalpalatāviveka* helps us to restore some of the highly corrupt and unintelligible passages in the *Locana* and the *Abhinavabhāratī* drawn upon by it. A few instances may be given here : “*devaḍiti luṇaḥi*”...(*Locana* p., 147). This Apabhraṁśa verse is highly corrupt and unintelligible. It is also cited in the *Abhinavabhāratī* (On the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, Ch. VI (p. 305, G.O.S. edition 1956); there too the text is unintelligible. Appendix I (P. 383) to that volume gives the readings in the MS. of the *Dhvanyāloka* which too is corrupt. The second half of this verse is correctly preserved in Someśvara’s *Samketa* (p. 24). The *Kalpalatāviveka*, however, for the first time, gives us the text of this verse in its correct form : दीवडि तेष्टु णाहि...(P. 123, lines 26-27)

[दीपके तैलं नास्ति पलम्, द्रम्मं गवेषितम् ।
लावण्योज्ज्वलाङ्गो गृहे प्रियतमः प्रविष्टः ॥]

The *Locana*, in the course of its exposition of the *Dhvanyāloka* II, 3, says : क्वचित्तु व्यभिचारिणः सन्धिरेव चर्वणास्पदम् । यथा-ओसुरु सुमिठि आई...॥ (P. 176, 11 7-10). Now the first quarter of this Apabhraṁśa verse is corrupt and makes no sense. The ‘*Bālapriyākāra*’ gives its Sanskrit Chāyā as ईर्ष्याशुशोभिताया...(P. 176). He, however, honestly observes ‘इति छयेति प्रतिभाति ।’ The *Kalpalatāviveka* borrows the treatment of Dhvani from the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana*. In identical context it reads : क्वचिद् व्यभिचारिणोः सन्धिरेव चर्वणास्पदम् । यथा-उसुरुसुंभियाए इति । This reading and the explanation ऊसुंभियं तथा ऊसुरुसुंभियं रुद्धगलरोदनम्’ recorded in the *Deśināmamālā* helps us to restore the passage :

उसुरुसुंभियाए मुहु चुंबिउ जेण ।
 अमिअरसघोटणु पडिजाणित तेण ॥
 [रुद्धगलं रुदत्याः मुखं चुम्बितं येन ।
 अमृतरसघोटनं परिज्ञातं तेन ॥]

Namisādhu in the course of his commentary on Rudraṭa XI. 9 illustrates Grāmyatā. The printed text reads...पुरुषेषु शूद्रवर्जमन्नपाकादिको व्यवहार...काचाद्याभरणं च वेषः...तथा विद्यायां पण्डितेषु शस्त्रग्रहणपूर्वको व्यवहारः...The words in bold type do not present happy or satisfactory readings when we take into consideration the context. The *Kalpalatāviveka* adopts this passage and presents appropriate readings : सु(?सू)द(doubtful)वर्जमन्न०, काञ्च्यादिकं चाभरणं...पण्डितेष्वशास्त्रको व्यवहारः. The *Abhinavabhāratī* reads :

आम्नायसिद्धे किमपूर्वमेतत्संविद्धिकासेऽधिगतागमित्वम् । (Vol. I. p. 278)

The *Kalpalatāviveka* reads 'dhiganāgamitvam' in place of (a) *dhigatāgamitvam* in the printed text. In the light of the context we find the reading 'dhiganāgamitvam' rather superior.

□ □ □

KALPALATĀVIVEKA ON ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ

The text of the *Abhinavabhāratī* (A. Bh.), the commentary by Abhinavagupta on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NŚ) is corrupt and, therefore, obscure in many places. The commentary on the Sixth *Adhyāya*, though better preserved, than the commentaries on other chapters, has still a great deal of obscurity on account of corrupt readings¹. Many reputed scholars have tried their best to improve the commentary. *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta* by R. Gnoli and *Aesthetic Rapture* by Masson and Parwardhan are two of the recent works which have tried to render considerable help in understanding the *Rasādhyāya*, Chapter VI of Bharata's NŚ and the A. Bh. on it. In a series of articles. I made attempts to restore the text of over ninety passages of the A. Bh. mainly with the help of Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra both of whom have made liberal use of the A. Bh. in their works². The *Kalpalatāviveka* (KLV) of an anonymous author has incorporated many long passages from the *Dhvanyāloka* (Dhv.) the *Locana* commentary on it and the A. Bh. I have shown in a separate paper³, entitled "*Abhinavabhāratī Ch. VII Recovered ?*" how the KLV has preserved *in toto* a major portion of the A. Bh. on Ch. VII. In this paper I am attempting to restore the text of A. Bh. Ch. VI with the help of the KLV which offers comments on some of its difficult passages, and renders them intelligible, and incidentally, I would correct a few misreadings in the KLV with the help of the A. Bh.

1. अन्यच्च स्थायिनां ये विभावादयोऽभिहितास्तेरेव योगे स्थायिनः स्फीता भवेयू रसा स्युरित्यर्थः ।
अयोगे तु स्थायिन एवेति किं रसावस्थापरपर्यायायां स्फीतदशायां पुनर्विभावादिप्रतिपादनेन ।

—KLV p. 303, 11 13-15

The text of the A. Bh. which is commented here upon, reads : स्थितदशायां लक्षणान्तरवैयर्थ्यात् (Vol. I. p. 272 1.14) The reading 'Sthita' makes no sense. The KLV reading 'Sphīta' which directly yields the sense 'in its intensified state' is highly superior and, seems convincingly to be genuine.

2. वाडवेनेव इति । अस्य पूर्वमर्द्धम् ।

विवृद्धात्माप्यगाधोऽपि दुरन्तोऽपि महानपि ।
एतद्वाक्यं कृत्यारावणे रामेण स्वशोकस्याभिधायकमुक्तं नाभिनयः ।

— KLV p. 304, ii. 17-19

This passage confirms that the A. Bh. text cites only the second half of the verse. It further informs us that the verse expressing Rāma's sorrow is drawn from the old Rāma-play *Kṛtyārāvaṇa* (now lost). With reference to this verse R. Gnoli observes in a footnote : untraced source (Text, p. 4), unidentified stanza" (Translation, p. 30)

3. शोकेन कृतः इति । अस्योत्तरमर्द्धम् ।

हृदयस्फुटनभयार्ते रोदितुमभ्यर्थ्यते सचिवैः ।

इदं तापसवत्सराजे विनीतदेववाक्यमुदयनगतं शोकमभिदधाति नाभिनयः ।

—KLV p. 304, 11. 17-20

This passage corroborates the fact that the A. Bh. text cites only the first half of the verse. It further informs us that the verse, giving expression to Udayana's profound sorrow, and forming part of Vinītadeva's speech occurs in the play *Tāpasavatsarāja*. With reference to this verse R. Gnoli observes in a footnote :

.....This stanza, whose source I have not succeeded in identifying. (Text, p. 4) Unidentified stanza (Translation, p. 30)

In the printed text of the *Tāpasavatsarāja* we read :

(नेपथ्ये)

देव समाश्वसिहि समाश्वसिहि, समस्ससदु समस्ससदु पिअवअस्सो ।

[समाश्वसतु समाश्वसतु प्रियवयस्यः]

विनीतभद्रः - (श्रुत्वा दृष्ट्वा च सकरुणम्) अये कथमागत एव देवः श्रावितश्च, तथा ह्ययम्-
शोकेन कृतस्तम्भस्तथा स्थितो येन वर्धिताक्रन्दैः ।

हृदयस्फुटनभयार्ते (रोदितु) मभ्यर्थितस्सचिवैः ॥

अतिकरुणं च वर्तते तदितोऽपसृत्य कार्यशेषं प्रतियोजयामि ।—Act 11, p. 18

This stanza presents some variant readings :

1. श्रुत्वैष विधृतबाष्पः- *Śṛṅgārāprakāśa* (Ch, XXXII)

as quoted by the editor of the play in a f. n. on p. 19

शोकेन कृतः स्तम्भः; KLV p. 304, G. M.

2. -योऽनवस्थिताक्रन्दैः —G

-योऽवस्थिताक्रन्दैः —M

-येन वर्धिताक्रन्दैः —Hema. (as noted by R. Gnoli, Text. p-4)

3. -मभ्यर्थ्यते सचिवैः —Hema.; KLV

Gnoli's translation of the third "pāda" (by his companions), who, filled with the fear that tears their hearts", however, altogether misses the point. The idea intended to be conveyed is the same as found in Bhavabhūti :

पूरोत्पीडे तडागस्य परीवाहः प्रतिक्रिया ।
शोकक्षोभे च हृदयं प्रलापैरेव धार्यते ॥ —Uttararāmacarita III.29

[When a tank is flooded, an outlet is the only remedy (for preventing the banks from bursting). When agitated by sorrow the heart is sustained only by lamentation.] Rumaṅvān and Vasantaka (the *Vidūṣaka*) the minister and the friend respectively of King Udayana, the Hero, plead with him to take heart and bear the loss of Vāsavadattā, his beloved wife (who is believed to be dead). They are extremely worried to find him paralysed by sorrow and standing motionless. They are overpowered by the fear that the King's heart might break if he did not give outlet to his overwhelming grief. They, therefore, increase their own lamentations and implore the king to weep and thus unburden his mind of the overpowering grief.

4. तस्यैव इति । स्थायिन एव । अस्मिन् इति । अस्मिन् नटेऽयं स्थायी ।

—KLV, p. 305, 1.22

This forms a gloss on तस्यैव हि मुख्यत्वेन 'अस्मिन्नयम्' इति सामाजिकानां प्रतिपत्तिः -A. Bh. Vol I. p. 275, lines 12-13

Gnoli, however, renders the phrase in a contrary way :

"That man (is) in this feeling." P. 38

Following the KLV, we may translate it as :

"In this (actor) is (being realized) this primary emotion."

5. तदनुकारेऽपि च इति । तच्छब्देन रतिः परामृश्यते । अभ्युपगमोऽयम् अनुकरणरूपत्वादेव च नामान्तरं प्रवर्तत इति हि तत्र भवन्तः । तत्रश्च रत्यनुकारे कान्तवेषगत्यादयोऽप्यनुकार्याः । अनुकरणरूपत्वे च तेषां कृतानि नामान्तराणि यैस्ते व्यपदिश्यन्ते मुनिवचनेषु तावन्नोपलभ्यन्त इति भावः । — KLV p. 305, 11. 24-27

The text of the A. Bh., on which we have this comment, reads :

तदनुकारेऽपि च क्व नामान्तरं कान्तवेषगत्यनुकरणादौ ।

—P. 276, 11. 6-7

R. Gnoli translates this sentence thus :

And, if even that was a reproduction, then what would be the difference between it and the reproduction of the attire, the walk, etc., of the beloved ? He concedes in a footnote : Text and Translation both doubtful. —p. 41. f.n. 4

R. Gnoli takes *kva nāmāntaram* to mean *kva nāma antaram* whereas '*nāmāntaram*' is, in this context, used to denote 'another name', 'a different name'.

Abhinavagupta himself uses this term precisely in this sense twice on the very next page;

केवलमुपायवैलक्षण्यान्नामान्तरं प्रतिपद्यतां दर्शनानुमितिश्रुत्युपमितिप्रतिभानादिनामान्तरस्वत् ।

A. Bh. p. 277, 11. 8-9

The KLV interprets the line : 'For argument's sake we grant your point of view, viz, "The Erotic sentiment is an imitation (*anukarāṇa*) of the permanent mental state called *rati*. Now in this imitation of *rati* the dress, the gait etc., of the beloved become *anukārya* (things to be imitated). By virtue of their having the nature of *anukarāṇa* they must have been given different names. But these so-called different names for the dress, the gait, etc., of the beloved are not to be found in the text of Bharata's NŚ. So your stand that *Rasa* is an imitation or reproduction (*anukāra, anukarāṇa*) of a *sthāyibhāva* such as *rati* etc., has no basis."

This interpretation seems to be perfectly all right but for one inconvenient fact. It is true Bharata does not give different names to the imitation of dress, the gait, the speech, etc., of the beloved, he, however, gives a *general* name *Līlā* :

वागङ्गालङ्कारैः शिष्टैः प्रीतिप्रयोजितैर्मधुरैः ।

इष्टजनस्यानुकृतिर्लीला ज्ञेया प्रयोगज्ञैः ॥

—NŚ XXII, 14

Abhinavagupta, however, has himself said in the present paragraph :

कान्तवेषानुकारवद्धि न रामचेष्टितस्यानुकारः ।

—Vol I. p 276, 1.1

6. तन्त्र इति नाट्यतन्त्रम् ।

—KLV p. 306, 1 10

This comment comes in between प्रामाणिकजनश्च...किमाचक्षमहे । (=प्रामाणिको जनः.....किमस्योच्यते A. Bh. Vol I, p. 276, 1. 17 and रसो न प्रतीयत इति ।

The present text of the A. Bh., however, does not have the reading *tantra* in the present context; it reads :

यत्त्वत्यन्तं नः प्रतीतिवैषम्यप्रसङ्गादि तत् कियदत्रोच्यताम् । —Vol. I. p. 276, lines 17-18

Hemacandra, however, reads :

यत्त्वन्यत्तन्त्रप्रतीतिवैषम्यप्रसङ्गादि तत् कियदत्रोच्यताम् ।

Possibly the KLV might have read यत्त्वन्यत्तन्त्रप्रतीतिवैषम्य.

7. Masson and Patwardhan observe :

"On p. 274 (A. Bh. I) Abhinava begins his views, but it is not clear when they end...it is likely that this refers, not to Abhinavagupta, but a *now lost* commentary by Bhaṭṭa Tauta on the NŚ..." -Aesthetic Rapture, The following passage from the KLV is very eloquent on this point :

रसो न प्रतीयत इति । रसस्य प्रतीयभिव्यक्ती मुख्यतया, उत्पत्तिक्षोपचारेण भट्टतोतस्याभिमता । एष एव च पक्षो यथोपाध्यायं शिष्या इत्याचार्यस्य [अभिनवगुप्तस्य] अनुमतोऽत एव च प्रतीत्यादिव्यतिरिक्तश्च संसारे को भोग इत्यादिना तत्र तत्र रसस्य प्रतीत्यादिकमाचार्यः स्वयं व्यवस्थापयिष्यतीति शङ्कुकादिमतनिरसना-
नन्तरमुपाध्यायमतं न प्रदर्शितम् ।
—p. 306, 11. 10-14

According to the KLV, Abhinavagupta held the same views as those of Bhaṭṭatauta, his teacher. And that is why he does not separately set forth the view of Bhaṭṭatauta after mentioning the views of Śaṅkuka and others. Unless we have a definite clue as to a now lost commentary by Bhaṭṭatauta on the NŚ, it is safer to presume that Abhinavagupta quotes Bhaṭṭatauta's views and explanations of the NŚ from his memory or lecture-notes which he might have taken down when reading the text with him (Bhaṭṭatauta). *Aesthetic Rapture Vol. II (Notes)*

8. न चोत्साहादिमान् रामः स्मर्यतेऽनुभूतत्वादित्याह- न च तत्त्वतः इति । सरसता इति रसोपजनः ।
—KLV, p. 306, lines 21-22

In explaining the view of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and its criticism as presented in the A. Bh., (Vol., 1 pp. 276-77) the KLV very cleverly and rightly borrows sentences and phrases from an earlier version preserved by Abhinavagupta himself in his *Locana* (pp. 180-190).

The A. Bh. reads :

न च तद्वतो रामस्य स्मृतिः । अनुपलम्भत्वात् । —p. 276, 1. 5 (from below)

The KLV reads *tattvataḥ*; so too, Hemacandra reads *tattvato* (p. 96 1. 13). The reading 'tadvataḥ' however suits the context.

9. The A. Bh. (Vol I, p. 277, 11. 1-2) reads : 'निबिडनिजमोहसङ्कटकारिणा, Masson and Patwardhan observe : The phrase *Nibiḍanijamohasaṅkatakāriṇā* on p. 277 of the A. Bh., Vol. I. is puzzling. Perhaps we must read *saṅkaṭanivṛttikāriṇā*. "Gnoli accepts the reading of the *Saṅkaṭatānivāraṇakāriṇā* but remarks *saṅkaṭakāriṇā*. G.M. equally possible. (Text, p. 10, F.n. 8) He, however, does not explain how that reading would yield a satisfactory meaning, suited to the context. The fact that the correct reading must have been *saṅkaṭatānivāraṇa* (or *nivṛtti*) *kāriṇā* is vouchsafed by Abhinavagupta's own text in the *Locana* where he reads :

भोगोऽपि न काव्यशब्देन क्रियते, अपि तु घनमोहान्धसङ्कटानिवृत्तिद्वारेण....। —p. 189.

10. रजस्तमोवैचित्र्यानुविद्धसत्त्वमयनिजचित्स्वभावनिर्वृतिविश्रान्तिलक्षणः ।

—KLV p. 307, 11. 4-5

The text of Hema. (p. 96 11. 22-23) and of the A. Bh. (p. 277, lines 3-4) too in the present context reads *lakṣaṇa*. Dr. Raghavan's emendation (Bhoja's

Śrīngāraprakāśa, p. 480) as 'vilakṣaṇa', therefore, seems uncalled for.

11. रसः इति । रसः स्यान्न तृतीया गतिरिति संबन्धः । —KLV p. 307, 1. 20.

The A.Bh (Vol I, p. 277, 11. 9-10) reads : रस इति न तृतीया गतिरस्याम् । Hema (p. 97, l. 8) too, reads : रस इति न तृतीया गतिः स्यात् । It is, therefore, clear that *gatiḥ syāt* is the genuine reading and not *gatiṛasyām*.

12. गुणानाम् इति । सत्त्वरजस्तमसाम् । —KLV p. 307, 1. 24

This comment confirms the fact 'guṇānām' is the genuine reading and that Hema/ has added *sattvādi* before it by way of elucidation and expansion.

13. संसर्गादिः इति । —KLV p. 307 1. 24

From this *pratīka* and the explanation that follows it would seem that the *kārikā* :

संसर्गादिर्यथा शास्त्र एकत्वात् फलयोगतः ।
वाक्यार्थस्तद्भुदेवात्र शृङ्गारादी रसो मतः ॥

formed part of the text of the A.Bh and stood just before the *kārikā Samalanākhyā (khyayā)* etc. (as found on p. 277) *bhāvasaṃyojanā* etc. (Gnoli's text p. 11). This inference is based on the fact that the KLV takes up immediately after the *Pratīka Samsargādīḥ tadviśayaḥ iti* as the next *Pratīka* for explanation and this latter *pratīka* forms part of the A. Bh. line अनुभवेन च तद्विषय इति मन्तव्यम् । which is a comment of Abhinavagupta on the word *anubhava* occurring in the *kārikā Bhāvasaṃyojana*, etc.

14. धिगनागमित्वम् इति । —KLV p. 308, 11. 4-5

The text of the A. Bh. (p. 278, 1.3), however, reads(a) *dhigatāgamitvam*. The verse as it stands is highly obscure, Gnoli's translation (p. 51) of this verse is hardly satisfactory. Masson and Patawardhan frankly concede : "The first verse is corrupt and we cannot derive any satisfactory sense from it." Elsewhere they suggest that it is impossible to interpret it when they say : "We give the verse for anybody who wishes to attempt an interpretation." The following passage from the KLV throws fresh light on the text and the interpretation of this verse :

न त्वेवम् (? नन्वेवम्) इति । न त्वेको (नन्वेको)ऽन्यथा व्याचष्टेऽपरोऽन्यथेतरश्चान्यथेत्येवं रसतत्त्वमलब्धप्रतिष्ठं कथमास्तामिति निर्विण्णप्रायस्य जिज्ञासोः प्रश्नः । किं कुर्मः इति । निराम्नायं ना (? निराम्नायम् आ)द्यागमरहस्यं न कश्चिद्वेत्तीति सजुगुप्समाचार्यस्योक्तिः धिगनागमित्वम् इति । तथा ह्यनागमज्ञो लोलटप्रभृतिः स्थाय्येव विभावानुभावादिभिरुपचितो रस इत्यादिना प्रकारेण किं न दूषयति । सर्वमप्यसङ्गताथं प्ररूपयतीत्यर्थः ।

The reading 'Dhiganāgamitvam', found in the KLV, is rather superior and eminently suits the context. The reading (a) *dhigatāgamitvam* hardly goes well with *āmnāyasiddhe* in the first *pāda*. With this reading the verse may tentatively be translated as follows :

The true nature of *rasa* (*rasatattva*) being well-established or being well-known through (Bharata's) tradition what is there new about it ? In the upward march of knowledge the disregard of (Bharata's) tradition deserves to be condemned. Do not people like Lolata vitiate this doctrine of *rasa* going against the evident and precious *hetu* (viz. tradition) ? Certainly they do."

Abhinavagupta is fond of using this expression '*Kimapūrvametat*'. In the *Locana* (p. 188 1.5) he says *kimetadapūrvam*. The statement of Abhinavagupta, which follows immediately after the introductory verse, supports this interpretation (what is new about it ?) :

उक्तमेव मुनिना न त्वपूर्वं किञ्चित् । प्रतिपत्ति इति वाक्यार्थप्रतिपत्तिमात्रात् ।

15. इतिवृत्त इति । इतिवृत्तम् इतिकर्तव्यतेत्यर्थः । —KLV p. 308, 1.24

The text of A. Bh. (Vol. I. p. 278, 1. 3, from below) reads *pratipattimātrāditivṛatta*; in a footnote the editor notes the variant readings : '*trāditivra*' '*ditrivṛt*'. The reading *itivṛtta*, found in the KLV, appears to be genuine, although its sense *itikartavyatā* appears to be very unusual.

16. त्रासकस्य इति मृगपोतकादेः । अपारमार्थिकत्वाद् इति । अत्र हेतुर्विशेषरूपत्वाभावादिति ।
—KLV p. 308, 11. 26-27

Gnoli's translation of this particular sentence appears to be incorrect when he says : "...the actor, who (playing the role of the deer), frightens (the spectator) (*trāsaka*....showing to be afraid) is unreal (*apāramārthika*)". Would it not be more correct to construe '*trāsaka*' (one who causes fear) with *Duṣyanta*, who strikes terror in the heart of the deer ?

17. भावः इति शमनामा । —KLV p. 309, 1.2 (from below)

The text of the A. Bh. (p. 282 1. 3) reads :

तत्त्वज्ञानजनितनिर्वेदप्रायो विभावो मोक्षोपाय इति ।

Dr. Raghavan (p. 527 1.3) reconstructs the text as :

...निर्वेदप्रायोऽपि भावो मोक्षोपाय इति ।

18. अशक्तौ तु इति अपरिचित इति चोभयप्रकाश भयसंवित् । —KLV, p. 310, 11, 2-3

The text of the A. Bh. (Vol I. p. 282, 1.3, from below) reads

अशक्तौ च ततो भोरुः किञ्चिदाजिजीषुरप्यनुचितवस्तु

Dr. Raghavan notes the variant reading :

M अज्जिजीषुरपिचित D जिगीषुरपिजित ।

—(p. 527, f.n. 17)

From these variant readings we could reasonably infer that the MS of A. Bh., available to the author of the KLV must have had the reading : *aparicita*.

19. लीयेत इति नश्येत् ।

—KLV, p. 312, 1. 11

The text of the A. Bh. (Vol. I, p. 295, 1. 12) reads :

तत्स्पर्शे ह्यभिमानोऽस्या (स्य) विलीयत एव ।

Hema. (p. 149 1.16) reads :

तत्स्पर्शे ह्यभिमानोऽस्य लीयेतैव ।

20. तदाभासतायाम् इति । मोक्षविभावाभासतायाम् । प्रहसन इति । प्रहसनरूपकेण हि राजपुत्रादीनां सर्वपुरुषार्थेष्वनौचित्यत्यागविषया व्युत्पत्तिराधीयत इत्यर्थः ।

—KLV, p. 312, 11. 12-14

The text of the A. Bh. (Vol I, p. 296, 11. 8-9) reads :

तदाभासतायां शान्ताभासो हास्य एव प्रहसनरूपस्य (रूपः ।) अनौ (स्वानौ) चित्यत्यागः सर्वपुरुषार्थेषु व्युत्पाद्यः Dr. Raghavan reconstructs the text as follows :-

तदाभासतायां शान्ताभासो हास्य एव । प्रहसनरूपस्य अनौचित्यत्यागः सर्वपुरुषार्थेषु व्युत्पाद्यः ।

—p. 529

The KLV passage attests the correctness of Dr. Raghavan's reconstructed text and makes it easily intelligible.

21. शान्तस्यापि इति विषयविपरिवृत्त्याऽन्तुर्मुखतालाभेन सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादः केवलं वासनान्तरोपहित इति हि वक्ष्यते ।

—KLV, p. 313, 11. 1-2

The text of the A. Bh. (Vol I, p. 339, lines. 21-22) reads :

तत्र सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादो न विषयेभ्यो विपरिवृत्त्या । तन्मुख्यता । केवलं वासनान्तरोपहित इत्यस्य सर्वप्रकृतित्वाभिधानाय पूर्वमभिधानम् ।

Dr. Raghavan reconstructs this passage as follows :-

तत्र सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादः विषयेभ्यो विपरिवृत्त्या । तन्मुख्यता लाभः केवलं वासनान्तरोपहित इति । अत्र सर्वप्रकृतित्वाभिधानाय पूर्वमभिधानम् ।

—The Number of Rasas (1967 ed.) p. 115.

Masson and Patwardhan translate it thus :

In this connection, the aesthetic enjoyment of all *rasas* is similar to that of *Sānta*, because it (i.e. this aesthetic enjoyment) is turned away from actual sense object contact. (Because we are particularly concerned with one *rasa*,

except that it is mixed with other latent mental impressions (Vāsanā) ?

In a footnote they concede : 1. “We cannot arrive at a meaning for this sentence.” Yes the sentence, as it stands, yields no satisfactory sense. But the text of the KLV helps us to restore the original reading; the keyword in the text of the KLV is *antarmukhatālābhena* (*antarmukhatā* meaning introspection). Keeping in view the text of the A.Bh and the text as reconstructed by Dr. Raghavan we may now restore the original text :

तत्र सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादो विषयेभ्यो विपरिवृत्त्याऽन्तर्मुखतालाभात्, केवलं वासनान्तरोपहित इति ।

For this proposed restoration we find strong support in the A. Bh. itself. In this very section on *Śāntarasa*, when explaining the nature of the true relish of *śānta* Abhinavagupta uses the expression *antarmukhāvasthābhedena* :

तत्त्वास्वादोऽस्य कीदृशः । उच्यते-उपरागदायिभिः उत्साहरत्यादिभिरुपरक्तं यदात्मस्वरूपं...निर्भासमानम् अन्तर्मुखावस्थाभेदेन लोकोत्तरानन्दानयनं [? लोकोत्तरानन्दघनं] तथाविधहृदयं विधत्त इति ।

—A. Bh. pp. 340-341

This passage and the variant reading (*tanmukhyatā*) *lābhāt*, found in the two MSS M and G and recorded by Dr. Raghavan (*The number of Rasas*, P. 115, f.n. 2), leave absolutely no doubt as to the correctness of the proposed restoration of the text.

22. लीला इष्टस्यानुकृतिः ।

—KLV, p. 313, 1.17

This reading is quite significant compared to the tame and flat reading *līlanasyānukṛtiḥ* found in the A. Bh. (Vol. I, p. 304, 11. 15-16). If the A. Bh. were to read *īstajanasyānukṛtiḥ* then it would have been a perfect reading for in the definition of *Līlā* (NS XXII. 14) itself Bharata says :

वागङ्गालङ्कारैः शिष्टैः प्रीतिप्रयोजितैर्मधुरैः ।

इष्टजनस्यानुकृतिर्लीला ज्ञेया प्रयोगज्ञैः ॥

23. विप्रलम्भ इति । विप्रलम्भो विडम्बनं प्रसिद्धमिह तूपचारात्तदीयं फलं विरहात्मकं गृह्यते । तेन हि परस्परं रतिमतोऽत्र विडम्बनमस्ति । तेन विरहेण कृतः सुष्ठुतमां पोषित इत्यर्थः ।

—KLV, p. 313, 11. 26-28.

This passage when compared to the A. Bh. (p. 308, 11. 2-4) presents better readings. (They are shown in bold types in this passage.)

24. नन्वेकः स्थायीति का भूयिष्ठता इत्याह-षड्भेदाश्च इति । —KLV p. 314 11. 11-12

This quotation supports the Editor's emendation of the reading काष्ठ to (काऽस्य) भूयिष्ठता (p. 315 1.2)

25. विकुष्ट इति विकुष्टः श्रवणकटुः । उपघात इति । उपघातः पुत्रादिमरणम् ।

—KLV, p. 314., 11. 17-18

The A. Bh., however, reads : *vikṛṣṭam Śravaṇakaṭu* (p. 316, 1-2); and, *upaghāto'gnyādīmarāṇam* (P. 318, 1.5) The editor notes the variant reading : *ma. bha. atrādīkama* (for *agnyādīma*). This variant reading suggests that the reading found in the KLV (*putrādi*) must have been the original reading in the MS of the A. Bh. that was before the KLV.

26. ताडनं...भेदनं परस्परं मित्रादिवियोजनं, भावे ण्यतौ प्रहरणा नाम समन्ताद्धरणम् । सम्प्रहारेण रुधिराकर्षणमिति विग्रहः ।

—KLV, p. 314 (last line), p. 315 (first two lines).

The reading in the A. Bh. (p. 320, last line) : *'bhāve nyadantau* is incorrect. So too the reading of the KLV *'bhāve nyatau'*. The correct reading should be *bhāve lyuḍantāh*.

27. लोकोत्तरानन्दघनम् इति । एतदेकं हृदयस्य विशेषणम् । —KLV, p. 315 1. 23.

The text of the A. Bh. (p. 341, 1.4) however reads :

लोकोत्तरानन्दानय(न्दाय)नं तथाविधं हृदयं विधत्त इति ।

Dr. Raghavan reads :

लोकोत्तरानन्दानयनं तथाविधहृदयं विधत्त इति । —*The Number of Rasas*, p. 117

Apparently the reading, preserved in the KLV, seems to be original one.

Incidentally, I may note that the A. Bh, text helps us to correct the wrong readings found in the KLV. Some of them are pointed below :

KLV

A. Bh. (Vol. I)

1. तथा प्रति इति अस्येयमिति यो न संबन्धप्रतीत्यु- अथ सामाजिकस्य तथा प्रतीतियोग्याः क्रियन्त
त्पादहेतवः[तुः ?] इत्येतदेवानुसन्धानमुच्यते...

—P. 305, lines 21-22

—P. 275, 11. 11-12

In the light of the pertinent passage in the A. Bh. we ought to read the text of the KLV thus :

तथा प्रतीति इति । अस्येयमिति येन संबन्धप्रतीत्युत्पादहेतवो(विभावाः) ।

KLV

A. Bh.

2. नापि वास्तु इति तृतीयः पक्षः ।

—P. 305, 1. 23

तथाहि-अनुकरणरूपो रस इति यदुच्यते तर्त्कि

(१) सामाजिकप्रतीत्याभिप्रायेण उत (२)

नटाभिप्रायेण किंवा

The third alternative refers to *vastu-* (३) वस्तुवृत्तविवेचकव्याख्यातृबुद्धिसमवलम्बनेन
vṛttavivecaka etc. and is taken up for यथाहुर्व्याख्यातारः खल्वेवं विवेचयन्ति इति । अथ

consideration on p. 276 (lines 2-3). (४) भरतमुनिवचनानुसारेण ।

In the light of these two passages we

must read the KLV text as

“नापि वस्तु...” इति तृतीयः पक्षः ।

—A. Bh. Vol.I, p. 274, lines. 1-4

नापि वस्तुवृत्तानुसारेण तदनुकारत्वम् ।

—A. Bh. Vol. I. p. 276, 1.2

3. अस्म्यर्थः-पदार्थवाक्यार्थौ...नन्वर्थशब्दोऽभि-
धेयवाची ।

—P. 308, lines 12-13

In view of the text in the A. Bh.

we must correct the two words

in the KLV text as *vākyārthau*

na tvārthaśabdo'bhidheyavācī

त्र च पदार्थवाक्यार्थौ रसेष्वेव पर्यवस्यत...न
त्वर्थशब्दोऽभिधेयवाची ।

—A. Bh.Vol. I, p. 343, lines 16-17

4. अलङ्कारः कटकादिः इष्टजनशैतदद्वयमुत्तमत्व-
सूचकम् ।

—p. 313, lines. 13-14

अलङ्कारः कटकादिः । इष्टजनः विदूषकादिः । एत-
दुभयमुत्तमत्वसूचकम् ।

—A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 304, 1.9

We must underline the word *iṣṭajanaśca*

5. The words *vipriya*, *dehasya*,
āyāsanam Abhighāta(p. 314)
pāṭanam, *pīdanam chedanam*
bhedanam

(p. 315 l. 1) must be
underlined as they are the
Pratīkas.

cf : A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 318, p. 319
p. 320

6. हस्त इति । हस्ताग्रयोरन्योन्यं निषेधः संघर्षणम् । हस्ताग्रयोरन्योन्यनिषेधः सङ्घर्षणम् ।

—p. 315, lines 3-4

—A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 321, lines 3-4

We must correct the reading

from *niṣedhaḥ* to *niṣpeṣaḥ* as *niṣpeṣa*

(meaning rubbing) suits the context.

In spite of a few such wrong readings, it must be admitted on all hands that the KLV is highly important, among other things for a better understanding of the A. Bh. on the *Rasādhyāya* (and the *Bhāvādhyāya*).

Notes and References :

1. GOS No. XXXVI, Vol I, 1956 (vide pp. 22-23)
2. Vide Chapter No. 4 *supra*.
3. Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol XX, No. 3, March 1971

KALPALATĀVIVEKA ON BHĀMAHA'S KĀVYĀLĀMĪKĀRA

(Chapter, V. vv 5-10)

These six verses of Bhāmaha have baffled modern scholars, Pandits and commentators as regards their true import. A perusal of the English translation and Notes by P.V. Naganatha Sastry¹ and the Sanskrit commentary *Udyāna* of D. T. Tatacharya² would substantiate the above statement. Naganatha Sastry's attempt at a lucid exposition of Bhāmaha's text is no doubt admirable and the *Udyāna* commentary of Tatacharya goes a long way towards a better and more correct understanding and exposition of Bhāmaha's difficult text. What Dr. P.V. Kane, however, wrote regarding the editions of Bhāmaha's work holds good even today. He says : "Unfortunately all these printed editions are unsatisfactory. The mss material is meagre and the editions do not explain many knotty points, nor do they bring together all the various readings in Bhāmaha's text as quoted in many works and the explanations of his verses by numerous writers from the days of Udbhata, the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana* onwards. A scholarly edition of Bhāmaha's work is a great desideratum."³ In the present paper I confine myself to Bhāmaha's apology for his treatment of Logic in his work on poetics and to a discussion and interpretation of the six *kārikās* from his *Nyāyanirṇaya* (V. 5-10) dealing with the two *pramānas-pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*—with special reference to *Kalpalatāviveka*,⁴ which was unfortunately not available to the pioneering scholars and Pandits who have taken great pains to interpret Bhāmaha's work.

One expects that a work on poetics should confine itself to an exposition and elucidation of the principles of literary criticism. Barring a few exceptions the works on Sanskrit poetics do not dwell upon an exposition of even the ten types of drama, which are regarded as the best among literary compositions. It would therefore seem extraordinary that an ancient *Ālāmīkārika* like Bhāmaha should have thought fit to treat of Logic and Grammar in his treatise. One would have expected of Bhāmaha to treat of the faults like *Pratijñā-hīna*, *Hetuhīna* and

Drṣṭānta-hīna at the end of Chapter IV wherein the rest of the *doṣas* listed together are treated of. He has gone out of the way in treating of the Buddhist logic and its refutation and of logic in relation to poetry in a separate independent chapter. Anticipating such criticism Bhāmaha offers an apology in the first opening verses :

"I describe the faults *pratijñā-hīna*, *hetu-hīna*, etc. I briefly describe them in accordance with Logic with a view to giving simply an idea of them. Generally the slow-witted or unintelligent shy away from *śāstras* because of their difficulty. In order to persuade them to study the *śāstras*, I present here a small collection of the logical topics.⁵ Granting that logic subserves poetry one might pertinently ask : "When the stream of poetry is all-embracing and is not partial to one or the other school why Bhāmaha prefers the Buddhist logic for his treatment of the subject ?" Bhāmaha answers this criticism thus : Indeed we aim at giving a mere direction or indication and not an exhaustive treatment of the whole subject of logic, variously treated by the various schools of thought. If the entire field of logic were to be covered it would lead to prolixity and voluminousness. We therefore restrict ourselves to giving a mere direction in regard to *pramāṇas*, etc. People take to the study of *śāstras* if presented in poetic garb. Persons (children) who have first tasted honey take in, without much difficulty, bitter medicine. Although it is widely believed that the subjectmatter of the *śāstras* and poetry widely differs the sage Bharata has rightly declared : "There is no work, no meaning, no logic, no art that does not subserve poetry. Oh, what a heavy burden the poet carries !"

This defence, this justification for including the treatment of Logic in his work on poetics is, as far as it goes, all right. But logically it is not very sound. For by the same logic (viz., since Logic subserves poetry he has included its discussion in his work on poetics) he should have also treated of fine arts, such as, dance, drama, music, painting, sculpture and architecture in his *Kāvya-lāmkāra* since they too subserve the cause of poetry.

Dr. V. Raghavan⁶ advocates the view that Logic and Grammar formed part of Pre-Bhāmaha *Alāmkāra* works, Once I was inclined to hold this view. But on reconsideration I feel that if Logic and Grammar had formed part of Pre-Bhāmaha works there was no need for Bhāmaha to preface his apology before commencing the treatment of Logic. Dr. G. T. Deshpande⁷ would like us to believe with him that Bhāmaha for the first time treated of these two important *śāstras* in his *Kāvya-lāmkāra* with a view to placing *alāmkārasāstra* on the same footing as of these two important *śāstras* as poetry was denounced and looked

down upon with contempt and ridicule by orthodox Pandits in his days. This view, seems to be plausible.

Now, we take up the second part of the present paper, viz., the interpretation of the six *kārikās* ('Nyāyanirṇaya', vv 5-10) :

V 5. सत्त्वादयः प्रमाणाभ्यां प्रत्यक्षमनुमा च ते ।
असाधारण सामान्य विषयत्वंतयोः किल ॥

i) Naganatha Sastry translates the first quarter as follows : By *Pramāṇas* arise the ideas of Existence, etc. (p. 90)

ii) Tatacharya comments on the quarter thus :

प्रमाणाभ्यां सत्त्वादयः द्रव्य-गुणादयः पदार्थाः सिद्ध्यन्ति । मानाधीना हि मेयसिद्धिः । सत्त्वमिति वैयाकरणसंप्रदायवासनया द्रव्ये । पदार्थानां सत्त्वासत्त्वतुच्छत्वादीनि वा सत्त्वादय इत्युक्तानि ।

iii) The reading '*sattvādayaḥ*' deserves consideration. Bhāmaha himself uses the word '*sandhā*' further on in the same chapter twice :

सन्धादि साधनं सिद्ध्यै (? v. 32. c)

and सन्धाऽभ्युपगमाद्दिना (v. 45. b)

Now, the *Kalpalatāviveka* (KLV) reads : '*sandhādayaḥ*' in place of '*sattvādayaḥ*'. This reading perfectly suits the context as would be seen from the following passage in KLV :

सन्धादय इति । प्रमाणमूला इति । तथाहि अग्निमान् पर्वत इति प्रतिज्ञायां पर्वतस्तावत् प्रत्यक्षेण निश्चीयते । अग्निसंबन्धस्तु तस्यानुमानात् प्रतीयत इति प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रत्यक्षानुमानमूलत्वम् ।प्रतिज्ञा-हेतूदाहरणानामनन्तरोदितेन न्यायेन प्रत्यक्षानुमानमूलत्वादेतदुक्तम् । प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्ताः प्रमाणमूला इति । —
(p. 46 11, 1-16)

So with the indisputably genuine reading supplied by KLV, we may translate the verse as follows :

Pratiñā, etc., established-proved to be correct (or otherwise) by means of the two proofs : the two proofs are Perception and Inference. The object (or sphere or area of operation) of Perception is *asādhāraṇa* (= *viśeṣa* = *svalakṣaṇa*) while *sāmānya* forms the object of Inference.

The word '*ādayaḥ*' in '*sandhādayaḥ*' obviously stands for *Hetu* and *Drṣṭānta* as shown by KLV in the passage cited above.

The use of the word '*kila*' suggests, according to Tatacharya, that the doctrine of '*Pramāṇavyavasthā*' is not acceptable to Bhāmaha (*kilety anaṅgikāre* 1). "According to the Buddhist view there are two different sources of

knowledge : 1. Perception and, 2. Inference. These two sources of knowledge have settled and clear limits (*Pramāṇavyavasthā*), the one never acting in the sphere of the other. The opposite theory of the realists (the Vaiśeṣikas and the Naiyāyikas) receives the name of a mixture or duplication theory (*Pramāṇa-samplava*), since according to that theory every object can be cognised in both ways either directly in sense-perception or indirectly in an inference. In other words, according to the Buddhist view, and what is cognised by inference can never be subject to cognition by the senses. Thus *svalakṣaṇa* (*asādhāraṇa, viśeṣa, kṣaṇa, paramārtha-sat*) or the only real object, the extreme particular, the thing in itself, is the province of perception and *sāmānya* (class, species, genus, universal) is the province of Inference. According to the realists (the Vaiśeṣikas and the Naiyāyikas), every object can be cognised in both ways either directly, e.g., when a fire is present in the ken and cognised by the sense of sight, it is a case of sense perception. When the same fire is beyond the ken and its existence is cognised only indirectly through the perception of its product, the smoke, through its mark, it is cognised indirectly by inference."

V. 6 प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं ततोऽर्थादिति केचन ।
कल्पनां नामजात्यादियोजनां प्रतिजानते ॥

Naganatha Sastry emends the words '*tato' rthāt* to '*Sato' rthāt*' and in support of the emendation he says in his Notes :.....Thus in the definition of *pratyakṣa* of the Bauddhas the epithet given is "*Abhrāntam*". This means 'devoid of illusion'. What is devoid of illusion is what is real, i.e., *Sadārtha*. So I have corrected the printed text from '*tato' rthāi*' into '*sato' rthāt*'. This emendation appears justifiable also from the use of the word '*sadarthālambanam*' in the verse following'. (pp. 91-92).

The emendation however is absolutely uncalled for. In this verse Bhāmaha presents two definitions of *Pratyakṣa* : one given by Dinnāga⁸ and the other by Vasubandhu.⁹ The KLV (p 47, 11 15-16) unambiguously and clearly says that the second definition is given by Vasubandhu :

वैभाषिकमतानुसारि वसुबन्धूक्तलक्षणं प्रत्यक्षस्य दर्शयितुमाह ततोऽर्थादिति ।

Elsewhere (p. 51 11 18-21) it informs us :

वासुबन्धवेऽपि मार्गे इति वैभाषिकमत इत्यर्थः । तदेवं वैभाषिकसौत्रान्तिक-योगाचार-माध्यमिक-दर्शनेषु प्रत्यक्षलक्षणस्यानुपपत्तिरुक्ता । वैभाषिकदर्शने खलु "ततोऽर्थादिति केचन" इति प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् । शिष्टेषु च दर्शनेषु "प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम्" इति तदुभयं निराकृतम् ।

So we may translate the *kārikā* as it is : According to some (Dinnāga and others) Perception is devoid of "*kalpanā*"; according to some others (Vasubandhu Stud.-34

and his followers) Perception arises from that 'artha' (*rūpa* etc., colour etc., which alone is real). 'Kalpanā'; they maintain, means attributing of qualifications such as name, class (*jāti*), etc. In his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (1.3) Dinnāga thus defines Perception :

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं नामजात्याद्यसंयुतम् ।

The *Vṛtti* elucidates the definition as follows :

यत्र ज्ञाने कल्पना नास्ति तत् प्रत्यक्षम् । अथ कल्पना च कीदृशी चेदाह-नामजात्यादियोजना । यहच्छाशब्देषु नाम्ना विशिष्टोऽर्थ उच्यते इत्थ इति । जाति-शब्देषु जात्या गौरयमिति । गुण-शब्देषु गुणेन शुक्ल इति । क्रिया-शब्देषु क्रियया पाचक इति । द्रव्य-शब्देषु द्रव्येण दण्डी विषाणीति । अत्र संबन्धविशिष्टस्येति केचित् । अन्ये त्वर्थशून्यैः शब्दैरेव विशिष्टोऽर्थ इति ।

According to Dinnāga *kalpanā* (*yojanā* or *samāropa*) is five-fold : 1. name, 2. class, 3. quality, 4. action and 5. *dravya* (substance or a single thing or person). These may be illustrated as follows :

- (1) This is Dittha (Mr. So and So);
- (2) this is a cow or a bull;
- (3) this is white;
- (4) this is moving (*calaḥ*), and
- (5) this is the possessor of a stick (*dandī*).

According to Patañjali "There is a fourfold currency of words as instanced in Cow or Bull, White, Moving, Dittha" :

गौः शुक्लश्चलो इत्थ इति "चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः ।" इति महाभाष्यकारः ।

The KLV (p. 47) comments on 'tato' *rthāt* as follows :

ततो व्यपदेशनिमित्ताद् इति । व्यपदेशनिमित्तं रजत-विज्ञानस्य रजतम् । तेन हि तद् रजतविज्ञानं व्यपदिश्यते रजतस्येदं विज्ञानमिति । ततश्च व्यपदेशनिमित्ताद् रजताद् यद् रजतविज्ञानमुत्पन्नं तत्प्रत्यक्षम् । यस्य तु रजतविज्ञानस्य न व्यपदेशनिमित्ताद् रजतादुत्पादोऽपि तु शुक्तिकातस्तस्य न प्रत्यक्षता ।

V. 7. समारोपः किलैतावान् सदर्थालम्बनं च तत् ।

.जात्याद्यपोहे वृत्तिः क्व क्व विशेषः कुतश्च सः ॥

Here, Bhāmaha takes up the definition of perception, given by Dinnāga, for criticism and refutation. "So much or of such measure is indeed the wrong attribution" (Imputing name, etc., to a real thing (or object) is verily wrong attribution), and the perception has as its subject 'a real', 'reality'. If from the reality, *jāti*, class etc., are excluded where could the perception operate ? (What remains of that reality on which the perception could operate ?) And where is

the *viśeṣa* (-*svalakṣaṇa*) ? And how could you distinguish one *svalakṣaṇa* say 'a *ghaṭa*' from another, say 'a *paṭa*' ? (We cannot account for the distinction between the two when both are *viññānas* pure and simple.)" Here we have the refutation of the Sautrāntikas, who accept *viśeṣa* or *svalakṣaṇa* as an external existent (*sat*) from the point of view of the Yogācāra School (or the *Vijñānavādins*).

V 8. तदपोहेषु च तथा सिद्धा सा बुद्धिगोचरा ।
अवस्तुकं चेद् वितथं प्रत्यक्षं तत्त्ववृत्ति हि ॥

Naganatha Sastry (p. 92. v-8) reads 'na' in place of 'ca' in the first quarter.

Tatacharya's text agrees with that of the Banaras edition.

Naganatha Sastry understands by 'Sā' the *vyakti* whereas Tatacharya understands it to mean "*Jāti*". These explanations are hardly convincing. Tatacharya might find support for his interpretation in the phrase "*Jātyādyapohe*" which occurs in the immediately preceding verse (No. 7). As the discussion centres round the proof 'perception' and its subject (*viśaya*) *asādḥāraṇa* (= *viśeṣa*=*svalakṣaṇa*) there does not seem to be any scope for establishing the existence or non-existence of '*jāti*'. The text as it stands is indeed confounding. When we are faced with this obscure line the KLV comes to our help. It reads the line (p. 49 l 20) as follows :

तदपोहे च तथाता शिष्टा सा बुद्ध [बुद्धि-]गोचरः ।

Instead of emending '*buddha*' to '*buddhi*' as done by the Editors, if we emend it to '*buddhya*', the line becomes intelligible :

"With the exclusion of '*jāti*', etc., from the '*rūpa*', etc., (the object of cognition) there remains only '*tathātā*' (the true reality) and that reality does not become the object of cognition (*buddhyagocarah*=*jñānāgocarah*)."¹⁰

The second half of this verse may be translated as follows : "Now, if this reality be only *viññāna* pure and simple, devoid of the perceiver (*grāhaka viññāna-amśa*) and the perceived object (*grāhya viññāna-amśa*), then it is futile (*vitathām*=*asāram*) or worthless for direct perception (*pratyakṣam*) operates on what is real (a real object)."

It is equally possible to interpret '*avastukam*' as '*nirvastukam*'-"*śūnyameva idam sarvam*" i.e. 'void' or better still *nissvabhāvam*' (without any nature, qualities). Even if '*avastukam*' is thus interpreted, in accordance with the *Sūnyavāda* of the Mādhyamikas, the same refutation (*vitatham, pratyakṣam*,

tattvavṛitti hi) holds good.

V. 9 ग्राह्य-ग्राहक-भेदेन विज्ञानांशो मतो यदि ।
विज्ञान-मत्र (? मात्र-)सादृश्याद् विशेषोऽस्य विकल्पना ॥

This verse may be translated as follows :

“If you say that perception / knowledge (*viññāna*) is made up of two parts, viz., the apprehending or cognising part (*grāhaka amśa*) and the apprehended or cognised part (*grāhya amśa*) then, as these two parts, according to you (*viññānavādin*), are alike as *viññāna* (pure and simple), you will have to admit that your *viśeṣa* (or *svalakṣaṇa*) is simply unreal (or that the difference between them will simply be conceptual).”

V. 10. अथदिवेति रूपादेस्तत एवेति नान्यतः ।
अन्यथा घटविज्ञानमन्येन व्यपदिश्यते ॥

The first half of this verse elucidates here the definition of perception formulated by Vasubandhu (when he was an adherent of the Vaibhāṣika school) in his tract called *Vāda-vidhi*. This definition ‘*Tato’ rthāt*’ has been already stated in verse No. 6 above. The verse may be translated as follows :

“Sense-perception is that knowledge which is produced by the (pure) object itself”, the colour, etc. (*tato’ rthāt utpannam jñānam*); by this emphasis of “itself” the ultimately real object, (the mere efficiency of a point-instant); is meant” and not from any other object (resembling it, say, for instance, the knowledge of silver from conchshell). It is certainly a fault (wrong) that the knowledge of the subject, say *ghaṭa*, (a jar) which is gained through *rūpa*, etc., (colour etc.) should be designated by another name (say, *ghaṭa jñāna*).

The remarks of TH Stcherbatsky are very apposite on this definition : “Vasubandhu apparently had produced two definitions. The first is the inserted in his *Vāda-vidhi*. It states that sense-perception is that cognition which is produced from the object itself. By this emphasis of “itself” the ultimately real object, the mere efficiency of a point-instant, is meant.

This definition has been severely criticised by Dignāga, since it too closely resembles the first part of the definition of realists, “Produced from a contact between object and sense-organ”, and is apt to be misinterpreted in a realistic sense. In a subsequent *Vāda-Vidhāna* Vasubandhu probably corrected his definition and made it consonant with the one of Dignāga, but since the work is lost, we cannot know it exactly”.¹¹

In conclusion, we may note that the KLV throws a flood of light on the

rough verses dealing with Logic and Epistemology.

From the comments of the *Kalpalatāviveka Bhāmaha's Pramāṇa-vimarśa*"- treatment of *pramāṇas* (Means of acquiring certain knowledge, proofs) we get the following definite information :

i) Three schools of the Buddhists viz, the Sautrāntikas, the Yogācāra (-Vijñānavāda) and the Mādhyamika (Śūnyavāda), accept the following definition of *Pratyakṣa* :

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम् (Cf p. 47, 11 14-15, and p. 51, 11. 20-21)

(This definition occurs in Dinnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 1.3)

ii) The remaining school of the Buddhists, viz, the Vaibhāṣikas, accepts the following definition of *Pratyakṣa* :

ततोऽर्थात् (इति केचन) (Cf p. 47, 11 15-16 and p. 51, 1. 20)

This definition is formulated by Vasubandhu.

iii) Both these definitions of *Pratyakṣa* are criticised and refuted by Bhāmaha, (Cf p. 51, 11 20-21)

iv) Bhāmaha's criticism and refutation of the definition of *Pratyakṣa* as given by Dinnāga, rests on the authority of Kaṇāda and the like who lay down that *savikalpa pratyakṣa* is a valid source of knowledge. (Cf. p. 50, 11 5-6)

v) Bhāmaha's treatment of the three members (and not five members as in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school) of a syllogism indicates that in this regard he agrees with Dinnāga, the Buddhist Logician. The three members of the syllogism are *pratijñā*, *hetu* and *dṛṣṭānta*. They are accepted by him as authoritative and he quietly ignores the remaining two members (*upanaya* and *viḡamana*) of the five membered syllogism of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas and indirectly rejects their claim to be authoritative. (Cf p. 46. 11 16-18)

vi) Although Dharmakīrti dispenses with the use of *pratijñā* and speaks of only two-membered syllogism, Bhāmaha speaks of the three members of the syllogism in accordance with Dinnāga. (Cf p. 46, 11 19-22)

Notes and References :

1. *Kāvyālamkāra* of Bhāmaha, Edited with English Translation and Notes by P. V. Naganatha Sastry, Tanjore, Second Edition, by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patana, 1970.

2. Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-lamkāra* with *Udyāna Vṛitti*, By D. T. Tatacharya Tiruvadi, 1934.
3. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha Paricchedas I. II X, *arthālaṅkāras* with Exhaustive Notes and the *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, by P. V. Kane, Third edition, 1951.
4. *Kalpalatāviveka* by an anonymous author, ed. by M. L. Nagar and Harishankar Sastry, with an English Introduction by Prof. P. R. Vora, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1968.
5. One feels tempted to interpret the compound word—'hetu-nyāya-lavocayah', to mean a collection of (topics relating to logic from) the hetu-lava-(-*Hetu-bindu*) and Nyāya-lava (-*Nyāyabindu*). Such an assertion on the part of Bhāmaha would mean he is later than Dharmakīrti. The second half of V. No. 28 is said to be an attack against Dharmakīrti who holds that the enunciation of pratijñā is not quite essential and that it can be dispensed with. The second half of V. 61 also is looked upon by some as containing a sly reference to (Dharma) Kīrti.
6. Vide : *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* by Dr. V. Raghavan, 1963 edn. p. 257, p. 723, etc.
7. Vide : "Bhāratiya Sāhitya Śāstra" (Marathi)
8. Dinnāga : *Pramāna-Samuccaya* (1, 3) Mysore, University Publication, Mysore, 1930.
9. Vasubandhu : *Vāda-vidhi*.
10. I am indebted to Pandit Dalsukh D. Malvania for this emendation.
11. Vide : *Buddhist Logic*, Vol I pp 174-175.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that there is no real difference between the meanings of the two titles—*Vāda-vidhi* and *Vāda-vidhāna*. Could they point to one and the same text ?

□ □ □

FRESH LIGHT ON BHĀMAHA-VIVARAṆA

Till recently Udbhata's commentary on the *Kāvyaḷamkāra* of Bhāmaha, generally known as *Bhāmahavivarana* (BV) was presumed to have been lost beyond recovery. In 1962, however, Gnoli published some fragments from this commentary¹. Gnoli's identification of his publication with BV. was doubted by Dr. Raghavan². In his paper on Punaruktavadābhāsa³ Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy came to the conclusion that the published fragments do represent the genuine *Bhāmahavivarana* of Udbhata himself.

The study of *Kalpalatāviveka*⁴ (KLV), however, throws some interesting light on this controversy, and goes a long way in support of Gnoli's claims. Numerous passages of the commentary published by Gnoli are, beyond any shadow of doubt, the source of numerous passages in KLV. They shed abundant light on some of the obscure, ambiguous and knotty verses in chapter V (Nyāyanirṇaya) of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyaḷamkāra*. It borrows most of the passages from BV when treating of *doṣas*. A good many of its *pratīkas*, referring to Bhāmaha's text, present variant readings from the printed texts. Some of them are convincingly genuine readings. The text of BV bristles with uncertain and doubtful readings; it is often mutilated as syllables, words, phrases and occasionally sentences are partly or entirely lost. I quote below about a dozen passages from KLV which throw light on and render the corresponding passages from BV intelligible.

(1) Fr. 16 (a) lines 2-8 : These lines which treat of *anyārtha doṣa* (Bhāmaha I. 40) could be restored with the help of the following passage from KLV⁵ :

ननु चैवं शब्दहीनेऽस्यान्तर्भावः । विषयान्तरप्रयोगेऽप्यपशब्दो भवति न केवलं लोपागमवर्ण-
विकारादीनामयथाकरणे । तथा च-

“अस्वगोण्यादयः शब्दाः साधवो विषयान्तरे” [वाक्यपदीय १. १४९] इति तेन विपूर्वो हरतिः
पादविक्षेपे प्रसिद्धसम्बन्धः, अस्य च परिमोषप्रयुक्तावपशब्दतैव । अपशब्दस्य च स्वप्नेऽप्यप्रयोगाद-
नित्यदोषमध्येऽस्य पाठो न संबद्ध इत्याह-...उपसर्गवशेनेत्यर्थः ।वीत्त इति । “अच उपसर्गात्तः” [पाणिनि
७-४-४७]इति तत्त्वम् । विदत्तशब्दे तु न दृश्यते तत्त्वमिति विशब्दस्यात्र निपातत्वमिति सिद्धम् । विहृतं च इति

विजहुरिति । विहरणं च तत् पादविक्षेपलक्षणायां क्रीडायां प्रसिद्धं न त्वपहरण इत्यर्थः । प्रसिद्धार्थः इति प्रसिद्धोऽर्थः पादविक्षेपलक्षणादि : । पृ. ७, पं. २०-२८.

(2) Fr. 19 lines 5-8 : The commentator, when commenting on Bhāmaha II. 8 treats of the figure *Punarurktābhāsa*⁶ and distinguishes it from *yamaka* and *Lātānuprāsa*. The following extract from KLV is based on these lines of BV :

अयमभिप्रायः सरूपाणां स्वरव्यञ्जनसमुदायानां विन्यासे पुनरुक्ताभासतैव संगच्छते, को ह्यनुमत्तः पुनरुक्तं ब्रूयादिति । तत्र चार्थाभेदेऽपि तात्पर्यभेदश्चेत्तदा लाटीयोऽनुप्रासः उतार्थभेदस्ततो यमकालङ्कार इति कुतः पुनरुक्तदोषप्रसङ्गः, कथं च लाटनुप्रासपर्यनुयोग इति । पुनरुक्ताभासतापि शब्दसारूप्येऽर्थैकत्वानानात्वयोः शब्दसारूप्याभावेऽपि अर्थैकत्वाभासे भवतीति त्रिविधा । अवान्तरभेदापेक्षया तु बहुप्रभेदा वक्ष्यते । अत एव च पुनरुक्ताभासेषु लाटीयोऽनुप्रासः, तदपवादद्वारेण च यमकालङ्कारश्च भवतीत्येतदेव वक्तुं न्याय्यमित्यर्थः ।-पृ. १८६ पं. २४- पृ० १८७ पं. ४.

(3) Fr. 27 a lines 3-4 : In the context of Bhāmaha II. 43 the commentator endeavours to show that the *upamādoṣa* called *Hīnatā*, is, really speaking, no defect at all. The following passage from KLV which is, no doubt, adopted from BV makes these lines intelligible to a great extent :

‘हीनता’ इति...अत्र विकल्पद्वयम् । उपमानोपमेययोर्ययोः सामस्त्येन साधर्म्यं तयोरेवोपमेति वा । उपमेये वा यानि पदानि तान्युपमानोपमेयविशेषणभूतानि साधर्म्यवाचीनि कर्तव्यानि । तत्राद्यं पक्षमधिकृत्याह-सर्वं सर्वेण [भामह २. ४३] इति ।..... न च पक्षान्तरमस्तीति न हीनतालक्षणो दोष इत्यर्थः ।

—पृ० २४५, पं० २५—पृ० २४६ पं० ९

Gnoli has correctly hit on the right reading *vikalpadvaya* in his f. n. 2 (p. 25).

(4) Fr. 39(b) lines 6-7 : Gnoli discusses this passage in his Introduction (p. XXXVI paragraph no. d) where he mentions this Fragment twice as fr. no. 27, which is clearly an error. The topic, discussed here, is about the figure *śleṣa* (that is *śliṣṭa*). A perusal of this entire fragment produces a strong impression that the commentator has introduced here a discussion of the famous doctrine ‘*Arthabhedena tāvat śabdā bhidyante.*’ For restoring these lines the following passages from (Hemacandra’s) *Kāvyaṅanusāsana* and *Kalpalatāviveka* should prove useful : श्रुत्यैक्यग्रहणं लोकप्रतीतितुल्यत्वपरिग्रहार्थम् । तेन दन्त्यौष्ठ्यौष्ठ्यवकारबकारादिवर्णभेदे लघुप्रयत्नतरालघुप्रयत्नतरकृते च भेदे...यमकबन्धो न विरुध्यते ।’ -p. 299 lines 14 17. And, अयमाशयः ।...वाक्यान्तरप्रतिभा वा [V.L. वाक्यार्थान्तरप्रतिभा वा] इति । अलङ्कारान्तरपर्यवसायित्वेनालङ्कारान्तरप्रत्याशया संगृहीताऽप्युपक्रमावस्थायामलङ्कारान्तरस्याप्रतीतेर्वाक्यार्थान्तरप्रतिभा पृथगुपदर्शिता । p. 258 11 3-7

The two lines of the fragment when restored would read as : यत्र तु शब्दानामत्यन्तसरूपाणामपि दन्त्यौष्ठ्यलघुप्रयत्नतरकृतो भेदोऽस्ति तत्र वाक्यार्थान्तरप्रतिभा । तथालङ्कारान्तरे वाक्यान्तरे वा प्रतिभोत्पद्यते ।

(5) Fr. 45 (b) 11 5-6 : The commentator intends this passage to serve as an introduction to Bhāmaha V. 2. In a corresponding passage from KLV we have all the words of this fragment intact, which fact clearly indicates that the author of KLV has adopted the passage From BV. The passage runs as follows :

ननु किमिति सुगतसिद्धान्तप्रमाणयोरेव विचारणम् । सर्वसिद्धान्तानुवर्तनपरो हि काव्यप्रवाहस्तेन कः पक्षपातो बौद्धसिद्धान्तं प्रतीत्याह-प्रायेण...[Bhāmaha V. 2] —पृ० ४५, पं० ८-९

(6) Fr. 47 (a) : The text of this fragment is, on the whole, quite intelligible. This fragment may, however, be read with profit along with KLV (pp. 57-59). A few expressions and lines of this Fr., however, need correction :

1 2 : शब्दाभिव्यक्ति × × × should be read as शब्दाभिव्यक्तिवादिनं प्रति अन्यतरसिद्ध

1 3 : should be read as साधयितुमिष्टो यो धर्मस्तदनुगमने यः सहस्रः पक्षः स सपक्षः । तत्र च यः सन् स हेतुरित्यर्थः⁹ ।

1 5 : सामान्यमिह संवृतिसिद्धि नाभिप्रेतम् : this line should be corrected in the light of सामान्यमिह संवृतिबुद्धिरभिप्रेता¹⁰ ।

1 8 : Should be read as तं च दर्शयितुमाह-इति द्वयैकानुगतित्व्यावृत्ती लक्ष्मसाधुता ॥ V. 25 इति सा पूर्वोक्तया भङ्ग्या¹¹ × [

(7) Fr. 50 (a) 11 2-3 : This passage is easy to restore with the help of the following passage from KLV :

“सो अज्ञानो दोषः” इति । असिद्धत्वमित्यर्थः । ततो हि साध्यस्य ज्ञानं नास्ति । इमे दोषाः इति । इत्थमेव समासो युक्तः । ये पुनरज्ञानं च संशयज्ञानं च विपर्ययश्चेति समस्य तान् कुर्वन्तीत्यज्ञानसंशयज्ञान-विपर्ययकृत इति व्याचक्षते तेषामज्ञानस्य ज्ञानप्रागभावस्यानुत्पाद्यमानत्वात् तत्करणविरोधः¹² ।

(8) Fr. 50 (a) 16 : The following passage from KLV¹³ throws some light on this line :

ननूपमानमेवास्त्विति । उपमाने खलु बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बोपन्यासो दृष्टः । चन्द्र इव मुखमित्यत्र मुखस्य बिम्बता, चन्द्रस्य तु तत्प्रतिबिम्बत्वम् । दृष्टान्तेऽपि च “तनुरियं क्व विलोचनहारिणी” त्यादौ बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावो विद्यते, तत् कथमुपमायामन्तर्भावोऽस्य न स्यादित्यर्थः ।

(9) Fr. 50 (a) 17 : The following line from KLV¹⁴ should help us in restoring this line :

उपमानोपमेयभावविवक्षा साम्यमिवादिप्रयोगश्च.....। क. ल. वि. पृ. ७१ पं. १

When restored it would read : साम्यमिवादिप्रयोगश्च । ‘तदृष्टान्ते नास्ति’ इति नोपमायामन्तर्भावोऽस्याशङ्कनीयः ।

(10) Fr. 50 (a) 18 : The following passage from KLV¹⁵ throws some light on this line : न चैवंविधं लक्षणं “तनुरियं क्व विलोचनहारिणी” इत्यादौ दृष्टान्ते विद्यते । तनुतापसयोर्यथाक्रमं

नवमालिकाकुशगुणाभ्यां सहोपमानोपमेयभावस्याशाब्दत्वात् ।

The line “तनुरियं....” forms a quarter of a stanza; possibly the stanza occurs in the poem *Hayagrīvavadha*, now lost¹⁶.

(11) F. 50 (a) lines 3-5 : These lines are easy to restore with the help of the following passage from KLV¹⁷ :

किं पुनः कारणं साध्यसाधनोपन्यास उपमाने न क्रियते । मुखमिन्दुरिवेत्यत्रेति । एतदुक्तं भवति । उपमाने कुत्सितः साध्यसाधनोपन्यासः सहृदयहृदयहरणभ्रंशप्रसङ्गात् । यद्येवं क्रियते मुखमिदमाह्लादकरं कान्ति-विशेषातिशययोगादिन्दुरिवेति तदा क्लिष्टं काव्यं स्यात् । यथेदं वक्ष्यमाणमुदाहरणम् । एतदेव दर्शयति-तदाह इति ।

These numerous passages, which have their source in *Udbhata's Commentary on The Kāvya-lamkāra of Bhāmaha* clearly suggest that *Bhāmahavivarāṇa* itself must have been ready at hand for the author of KLV¹⁸.

Finally, I refer to one passage from KLV which unambiguously corroborates this inference. The author of KLV (pp 70-71) comments at length on *Bhāmaha V. 56*. In this comment we read :

“तदुक्तम्-

इवादेरप्रतीतापि शब्दसंस्कारतः क्वचित् ।

उपमा गम्यतेऽन्यत्र केवलार्थनिबन्धना ॥ इति ।

यत्त्र विवरणकृता उपमानोपमेयभावविवक्षा साम्यमिवादिप्रयोगश्चेति त्रितयमुद्घोषितं तद् बाहुल्याभिप्रायेण न तु लक्षणतया ।....”

Now, the quotation “*ivāderapratitāpi*” etc. is found introduced in his *Laghuvṛtti* (p. 29, Banhatti's edition) by Pratihārendurāja with the words ‘*tadāhuḥ*’. The author of KLV identifies this quotation as originating from *vivarāṇakṛt*, i. e. *Udbhata*, the author of (*Bhāmaha*-) *Vivarāṇa* and thus indicating that he must have had *Bhāmahavivarāṇa* in front of him.

Notes and References :

1. *Udbhata's commentary on the Kāvya-lamkāra of Bhāmaha*, Roma, Istituto Italiano per II Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1962.
2. Presidential Address, The Twenty-first All India Oriental Conference, Srinagar, October, 1961.
3. “Punaruktavadābhāsa and Genuineness of the published Fragments from *Udbhata's Bhāmatavivarāṇa*,” *The Journal of the Karnatak University VIII*. 1964.
4. L. D. Series No. 17, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bhāratiya Sanskriti Vidyamandira, Ahmedabad-9.

5. Vide p. 7 lines 17-28.
6. Read in this connection Prof. Krishnamoorthy's paper, mentioned in note 3 *supra*.
7. In the *Saṅketa* commentary of Maṅikyacandra on *Kāvya prakāśa* we have almost an identical passage in the same context. Probably they have adopted the quotation from a common source and this source was possibly the *Bhāmahavivarāṇa*.
8. Vide KLV p. 57 l. 18.
9. Vide KLV p. 57 lines 21-22.
10. Vide KLV p. 57 l. 22.
11. Vide KLV p. 58 lines 23-24.
12. Vide KLV p. 70 lines 4-7.
13. Vide KLV p. 70 lines 8-11.
14. Vide KLV p. 71 l. 1.
15. Vide KLV P. 70 lines 18-19.
16. This surmise is based on the context supplied by KLV (p. 78 lines 5-13) : On a festive occasion Hayagrīva sends his son to bring Narakāsura with him. He goes to his capital but learns from the subjects of Narakāsura's death at Kṛṣṇa's hands, and his daughter's departure to forest on account of her bereavement. He then proceeds to meet her in the forest with a view to offering condolences to her; seeing her practising austerities he is struck with love and points out the great disparity between her tender youthful body fit for love's joy and her hard penance.
But there is one serious difficulty which prevents us from making such a surmise. And it is the metre in which the two verses (i तनुरियं...etc. and ii नव वयसि etc. on p. 78) are composed. The quarter, however, unmistakably, reveals the influence of Kālidāsa (*Kumārasambhava*, canto v. 4).
17. p. 71 ll. 9-12.
18. So it was also for Hemacandra who quotes some passages from it. For a contrary view, however, vide Kane's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (p. 127, 1951 ed).



ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ CH. VII RECOVERED

The commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* (A. Bh.) on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*¹ (NŚ) has been lost from the fourth verse in Ch. VII to the end of Ch. VIII. The precise line from where the commentary has been lost is line 16 on page 347 (Vol. I) after the words *ata eva*. The editor has noted this in his footnote². Every student of Sanskrit poetics and aesthetics feels very much the loss of this portion, especially the one that concerns the *Bhāvādhyāya* (Ch. VII). In spite of vigorous efforts by scholars and researchers no MS of the A. Bh. containing the missing portion could be found. In this paper I propose to prove beyond cavil that the portion of the *Kalpalatāviveka*³ (KLV) from p. 286 l. 22 to p. 303 l. 3, dealing with the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* of the NŚ is a straight quotation of the major portion of the original A. Bh. on the *Bhāvādhyāya*. As such the major portion of the lost Ch. VII has been restored and scholars should be happy to welcome it.

The paragraph preceding the treatment of *nirveda* (KLV p. 286) probably explains the commentary of Abhinavagupta on the NŚ VII. 4-5 defining *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* respectively⁴. The portion of the NŚ Ch. VII p. 348 to p. 356 just preceding “*tatra nirvedo nāma*” and the portion which just follows the treatment of the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* from p. 374 to the end of this chapter have been ignored in the KLV. This omission could be explained in two different ways :-

(i) The author of the KLV says he would avoid repeating whatever has been already said in the *Pallava*⁵. So perhaps he is silent on these topics in the KLV.

(ii) The author of the KLV is most probably explaining here Bharata's famous *rasasūtra* that might have been quoted in the *Pallava* in connection with the figure *rasavat*. For he explains the terms *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāribhāva* and then proceeds to comment on the different views of different commentators of the *rasasūtra* as presented in the A.Bh. So there was no occasion for him to deal with these topics.

Hemacandra, the joint authors of the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* (ND) and the anonymous author of the KLV freely utilise the A. Bh, in writing their own works. A comparative study of their treatment of the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* would, therefore, help us in deciding whether the KLV preserves the original A. Bh. on this portion of Ch. VII. With this aim in view I note below in tabular form the identical or nearly identical or corresponding passages between the KĀŚ and the KLV and the ND and the KLV respectively :-

*Kāvyaṅuśāsana*⁶ of Hemacandra *Kalpalatāviveka*

- | | |
|--|--|
| (अ) परस्मिन् यथा-समुद्रदत्तस्य नन्दयन्त्यामन्यानु-
रागशङ्का [पुष्पदूषितके] दुर्योधनस्य वा
भानुमत्याम् (वेणी. २) । -पृ० १३४ | अत एव यान्यगतत्वेन शङ्का यथा समुद्रदत्तस्य
नन्दयन्त्यामन्यानुरागशङ्का । दुर्योधनस्य वा भानुमत्यां,
सापीह शङ्कात्वेन परिगृहीतैव ।-पृ० २८८ |
| (आ) चिन्ता । सा च स्मृतेरन्या । ग्रसनाददनवत्
खेलनाद् गमनवच्च ।...सा च वितर्कात्
ततो वा वितर्क इति वितर्कात् पृथग्भवति
चिन्ता ।-पृ० १३८ | चिन्तानुस्मृतेरन्यैव ।...सर्वधातूनां ह्यर्थोऽन्योन्यतो
भिद्यत एव । तथा हि खेले गताविति यद्यपि पठ्यते
तथापि सविलासगमनमेव विशिष्टं खेलनमिति प्रसिद्धं
खे खेलगामीत्यादौ । ग्रसनं च...विशिष्टम् अदनं न
तु अदनमात्रमेवमन्यत्रावधेयम् ।-पृ० २९२ |
| (इ) अकार्यकरणज्ञानादेर्ब्रीडा... ।-पृ० १३० | ब्रीडा नाम अकार्यकरणात्मिका...। अकार्यकरणशब्देन
तज्ज्ञानमुच्यते ।-पृ० २९३ |
| (ई)चापलम् अविमृश्य कार्यकरणमिति
यावत् । पृ० १३४ | अविमृश्यऽपर्यालोच्य कार्यकरणं चापलमिति यावत् ।-
पृ० २९४ |
| (उ) निद्रोद्धवमित्यनेन निद्राया एव गाढावस्था
सुप्तमित्याह ।-पृ० १३२ | निद्रासमुत्थमित्यनेन निद्राया एव गाढावस्था सुप्तमिति...
माह ।-पृ० २९८ |
| (ऊ)भ्रूविकारमुखरागादीनामाच्छदनकारिणी
चित्तवृत्तिरवहित्थमवहित्था वा । न बहिःस्थं
चित्तं येनेति पृषोदरादित्वात् ।-पृ० १३३ |तेषां भ्रूविकारमुखरागादीनां संवरणमाच्छदनकारि
यच्चित्तवृत्तिरूपं तदवहित्थं न बहिःस्थं चित्तं येनेति
निरुक्तं पृषोदरादित्वाच्च रूपमित्याहुः । पृ० २९९ |
| (ए) ...मृतेः प्रागवस्था मृतिः । साक्षान्मृतावनु-
भावाभावात् । प्रागवस्थेति ।
म्रियमाणवस्थैव अनेन व्याधिना
मे न निर्वातितव्यमित्येवंविधचित्तवृत्तिरूपा ।- | यदि वा व्याधीनां...भावनमनेन व्याधिना न मे निर्वाति-
तव्यमित्येवं रूपं चित्तं तदेव मरणमभिनीयमानमुच्यते ।
स एव हि प्राणानां त्यागः । तेन म्रियमाणवस्थैव...
अनुभावादेरभावात् ।-पृ० ३०१ |
| (ऐ) सन्देहः किंस्विदित्युभयावलम्बी प्रत्ययः संशय-
रूपः । विमर्शो विशेषप्रतीत्याकाङ्क्षात्मिका
इच्छा । बाधकप्रमाणेन पक्षान्तराभावप्रतीतिमात्रं
विप्रतिपत्तिरित्याहुः । येभ्योऽनन्तरं भवितव्यता-
प्रत्ययस्वभावः एकतरपक्षशैथिल्यदायी पक्षान्तर
[? पक्षान्तरं] तुल्यकक्षभावाच्च्यावयन्मुग्गताम- | सन्देहः किञ्चिदि [?] किंस्विदित्युभयावलम्बी प्रत्ययः
संशयरूपः। विमर्शो विशेषप्रतीत्याकाङ्क्षात्मिका इच्छा ।
बाधकप्रमाणेन पक्षान्तराभावप्रतीतिमात्रं विप्रत्ययः ।
विप्रतिपत्तिर्वा । एभ्योऽनन्तरं भवितव्यताप्रत्ययस्वभाव
एकतरपक्षशैथिल्यदायी पक्षान्तरंतुल्यकक्ष्य[?] क्ष]-भावा-
च्यावयन् उन्मगतामन्यस्य दर्शयैस्तर्कः । स च |

न्यस्य दर्शयैस्तर्कः । स च संशयात् पृथगेव ।
संदेहेन तत्त्वबुभुत्सादिरूपस्य विमशदिः
स्वीकारेऽपि कविशिक्षार्थं भङ्ग्या [? भङ्क्त्वा]
निरूपणम् । अन्ये तु-
“धर्मिणि संदेहो धर्मे तु विमशो भ्रान्तिज्ञानं
विप्रतिपत्तिः” इत्याहुः ।-पृ० १४२

- (ओ) तेनान्येषामत्रैवान्तर्भावः । तद् यथा-
दम्भस्यावहित्थे, उद्वेगस्य निर्वेदे, क्षुत्तृष्णादे-
र्लानौ । एवमन्यदप्युह्यम् । अन्ये त्वाहुः
-एतावत्स्वेव सहचारिषु अवस्थाविशेषेषु
प्रयोगे प्रदर्शितेषु स्थायी चर्चणायोग्यो
भवति ।-पृ० १२९

The Nātyadarpaṇa⁹

- (अ) श्रमस्य व्यभिचारित्वेऽप्यन्यव्यभिचारिणं प्रति
विभावत्वे न दोषः ।-पृ० १६४
- (आ) ...सदृशदर्शनम् । आदिशब्दात् सदृशश्रवण-
चिन्तन-संस्कार-रात्रिपक्षाद्भागनिद्रोच्छेद-प्रणि-
धान-पुनःपुनः परिशीलनपूर्वं
दर्शनपाटवादेर्विभावस्य ग्रहः ।-पृ० १६०
- (इ) ज्ञानं विवेकज्ञानं बाहुश्रुत्यं वा । पृ० १६०
- (ई) कार्याज्ञानं नेत्राभ्यां पश्यतोऽपि श्रोत्राभ्यां
शृण्वतोऽपि चेदानीं किं कृत्यमित्यनिश्चयः ।
नेदं वैकल्याचैतन्यस्वभावमित्यपस्मारमोहाभ्यां
भिन्नम् ।-पृ० १६४
- (उ) सुप्तं निद्राप्रकर्षोऽत्र...। प्रकर्षो गाढतभावस्था ।
स्वप्नस्य तात्कालिकविषयज्ञानस्य आयितं
प्रतीति-र्यतस्तत् स्वप्नायितं प्रलपितम् ।
-पृ० १६१
- (ऊ) अपकारिणि स्वयमपकरणाभिलाषः प्रतीकारेच्छा,
परस्यापकाराभावेऽपि परानर्थकरणाभिप्रायरूपः
क्रोध इत्यनयोर्भेदः ।-पृ० १६०
- (ए) धार्ष्ट्यं प्रागल्भ्यम् ।...सर्वानुगतत्वख्यापनार्थं
धार्ष्ट्यं प्रथममुपात्तम् । सभयादिरपि ह्यप्रगल्भो

संशयात् पृथगेव संशयेन तत्त्वबुभुत्सादिरूपस्य विमशदिः
स्वीकारेऽपि कविशिक्षार्थं भङ्क्त्वा निरूपणम् । अन्ये
तु धर्मिणि सन्देहो धर्मे तु विमशो भ्रान्तिज्ञानं
विप्रत्यय इत्याहुः ।-पृ० ३०२

अन्येषां त्वत्रैवान्तर्भावः । तद् यथा दम्भस्यावहित्थे ।
उद्वेगस्य निर्वेदे । क्षुत्तृष्णादेर्लानौ । एवमन्यदप्यु-
ह्यम् । अपरे तु मन्यन्ते कः खलु चित्तवृत्तीर्गणयितुं
समर्थः । गणने वा...शोच्य [? शाक्य] शिक्षित-
चित्तचैतद्वयभेदेन वा...। तथा ह्येतावत्स्वेव सहचारि-
ष्ववस्थाविशेषेषु प्रयोगे प्रदर्शितेषु स्थायी चर्चणायोग्यो
भवति ।-पृ० ३०२-०३

The Kalpalatāviveka

- खेद इति श्रमो विवक्षितस्तेन भावो भावान्तरे विभा-
वतां प्रतिपद्यत एवेति दर्शितम् ।-पृ० २९१
- ...सदृशस्य दर्शनम् श्रवणं वा । चिन्ता प्रणिधानम् ।
अभ्यासः पुनः पुनः परिशीलनम्...पृ० २९३
- विज्ञानं विवेकज्ञानं श्रुतविभवो बाहुश्रुत्यम्...। पृ० २९३
- ...चक्षुर्भ्यामपि पश्यतः श्रोत्राभ्यामपि शृण्वत इति
दर्शयन् मोहादस्याः स्वरूपान्तरं दर्शयति ।-पृ० २९६
- ...निद्राया एव गाढावस्था सुप्तमिति दर्शयन्निद्राया
विषयेभ्यः उपरिरंसात्मकत्वं स्वरूपमाह-स्वप्नायितम्
इति प्रलपनमिति लोके प्रसिद्धं स्वप्नादसाधारणतात्का-
लिकविषयज्ञानाद्भिन्नमेव । स्वप्नस्य अयितं प्रतीतिर्यतः
.....। पृ० २९८
- अमर्ष इति । प्रतिकरणेच्छारूपोऽयं क्रोधादन्य एव ।
-पृ० २९९
- ...तेषां भ्रूविकारमुखरागादीनां संवरणमाच्छादनकारि
यच्चित्तवृत्तिरूपं तदवहित्थं न बहिःस्थं चित्तं येनेति

- न शक्नोत्याकारं संवरीतुम् । विक्रिया भू-
विकार-मुखरागादिका, तस्या रोधः संवरणम् ।
रोधकारकत्वेनोपचाराच्चित्तविशेषोऽपि रोधः, न
बहिःस्था चित्तवृत्तिरिति पृषोदरादित्वादवहित्था ।
-पृ० १६४
- (ऐ) चौर्यादिरूपाद् विभावाद् यद् राजादेर्नैर्घृण्यं
निर्दयत्वं तदौग्र्यम् ।-पृ० १६२
- (ओ) प्रतिभानं मतिः... ...। नवनवोल्लेखशालिनी
प्रज्ञा प्रतिभानम् ।...तर्को [ऊहापोहो^१]विधि-
निषेधविषयौ संभावनाप्रत्ययान्वयव्यतिरेक-
प्रत्ययौ वा । -पृ० १६०
- (औ) प्राणनिरोधरूपं तु मरणं न नाट्ये प्रयोज्यमिति
न तस्य विभावानुभावस्वरूपाणि प्रतिपाद्यन्त
इति ।-पृ० १६१
- (अं) चकिततोद्देगकारी चमत्कारः । अनर्थसंभावनातः
सत्त्वध्रंशो भयमित्यनयोर्भेदः ।-पृ० १६३
- निरुक्तं पृषोदरादित्वाच्च रूपमित्याहुः । प्रगल्भो ह्याकारं
संवरीतुं जानातीति धाष्ट्यग्रहणम्...तेन धाष्ट्यं
सर्वविभावेच्चस्यानुयायीति मन्तव्यम् ।-पृ० २९९
- चौर्यमुपलक्षणमकार्याणां तन्निमित्तं गृहीते जने राजा-
दीनामौग्र्यं निर्दयत्वम् ।-पृ० २९९
- मतिरिति । अपूर्वप्रतिभानरूपा । ऊहापोहावन्वयव्यतिरेक-
प्रत्ययौ विधिनिषेधविषयौ वा संभावनाप्रत्ययौ ।
-पृ० २९९
- तेन प्रियमाणावस्थैव चित्तवृत्तिरूपेह विवक्षिता न तु
मृतावस्था । तत्रानुभावादेरभावात् ।-पृ० ३०१
- इदिति विधूननकारी चमत्कृतिस्वभावत्रासो भयात्
पूर्वापरविचारपूर्वकादन्य एव ।-पृ० ३०१-३०२

These tables should lead us to the obvious inference that the authors of these works draw on a common source and to a further inference that their common source could not have been anything else than the A. Bh. on the *Bhāvādhyāya* (NŚ Ch. VII) which treats of the eight *sthāyibhāvas*, the thirtythree *vyabhicāribhāvas*, and the eight *sāttvikabhāvas*. There is another fact, obvious to all, that the authors of the Kās and the ND, do not reproduce the definitions of the forty-nine *bhāvas*, as they are found in the NŚ, but adapt them and that they do not *fully* borrow the comments in the A. Bh. on them but pick up only such phrases and significant lines from them as they think to be useful for a clear exposition. On the other hand, the author of the KLV reproduces verbatim the definitions of the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* in the same order as found in the NŚ and he also gives fuller comments which agree in parts with the corresponding lines in the Kās and the ND as shown above. From this fact we may therefore, draw a further inference that these fuller passages, presenting comments on thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas*, found in the KLV represent the original portion of the A. Bh. on the *Bhāvādhyāya*. That the author of the KLV borrows this whole section from the A. Bh. should not surprise us if we remembered that elsewhere too in his work he has borrowed long sections from the NŚ and the A. Bh. (Vide pp 33-40, and pp. 101-104) and from the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana* commentary of Abhinavagupta on it (vide pp. 105-186).

This conclusion finds strong support in the similarity of language, style, diction and the method of exposition found in this portion and the rest of the A. Bh. It is generally true that such a similarity, especially when we speak of post-Pāṇini Sanskrit writers, is no safe or sure criterion of an author's identity. In the present case however, one could safely rely on this consideration. If this portion of the commentary from the KLV were to be printed as the A. Bh. on the *Bhāvādhyāya* no one would ever have dreamt of doubting its genuineness. So complete, so perfect is the similarity, even identity. The references in this portion to the views of Śrīśaṅkuka¹¹, Kecit¹², Ghaṇṭuka¹³, (? Ghaṇṭaka), Ṭikākāra¹⁴, Bhaṭṭatota¹⁵, Kavikulacakravartī¹⁶. Anye¹⁷, Cāṇakyācārya¹⁸, Apare¹⁹, Tārīkika, Sāmkhya and Śocyā (? Śākya) are such as could come only in the *Abhinavabhāratī*.

Apart from these considerations, there is an unassailable piece of internal evidence which conclusively and decisively proves that this portion in the KLV preserves the major portion of the A. Bh. on the *Bhāvādhyāya* (NŚ Ch. VII) and it is this :

In the course of his discussion whether the *nirveda* is the *sthāyī* of *sāntarasa* Abhinavagupta says as follows :

यत्तु व्यभिचारिव्याख्यानावसरे वक्ष्यते तच्चिरकालविभ्रमविप्रलब्धस्योपादेयत्वनिवृत्तये । यत् सम्यग्ज्ञानम्-
यथा- 'वृथा दुग्धोऽनङ्गान् स्तनभरनता गौरिति चिरं (? चिरं)
परिष्वक्तो षण्ढो युवतिरिति लावण्यरहितः ।
कृता वैडूर्याशा विकचकिरणे काचशकले
मया मूढेन त्वां कृपणमगुणज्ञं प्रणमता ॥' इति
तन्निर्वेदस्य खेदरूपस्य भावत्वेन । एतच्च तत्रैव वक्ष्यामः ॥²⁰

Now, this promised description of *nirveda* is found in this portion of the KLV :

निर्वेद इति दारिद्र्यव्याध्यादिकारणजन्यो रुदितनिःश्वसितादीनां कारणं मनोविकारो दुःखरूपो भावविशेषः ।
शेषेष्वप्येवं विवृतिः । तत्त्वज्ञानं चिरं भ्रान्त्या गुणितहानोपादानादिप्रबन्धस्य भ्रमनिवृत्तौ सत्यां धिङ् मां वृथा
भ्रान्तमिति निर्वेदं जनयति । यथा—

वृथा दुग्धोऽनङ्गान् स्तनभरनता गौरिति चिरं
परिष्वक्तः षण्ढो युवतिरिति लावण्यरहितः ।
कृता वैडूर्याशा विकचकिरणे काचशकले
मया मूढेन त्वां कृपणमगुणज्ञं प्रणमत (? ता) ॥²¹

On the strength of this evidence²² alone we could, without any hesitation whatsoever, assert that the KLV (pp. 286-303) preserves a major portion of the A. Bh. on the *Bhāvādhyāya* (NŚ Ch. VII) which is presumed by Indologists as lost.

Notes and References :

1. GOS, Second Revised Edition, Vol I, Baroda, 1956.
2. एतस्मात्प्रभृति नवमाध्यायपर्यन्तं व्याख्या नोपलब्धा ।
Dr. J. L. Masson and Prof. M. V. Patwardhan observe in their recent work, *Śāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Aesthetics* (1969) :
“All of the seventh Chapter of the *Abhinavabhāratī* but the very beginning has been lost, which is a great misfortune, since Abhinava refers to it frequently. It must have been a large and important section of the A. Bh.” (p. 120 f. n. 2)
3. L. D. Series No-17, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bhāratīya Sanskriti Vidyamandira, Ahmedabad-9, 1968.
4. One may reasonably surmise that the *Kalpalatā* or the *Pallava* commentary on the *Kalpalatā* must have quoted NS VII. 4-5 and used the A. Bh. on it for explaining the terms *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* occurring in Bharata's *rasasūtra*; and the author of the KLV is explaining here what is *durbodha* (Unintelligible) in the *Pallava* commentary (vide *infra* f. n. 5). This surmise is based on a few significant words in this paragraph of the KLV : ‘Āsrayāḥ’ (p. 286. 1. 12) which occurs in NŚ VII. 7 and *Vāgādyabhinayasahitā* (*vibhāvyaṅte*) (P. 286 11. 13-14) which occurs in the A. Bh on it (p. 347 1.14) and ‘Vāgāṅgopāṅgasamyuktaḥ’ the V. L. for Śākhopāṅgasamyuktaḥ) in NŚ VII. 5. I have not been able to trace the *pratīkas* ‘Pratīhetavaḥ’ (p. 286. 1.13), ‘Anubhāvān’ (p. 286. 1. 16), and ‘Yena’ (p. 236. 1.19) as they are most probably parts of the author's own comments in elucidation of the *Kalpalatā* text (now lost).
5. Vide the opening verse of the KLV :
यत् पश्ये न विवृतं दुर्बोधं मन्दबुद्धिभिश्चापि ।
क्रियते कल्पलतायां तस्य विवेकोऽयमतिसुगमः ॥
6. Second Revised edition, Sri Mahāvīra Jaina Vaidyalaya, Bombay, 1964.
7. That this incident to be portrayed in this play is vouchsafed by *Abhinavabhāratī* :
एतदेवाभिमन्यमानेन पुष्यदूषितकेऽशोकदत्तादिशब्दाकर्णनेन समुद्रदत्तस्य शङ्का योपनिबद्धा सा न दोषाय निर्वहणान्तोपयोगिनी हि नन्दयन्तीनिर्वासनं तस्याश्च गृहान्तरावस्था ।... न तेन ब्रह्मयशःस्वामियशः खण्डितं.....।-
अभिनवभारती (अध्याय १८) पृ० ४३२.
8. The reading शोच्य makes no sense. Probably it is a scribal error for शाक्यं, Vide f. n. 9 *infra*.
9. Revised Second Edition, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1959.
10. The printed text leaves out this term. The context, however, demands that we must have this reading to make the sentence intelligible.
11. अप्रियश्रवणे...इति श्रीशङ्कुः । तच्चासत् । p. 295.
12. क्रोधेऽयं न व्यभिचारीति केचित्तदसत् । p. 296.
13. शब्दादयस्तद्गता एवेति घण्टुकः [?] । p. 298.
14. चित्तं विकरेतीति चित्तविकार इति टीकाकारः । p. 300.

15. भट्टतोतस्तु.....। p. 300.
 उक्तं च भट्टतोतेन । p. 302.
16. एतदेव हि प्रतिजागरितं कविकुलचक्रवर्तिना "तिष्ठेत् कोपवशात्" (विक्रमोर्वशीय ४.२) इत्यादिना । p. 300.
17. अन्ये तु धर्मिणि सन्देहो धर्मे तु विमर्शो भ्रान्तिज्ञानं विप्रत्यय इत्याहुः । p. 302.
18. तथा च-दैवमचिन्त्यं पुरुषकारस्तु चिन्त्य इति वदन् चाणक्याचार्यस्तर्कपूर्वकमेव समस्तं व्यवहारमाह । p. 302.
19. अपरे तु मन्यन्ते कः खलु चित्तवृत्तीर्गणयितुं समर्थः । गणने वा तार्किकतर्किततात्मगुणनवकेन वा सांख्यसंख्यातबुद्धिधर्माष्टकविपर्ययादिप्रत्ययचतुष्टयेन वा शोच्य? शाक्य]शिक्षितचित्तचैतद्वयभेदेन वा सर्वसंग्रहे किमियता । p. 302.

In passing, it may be noted that the term शोच्य in the present context makes no sense. This is a scribal error for शाक्य which reading eminently suits the context. Abhinava elsewhere speaks of शाक्याचार्य (रहुल). Vide A. Bh. XXII p. 164.

20. A. Bh. Ch VI pp. 334-335.
21. KLV, p. 287.
22. There are two more statements of Abhinavagupta promising to discuss the matter at length in his commentary on the 'Bhāvādhyāya' :
- (i) चित्रपुस्ताद्यपि च नाट्यस्यैवार्थभागाभिष्यन्दो यथा सर्गबन्धादि शब्दभागाभिष्यन्दः । एतच्च 'योऽर्थो हृदयसंवादी' (ना. शा. ७-१० [? ७-७]) इत्यत्र चित्तवृत्तवक्ष्यामः । —(A. Bh. Ch VI, p. 291)
- (ii) यत्रापि व्यभिचारिणि व्यभिचार्यन्तरं संभाव्यते...एतच्च 'यथा नरेन्द्र (नाट्यशास्त्र, ७-१० [? ७-७] वृत्ति; पृ० ३४९) इत्यत्र वक्ष्यामः । —A. Bh. Ch. VII, p. 345

The KLV, however does not treat of these two passages from the NŚ. Naturally, we cannot verify if the KLV has presented these promised discussions.

Again, in the A. Bh. on NŚ Ch. XXXII pp. 152-153 Abhinavagupta states that the nature of *sattva* has been explained at great length in the *Bhāvādhyāya* (and *Rasādhyāya*). This portion, dealing with *sattva* and *sāttvikabhāvas*, however, does not find place in the KLV, probably it was dealt with in the *Kalpalatāpallava*. The discussion of this topic in the *Kāś* (pp. 144-147) is possibly based on this portion in the A.Bh.. on the *Bhāvādhyāya*, now lost. This guess is hazarded on the strength of a few significant phrases common to the A. Bh. and the *Kāś*. Compare for instance :

इह चित्तवृत्तिरेव संवेदनभूमौ संक्रान्ता देहमपि व्याप्नोति । सैव च सत्त्वमित्युच्यते । तत्र चान्यक्तं यत् संवित्-प्राणभूमिद्वयानिषतितं यत् सत्त्वं तत् भावाध्यायसंश्रयत्वेनैव विज्ञेयम् । —A. Bh. III. 22 p. 152

संवेदनरूपात् प्रसृतं यत् सत्त्वं तद् विचारितम् । अन्यत् तु देहधर्मत्वेनैव स्थितं सात्त्विकम् ।

—A. Bh. 22 p. 153

and ते (सात्त्विकभावाः) च प्राणभूमिप्रसृतस्यादिसंवेदनवृत्तयो.....।

—Kāś, p. 144



ŚRĪGĀRĀṆAVACANDRIKĀ (ALĀṆKĀRASAMĠRAHA) OF VIJAYAVARṆĪ

INTRODUCTION

1. CRITICAL APPARATUS

Śrīgārāṇavacandrikā (ŚC) of Vijayavarṇī is being published for the first time from the only available MS. Dr. A. N. Upadhye to whose efforts I owe this MS. could not get any other MS. of Vijayavarṇī's work—perhaps it does not exist. This MS. on which the text is based, is in the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah, (Bihar). In Praśastisam᠅raha* Pt. K. Bhujabali Sastri describes it :

Manuscript No. 231 Śrīgārāṇavacandrikā
Kha
Author : Vijayavarṇī
Subject : Alāṅkāra (Poetics)
Language : Sanskrit

Length : 8.5" (21.6 cm); Breadth 7" (17.8 cm) Condition : Good;
Manuscript : Paper manuscript; No. of lines per folio about 11, No. of letters per line : 20 to 22.

The MS. opens thus :

शृङ्गारार्णवचन्द्रिके अलंकार
श्री अनन्तनाथाय नमः ॥ निर्विघ्नमस्तु ॥
जयति संसिद्धकाव्यालापपद्माकरेयं

and ends with

...श्रवणबेलुगुलक्षेत्रनिवासि. बि. विजयचन्द्रेण जैनक्षत्रियेण इदं ग्रंथं समाप्तं लेखीति. मंगलमहा ॥श्री॥

Generally speaking, the condition of the MS is good but, occasionally, we are faced with lacunae in it. Wherever possible I have filled up these gaps. I have corrected scribal errors; and the readings, about which I felt doubtful, I have

noted in the footnotes. In some cases I have corrected the readings by referring to the passages in the books used by the author. I have spared no pains in presenting the text of ŚC as faithfully as was possible in the circumstances.

2. THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF VIJAYAVARNĪ

Nothing is known about the personal history of Vijayavarnī beyond what he has himself told us in the *praśasti* and the *puṣṭikā* to his work¹ : he was a disciple of Munīndra Vijayakīrti, a devout adherent of the doctrine of Syādvāda, propounded by the great Jinas². In the course of a literary discourse he was once asked by King Kāmirāja of Baṅgavādī to explain the various aspects of poetics. At the King's request he composed *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* called *Śṛṅgārārṇavacandrikā* (ŚC).³ This work, while elucidating the different topics in poetics, sings the glory of King Kāmirāja through the examples with which he illustrates the different points.⁴ In the introduction to his work he particularly refers to the poetry of Karnāṭa poets like Guṇavarman. This reference would lead us to believe that he had himself studied their poetry. A perusal of the ŚC would reveal that he had studied the standard works on poetics namely, those of Daṇḍī, Bhoja, Dhanamjaya, Mammata and the like, Vijayavarnī was in personal association with king Kāmirāja. Naturally, his date depends on that of King Kāmirāja.

3. DATE OF KING KĀMIRĀJA

In his *Praśasti* the author gives the geneology of his patron; and according to Pt. Bhujabali Sastri and Dr. Nemicandra Sastri, our author's information does not conflict with historical facts. Viranarasimha ruled at Baṅgavādī (1157 A. D.). He had a brother called Pāṇḍyarāja. Candrasekhaṛa, the son of Viranarasimha, came to the throne in A. D. 1208, and his younger brother Pāṇḍyappa, in A. D. 1224. Viṭṭhaladevi, their sister, was appointed regent in A. D. 1239. Then her son, called Kāmirāja, came to the throne in A. D. 1264⁵.

Our author wrote his ŚC⁶ at the request of this King Kāmirāja (name is spelt as Kamarāyā, Kāmirāya and Kāmīrāya in the MS) Vijayavarnī must have, therefore, composed his ŚC in the last quarter of the thirteenth century (A. D.).

A comparative study of the nearly common or corresponding passages between ŚC and *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa* (PRY), and ŚC and *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, however, raises doubts regarding the date of composition of Vijayavarnī's work. Dr. Kane assigns PRY to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Pandit Balkrishnamurti assigns Amṛtānandayogin to the thirteenth century whereas C. Kuhnana Raja assigns him to the beginning of the second half

of the fourteenth century. The date of Amṛtānandayogin remains thus uncertain. A comparative study instituted by me leads me to believe that Vijayavarṇī has much common with PRY and *Alamkārasamgraha* for the treatment of a few topics. In the present state of our knowledge the question of Vijayavarṇī's date evades definite determination, and it is but right to keep it open till definite and conclusive evidence comes forth.

4. VIJAYAVARṆĪ'S POETRY

In the introduction to his ŚC Vijayavarṇī refers to himself as 'Kaviśaktibhāsurā'⁷ and as 'Kaviśvara'⁸ and to his own work in glowing terms⁹. For his *kārikās* he is deeply indebted to authoritative works on poetics and he expressly states, on a few occasions, that he has followed 'Pūrva-Śāstra'. The illustrations and introductory stanzas are, however, his own. A few of these illustrations would appear to have been modelled on those found in his authorities. Considering his verses it is difficult to admit his claim to high poetic power or to the title 'Kaviśvara'. His poetry is rather pedestrian and highly conventional. There is hardly anything which enlivens his ŚC. His *ślokās* are easy to understand. At handling elaborate metres he is not so adept. He is guilty at a number of places of the metrical defect called *yatibhaṅga*. He profusely uses expletives. Occasionally, we come across similes which are striking¹⁰; but the work, as a whole, has value rather for its subjectmatter than for its literary merit.

5. THE TITLE OF THE PRESENT WORK

In the course of his introduction¹¹ to the present work the author tells us that at the request of King Kāmirāja he composed *Alamkārasamgraha* called ŚC. The colophon¹² refers to the title as 'Śrīngārāṇavacandrikā-nāmnī, *alamkārasamgraha*...'. From these references it is crystal clear that the author gives 'Alamkārasamgraha' as the general name to the work and ŚC as the distinguishing appellation. The name 'Alamkārasamgraha' consists of two words: (1) *alamkāra* and (2) *samgraha*. The word *alamkāra* stands here obviously not in its restricted sense of figures of speech but in its wider sense denoting all such factors as word and sense that should find place in poetry, *rasa*, *bhāva*, *guṇa*, *vṛtti*, *rīti*, *śayyā*, *pāka*, *alamkāras* and *doṣas* (which a poet should avoid in his composition), in short, Sanskrit poetics. *Samgraha* primarily means a collection but here it signifies compendium¹³ or a brief exposition. *Alamkārasamgraha* therefore means: A compendium or a brief exposition of Sanskrit poetics¹⁴, and metaphorically, the work dealing with it.

According to some, *samgraha* comprises three parts, namely, *uddeśa* (simple enumeration), *lakṣaṇa* (definition) and *parīkṣā* (examination or

exposition). The present work contains all the three.

The title ŚC is made up of three words : 1. śṛṅgāra, 2. arṇava and 3. candrikā. The word śṛṅgāra denotes one of the eight or nine *rasas* bearing that name; *arṇava* means an ocean; and *candrikā* moonlight. The whole title, therefore, means : 'Moonlight to the ocean of Śṛṅgāra'¹⁵. The word *candrikā*¹⁶ at the end of compounds means elucidation or throwing light on the subject treated. The author compares his work with *candrikā*—moonlight, which is so very lovely and delightful, and thereby suggests that it is a delight to read and study his work which is (implicitly claimed to be) so lucid in its method of composition and style.

The title may also be explained as : "The work imparting special knowledge about poetics covering śṛṅgāra-rasa and allied topics."¹⁷

The work does not prominently treat of śṛṅgāra nor the author has anything new to say regarding śṛṅgāra as Bhoja had in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. The reason why śṛṅgāra finds a place in the title is probably this : Śṛṅgāra *rasa* is regarded as the prince among sentiments (*rasarāja*). When this very essential and vital topic of poetics is mentioned in the title, it automatically follows that other, comparatively less important, topics of poetics are implied by it or covered under it.

6. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF ŚC

The work opens with a homage to Lord Jina, and goes on to describe some of predecessors of King Kāmirāja, the patron. The first chapter¹⁸ mainly deals with consequences ascribed to initial letters of any composition and to the metrical feet employed in it.

The second chapter¹⁹ enumerates seven groups of poets and deals with fourfold sense and fourfold power of word.

The third chapter²⁰ deals with *Rasa*, *Bhāva* and their varieties with illustrations of each and every type.

The fourth chapter²¹ is a study of the types of hero and heroine and their friends and messengers and their rivals.

The fifth chapter²² treats of ten *Guṇas*.

The sixth chapter²³ makes a study of *Rīti* and its kinds.

The seventh chapter²⁴ deals with *Vṛtti* and its varieties.

The eighth chapter²⁵, which is the shortest of all, deals with the concepts

śayyā of and pāka.

The ninth chapter²⁶, which is the longest of all deals with Arthālamkāras.

Lastly, the tenth chapter²⁷ treats of Doṣas in a poetic composition and also of circumstances when they cease to be so.

7. SOURCES OF THE ŚC

A striking feature of this work is that all the examples given as illustrations of the different points, are composed by Vijayavarnī himself and go to glorify King Kāmirāja. In this respect it resembles Vidyādharma's Ekāvalī (1285-1325 A. D.) Vidyānātha's PRY (1300-1325 A. D.)

As the work is composed in the decadent period of Sanskrit Literature and as it deals with a scientific subject, poetics, on which authoritative treatises of masterminds were already in existence, it would not be fair on one's part to expect any originality or contribution to poetics from Vijayavarnī. Occasionally, he clearly states that his descriptions are in accordance with earlier authorities²⁸. A perusal of his work reveals that he had carefully studied the authorities on poetics. The matter relating to the predictive character of the initial letters and metrical feet, which the author treats of in Chapter I, is generally described in works on metrics. Some early works on metrics are irretrievably lost but a few passages from such works are preserved in the works of later writers where they are quoted, perhaps directly from the original sources but mostly they appear at second hand, quoted from some writer who quotes them. Thus some ślokās are quoted by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in his commentary on Vṛttaratnākara with the introductory remark : *taduktam* Bhāmahena²⁹. These ślokas inform us of Varṇaphala and Gaṇaphala. It is very doubtful if this Bhāmaha is the same man who wrote *Kāvyaśāstram*. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa also quotes some passages describing the deities of Gaṇas and auspicious or inauspicious character of the initial Gaṇas with the introductory remark :

अन्यैस्तु देवताफलस्वरूपाण्येषामुक्तानि-

It is the authors of *Alamkārasaṅgraha* and ŚC who have introduced this topic in works on poetics. In Chapter II the author gives a sevenfold classification of poets based on their taste or aptitude for a particular type of literary composition. This classification is somewhat different from the eightfold classification of poets given for the first time by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyaśāstram*³⁰. Whereas Rājaśekhara names the groups of poets and adds stanzas to illustrate the type of literary composition of each one of them, Vijayavarnī gives a definition of each one of the groups of poets but does not

illustrate the types of their literary composition—ŚC and *Alaṃkārasaṅgraha*, however, agree in their classification and definition of groups of poets leading to the conclusion that one of them must have borrowed from the other³¹.

In the same chapter the author treats of the fourfold sense of words : 1. Mukhyārtha with its four kinds ((i) Jāti (ii) Kriyā (iii) Guṇa and (iv) Dravya) 2. Lakṣyārtha, 3. Gauṇārtha and 4. Vyaṅgyārtha, and the fourfold power of words : 1. Abhidhā 2. Lakṣaṇā (with its three kinds : (i) Jahatī (ii) Ajahatī and (iii) Jahatyajahatī) 3. Gauṇī and 4. Vyañjanā. It is the Mīmāṃsakas who look upon Gauṇī as a separate power of words³². This whole discussion is, generally speaking, based on *Kāvyaprakāśa* (Ullāsas II and III).

In Chapter III the author deals with Rasa and Bhāva and their divisions. He treats of nine Sthāyibhāvas, nine Rasas, Vibhāvas (Ālambana and Uddīpana), Anubhāvas, eight Sāttvikabhāvas and thirty three Vyabhicāri (Sañcāri) bhāvas, and such details about Rasas as the primary and the derivative Rasas, (their inter relations), their harmonies and conflicts, their colours (Varṇa) and their presiding deities (Adhidevatā). He clearly acknowledges his indebtedness to ancient or earlier authorities on the subject³³. A study of his definitions of technical terms relating to Rasa-Bhāva and the like corroborates his statement. Two points, however, deserve special mention : his description of the different factors relating to śānta rasa is typically Jain³⁴ and is original; another remarkable point is that the author mentions Para-Brahma as the presiding deity of Śrṅgāra. In his celebrated commentary³⁵ on *Nāṭyaśāstra* Abhinavagupta writes :

वीरे महेन्द्रदेवः स्यात् बुद्धः शान्तोऽब्जजोऽद्भुतः । इति शान्तवादिनः केचित् पठन्ति । बुद्धो जिनः परोपकारैकपरः प्रबुद्धो वा ।

From this statement it is clear that the author had not Abhinavabhārati before him but some other text where Para-Brahman has been mentioned as its presiding deity. No early work on *Alaṃkārasāstra* which would be regarded as standard and well-known makes any reference to Para-Brahman as its presiding deity. Dr. Raghavan states that “the *Alaṃkārasarvasva* of Harṣopādhyāya (?), written for one Gopāladeva, makes the supreme spirit, Para-Brahman, as the Devatā of Śānta³⁶. We, however, do not know the exact date of this work which would have enabled us to determine the interrelation between these two works. *Alaṃkārasaṅgraha* of Amṛtānandayogin speaks of Para-Brahman as the presiding deity of śāntarasa. There is a close agreement between ŚC of Vijayavarṇī and *Alaṃkārasaṅgraha* of Amṛtānandayogin in their treatment of some common topics from poetics³⁷. The dates of these two works as proposed

by scholars³⁸ do not, however, permit us to state categorically that Vijayavarṇī has drawn upon Amṛtānandayogin's work.

In Chapter IV the author deals with characters : the hero, the heroine and their types, the rivals of the hero and the Dūtīs. A comparative study of this chapter and the second Prakāśa of Daśarūpaka reveals that Vijayavarṇī is heavily indebted to Dhanamjaya in his treatment of the characters³⁹. He differs with Dhanamjaya on three points :

1. Dhanamjaya speaks of three friends (Sahāyas) of the hero⁴⁰ : 1. Pīṭhamarda (Patākānāyaka), 2. Viṭa, and 3. Vidūṣaka : Vijayavarṇī adds the fourth Nāgarika⁴¹ to the list.

2. Dhanamjaya mentions three types of heroines⁴² : 1. Svīyā (=Svastrī or Svakīyā), 2 Anyā (=Anyastrī or Parakīyā) and 3. Sādhāraṇā strī (Sādhāraṇā).

Vijayavarṇī makes them four⁴³ by adding one more type viz. Anūḍhā. He, however, says that according to one view, Anūḍhā is parakīyā only and hence there are three types of heroines only.

3. In Dhanamjaya's view if absence is due to death the love sentiment cannot be present⁴⁴. Vijayavarṇī advocates the view that Karuṇātmaka-vipralambha can be present if one of the two, (the lover and his beloved) passes away and the other laments his or her death⁴⁵. Now, Vidyānātha⁴⁶ also speaks of four Sahāyas of the hero but his list has Ceṭa and no Nāgarika. Rudraṭa⁴⁷ and Dhanamjaya⁴⁸ speak of two types of Parakīyā or Anyastrī : Kanyakā and Anyoḍhā, Vijayavarṇī mentions Parakīyā and Anūḍhā (=Kanyakā) separately and makes four types of heroines. Of course, he is fully aware of the views of Rudraṭa and Dhanamjaya that Anūḍhā (=Kanyakā), too is regarded as not one's own (Parakīyā). Finally, in setting forth the four kinds of Vipralambhaśrīṅgāra he has followed Rudraṭa⁴⁹.

In Chapter V the author treats of Guṇas. A careful and comparative study of the definitions of these ten Guṇas with those given in the *Kāvyaḍarsā* reveals that Vijayavarṇī closely followed Daṇḍī⁵⁰, and occasionally Vāmana⁵¹. Vijayavarṇī paraphrases Daṇḍī's definitions⁵².

In Chapter VI the author treats of Rīti and its four kinds : 1. Vaidarbhī 2. Gauḍī, 3. Pāñcālī, and 4. Lāṭī. It is Rudraṭa⁵³ who for the first time added Lāṭī to the three well-known Rītis set forth by Vāmana. Agnipurāṇa⁵⁴ and Jayadeva's Candrāloka⁵⁵ too speak of these four Rītis. In Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṅṭhābharaṇa*⁵⁶ the Rītis number six with the addition of Āvantikā and Māgadhī.

The definition of Rīti given by the author is in agreement with the one set forth by Vidyānātha in his PRY⁵⁷. Vidyānātha, however, speaks of three Rītis only, omitting Lāṭī as has been done by Mammata.

The definitions of the four Rītis as laid down in ŚC⁵⁸ and Alamkārasaṅgraha are in close agreement. The definitions of the three Rītis are partly in agreement with those of Vāmana⁵⁹.

In Chapter VII the author treats of six Vṛttis—1. Kaiśikī, 2. Ārabhaṭī, 3. Bhāratī, 4. Sāttvatī, 5. Madhyamā Kaiśikī and 6. Madhyamā Ārabhaṭī. These six Vṛttis are first dealt with by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatikaṅṭhābharana*, but as Śabdālamkāras (Chapter II. 34-38) and after him by Vidyānātha in his PRY (Kāvya-prakaraṇa, pp. 57-63). Vijayavarṇī's treatment of this topic bears remarkable resemblance to that of Vidyānātha's⁶⁰.

In chapter VIII we find an exposition of the conception of Śayyā and Pāka. No doubt, the conception of Pāka is found in Vāmana's *Kāvyaalamkārasūtra-vṛtti* and Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, but the striking thing is that the definitions of Śayyā and Pāka as given by Vijayavarṇī are in close agreement with the corresponding ones in Vidyānātha's PRY :⁶¹

पदानामानुगुण्यं वान्योन्यमित्रत्वमुच्यते ।
यत् सा शय्या कलाशास्त्रनिपुणैर्विदुषां वरैः ॥ —VIII. 2

Cf. या पदानां परान्योन्यमैत्री शय्येति कथ्यते ।
...अत्र पदविनिमयासहिष्णुत्वाद् बन्धस्य
पदानुगुण्यरूपा शय्या । —PRY p. 67

आलम्ब्य शब्दमर्थस्य द्राक् प्रतीतिर्यतोऽजनि ।
स द्राक्षापाक इत्युक्तो बहिरन्तःस्फुरदसः ॥
आलम्ब्य शब्दमर्थस्य द्राक्प्रतीतिर्यतो न हि ।
स नालिकेरपाकः स्यादन्तर्गण्ड (? गूढ) रसोदयः ॥ —VIII. 6-7

द्राक्षापाकः स कथितो बहिरन्तःस्फुरदसः ।
स नारिकेलपाकः स्यादन्तर्गूढरसोदयः ॥ —PRY pp. 67-69

In Chapter IX the author gives an exposition of 47 Arthālamkāras. Of these, he defines the first 33 Arthālamkāras, including 33 divisions of Upamā and 20 divisions of Rūppaka, after Daṇḍī's *Kāvya-darśa*⁶². The rest of the Arthālamkāras are possibly defined by the author keeping in view Rudraṭa's Āryās dealing with them.

In Chapter X the author treats of Kāvya-doṣas viz; Pada-doṣas, Vākya-doṣas, Artha-doṣas and Rasa-doṣas, and also describes the circumstances in

which the Doṣas cease to be so. His treatment of Kāvya-doṣas clearly reveals his considerable indebtedness to Mammaṭa⁶³ who treats of the Doṣas in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* (Ullāsa VII). Mammaṭa has utilised earlier writers on this topic and added new Doṣas which he himself has discovered. Vijayavarnī follows Mammaṭa's classification of Doṣas *in toto*.

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Notes and References :

- * Pages 73-76; published by Nirmal Kumar Jaina, Secretary, Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana Arrah. 1942.
- 1. इति परमजिनेन्द्रवदनचन्द्ररविनिर्गतस्याद्वादचन्द्रिकाचकोरविजयकीर्तिमुनीन्द्रचरणाब्जचञ्चरीकविजयवर्णिविरचिते श्रीवीरनरसिंहकामिणजवङ्गनरेन्द्रशरदिन्दुसंनिभकीर्तिप्रकाशके....
- 2. स राजा काव्यगोष्ठीषु सभाजनविभूषितः ।
अपृच्छद्द्वितीयं नाम्ना कविताशक्तिभासुम् ॥ I. 19
It appears, Vijayavarnī was also known as Dvitiya.
- 3. Vide footnote No. 1, *supra*.
- 4. गुणवर्मादिकर्नाटकवीनां सूक्तिसंचयः ।
वाणीविलासं देयात्ते रसिकानन्ददायिनीम् ॥ I. 7.
- 5. Vide Praśasti-saṅgraha (pp. 76-78) edited by Pt. K. Bhujbali Sastri, Arrah, 1942 and “दे अलंकार ग्रन्थों की पाण्डुलिपियाँ” by Dr. Nemicandra Sastri in Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, Part XXIII, Kirāṇa I, Dec. 1963.

6. Vide *infra*, Sources of ŚC.
7. I. 19.
8. I. 26.
9. I. 23-28.
10. III. I, IX. 62.
11. इत्थं नृपप्रार्थितेन मयालङ्कारसंग्रहः ।
क्रियते सूरिणा नाम्ना शृङ्गारर्णवचन्द्रिका ॥ I. 22.
12. Vide colophon at the end of Chapters I, II, IX and X :
विजयवर्णिविरचिते शृङ्गारर्णवचन्द्रिकानाम्नि अलङ्कारसंग्रहे...
13. संग्रहः संचित्य ग्रहणं स्वीकारः संचयनमित्यर्थः । अथवा संक्षेपेण स्वरूपकथनम् ।
14. अलङ्काराणां संग्रहः संक्षेपेण स्वरूपकथनमित्यर्थः ।
15. शृङ्गारेऽर्णव एव तस्य चन्द्रिका प्रकाशिका इत्यर्थः ।
16. The words कौमुदी and चन्द्रिका convey this sense when they stand at the end of compounds. Compare the titles : तर्ककौमुदी, वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी, सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी etc. and रसचन्द्रिका, काव्यचन्द्रिका, नाटकचन्द्रिका, अलङ्कारचन्द्रिका, चमत्कारचन्द्रिका, etc.
17. शृङ्गारेऽर्णव एव तस्य चन्द्रिकेव (उच्छूनयती-वर्धयन्ती) चन्द्रिका । शृङ्गाररसादिसाहित्यशास्त्रविषयकं विशिष्टं ज्ञानं बोधयन्तीत्यर्थः ।
18. Chapter I (vv 1-63) : Varṇaganaphala-nirṇaya.
19. Chapter II (vv 1-42) : Kāvyaḡata-śabdārtha-niścaya
20. Chapter III (vv 1-130) : Rasabhāvanīścaya
21. Chapter IV (vv 1-163) : Nāyakabhedanīścaya
22. Chapter V (vv 1-31) : Daśaḡunānīścaya
23. Chapter VI (vv 1-17) : Rītinīścaya
24. Chapter VII (vv 1-16) : Vṛttinīścaya
25. Chapter VIII (vv 1-10) : Śayyā-pāka-niścaya
26. Chapter IX (vv 1-310) : Alaṃkāranīścaya
27. Chapter X (vv 1-197) : Doṣaḡuṇa-niścaya
28. अतः अतो कारणतोऽस्माभिरुच्यते रसलक्षणम् ।
पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारेण भावभेदविशेषितम् ॥ III. 2
अतो गुणाः प्रकीर्त्यन्ते पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारतः ।
कामिरय नरधीश श्रूयतां भवताधुना ॥ V. 3
अन्ये विकल्पा द्रष्टव्या आक्षेपाणां विचक्षणैः ।
मया शास्त्रानुसारेण दिग्मात्रं संप्रदर्शितम् ॥ IX 174
29. Vide appendix-C.
30. Vide Appendix-C
31. Vide Appendix-D
32. गौणीवृत्तिर्लक्षणातो भिन्नेति प्रभाकराः । *Ratnāpaṇa* (p. 44). Vidyānātha, however, emphatically says : गौणवृत्तिरपि लक्षणाप्रभेद एव । *Pratāprudrayaśobhūṣaṇa* (pp. 44-45)

33. अतः कारणतोऽस्माभिरुच्यते रसलक्षणम् ।
पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारेण भावभेदविशेषितम् ॥ —SC. III 3.
34. III 109-112.
35. *Abhinavabhāratī* Vol I. p. 299.
36. *The Number of Rasas* (p. 50). The Adyar Library, Adyar, 1940.
37. See Appendix—D.
38. For the date of Vijayavarṇī vide pages 2 and 3 *supra*. For the date of Amṛtānandayogin, vide Introduction to *Alāmkārasaṅgraha* (pp iv to vi) edited by Pandita Balakrishnamurti, Sri Venkateśvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati (1950) and Introduction to *Alāmkārasaṅgraha* (pp. XXXVIII-XLIII) edited by V. Krishnamācharya and K. Rāmachandra Sarma (The Adyar-Library Series No. 70, 1949).
39. Vide Appendix—C.
40. *Daśarūpaka* II, vv 8-9 (ab).
41. ŚC IV. vv 29-32.
42. *Daśarūpaka* II, v 15 (ab) and vv20 (cd)-22 (ab).
43. SC IV, vv 43-59.
44. *Daśarūpaka* IV, vv 50-51 (ab) and vv 57-68.
45. ŚC IV, v 103 and v 110
46. *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa*, *Kāvya*prakarāṇa, v 40.
47. परकीया तु द्वेषा कन्योढा चेति ते हि जायेते ।
—*Kāvya*lāmkāra XII-30 (ab)
48. अन्यस्त्री कन्यकोढाच...।
—*Daśarūpaka* II-20 (c)
49. अथ विप्रलम्भनामा शृङ्गारोऽयं चतुर्विधो भवति ।
प्रथमानुरगमानप्रवासकरुणात्मकत्वेन ॥
and,
करुणः स विप्रलम्भो यत्रान्यतरे द्वियेत् नायकयोः ।
यदि वा मृतकल्पः स्यात्तत्रान्यस्तद्गतं प्रलपेत् ॥
—*Kāvya*lāmkāra XIV-34
50. Vijayavarṇī's statement :
एते दशगुणाः प्रोक्ता दश प्राणाश्च भाषिताः ।
Unmistakably reminds us of Daṇḍī's
इति वैदर्भमार्गस्य प्राणा दश गुणाः स्मृताः ।
—*Kāvya*darśa 42 (ab)
51. Cf. अथवा पदबन्धस्योच्चलत्वं कान्तिरुच्यते ।
and औच्चल्यं कान्तिः । ३, १. २५
बन्धस्योच्चलत्वं नाम यदसौ कान्तिरिति ।
—*Kāvya*lāmkārasūtravṛtti
52. I give here only two examples :
(i) Cf. श्रुतिचेतोद्भयानन्दकारिणां कोमलात्मनाम् ।
वर्णानां रचनान्यासः सौकुमार्यं निरूप्यते ॥-V.6
and, अनिष्ठुराक्षरप्रायं सुकुमारमिहेष्यते ।
बन्धशैथिल्यदोषोऽपि दर्शितः सर्वकोमले ॥
सुकुमास्तयैवैतदारोहति सतां मनः ।
—*Kāvya*darśa I, 69-71

(ii) Cf. प्रयुक्तो लौकिकार्थोऽपि यथा भवति सुन्दरः ।

सा कान्तिरुदिता सद्भिः कलागमविशारदैः

V. 15

and कान्त सर्वजगत्कान्तं लौकिकार्थानतिक्रमात् ।

तच्च वार्ताभिधानेषु वर्णनास्वपि दृश्यते ॥

—*Kāvyaḍarśa* 1. 85

53. Rudraḇa II. 3-6. Vāmana distinguishes Rītis on the basis of qualities (Guṇas) present whereas Rudrata distinguishes them on the basis of the use of compounds. Vijayavarnī clearly says that Rītis are based on the qualities possessed by words. In his definitions of Rītis, however, he follows these two principles.
54. Chapter 340, vv. 1-4. Dr. Raghavan corrects the text of the the fourth stanza (vide *Some Concepts of Alamkārāsāstra*, p. 180, f. n. 1)
55. Mayūkha VI. 21-22
56. Pariccheda II, Kārikās 2-3
57. Cf. रीतिर्नाम गुणाश्लिष्टपदसंघटना मता ।
and माधुर्यादिगुणोपेतपदानां घटनात्मिका ।
Vidyānātha's definition is, however, based on Vāmana's *Sūtras* 1, 2, 7-8.
—PRY p. 63
—*Śṛṅgārārnnavacandrikā* VI-3.
58. Chapter VI, v.v 5-7, 9, 11 and 13
and Chapter V. vv. 9-12.
59. *Kāvyaalamkārāsūtravṛtti* 1-2. 11-13.
60. Vide Appendix-C
61. If it were accepted that Vijayavarnī modelled his definitions of *Śayyā* and *Pāka* on those of Vidyānātha we would have to reconsider the date of composition of ŚC.
62. Vide Appendix-C.
63. Vide Appendix-C.

□ □ □

DISCOVERY THROUGH RESTORATION

(Discovery of hitherto unknown works
through restoration of corrupt passages on Sanskrit Poetics)

I began my work on the emendation of the texts way back in 1960. It was a lucky accident, I should think. Professor R. C. Parikh, Director, B. J. Institute of learning and Research, Ahmedabad gave me a copy of his latest publication—his edition of *Kāvyaṣaṣā*, the speciality of which was that, it contained the hitherto unpublished *Samketa* commentary of Someśvara Bhaṭṭa. He also asked me whether I would write a review of it. I glanced through it but soon enough I had to prepare myself for a long spell of hard work. The *Samketa* commentary contained a number of question marks : much of its text was corrupt. I thought that I should take it on myself to set the passages right. But how ? This question did not frighten me. I thought out a plan : I could get the original texts from where the writer of the *Samketa* commentary could possibly have drawn his material by looking up the books on the topics to which the passages in the *Samketa* referred—these books comprised : Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Abhinavagupta's commentary on it Nāṭyavedavivṛti*, better known as *Abhinavabhāratī*, Dhanamjaya's *Daśarūpaka* with Dhanika's commentary *Avaloka*, on it, Vāmana's *Kāvyaśāstra*, Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaśāstra* with Namisādhu's *Ṭippaṇa* on it, Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* with Abhinavagupta's *Locana* commentary on it, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyaśāstra*, Mukulabhaṭṭa's *Abhidhāvṛttimātrkā*, Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka* and Ruyyaka's *Alamkārasarvasva* with Jayaratha's commentary called *Vimarśinī*.

So, began a big hunt and the subsequent comparative study of the text in the *Samketa* and the original versions that were located in some of the source books mentioned above.

Scores and scores of passages, small and large were common between the *Samketa* commentary on the one hand and the above source works on the other. The comparative tables facilitated the task of restoring the corrupt

passages to their original form; and they also revealed how the commentator very often bodily lifted the passages from his sources, at times adopted them and occasionally combined passages of different authorities or of the same authority found at different places in that work. I then wrote a review article and gave it to Prof. Parikh for preview—later it was published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda in 1961.

This is how I set up an anti-corruption Bureau which is still functioning.

Prof. Parikh was obviously impressed, for, within a couple of weeks, he invited me to join him as co-editor in bringing out a second revised edition of Ācārya Hemacandra's voluminous work, *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*. I availed of this opportunity, carefully went through almost all the sources of Hemacandra, recorded all significant variants from these sources in the footnotes and traced a large number of illustrations to their primary or secondary sources. This edition has been welcomed by scholars as a standard edition.

Now, Sanskrit *ālamkārikas* (poeticians) quote as illustrations, with a view to explaining various points of Poetics, passages in verse or prose from Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhramśa works. A number of works from which they cited illustrations are no longer extant. Consequently, the learned editors, when confronted with corrupt readings or passages, in the absence of the source books, contented themselves by planting question marks (in brackets) immediately after the corrupt readings, or showing lacunae (missing portions, small or big gaps) by three dots or simply reproducing the corrupt passages as found in the manuscripts, the jumbling of verses or groups of verses as mere prose passages. They, as a rule, added Sanskrit *chāyā* below the Prakrit (or Apabhramśa) passage. In some cases it is noticed that the *chāyā* did not agree with the Prakrit text, often partly and on occasions wholly. In the footnotes the editors simply remarked *durbodhā* or *aspaṣṭā* or *aviśadā iyaṁ gāthā*, and thus expressed their helplessness in rendering the Prakrit *gāthā* intelligible. Owing to want of sufficient knowledge of Prakrit and Apabhramśa languages, some perpetrated ludicrous blunders while translating these verses into English or modern Indian languages. The following noteworthy works, either text-books or commentaries, are disfigured by corrupt readings and passages : Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, called *Nāṭyavedavivṛti* but better known as *Abhinavabhāratī* (A.Bh) and his commentary on Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* called *Locana*, Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvitā* (VJ), Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sarasvatīkanthābharana* with the commentaries of Ratneśvara and Jagaddhara, Someśvara's commentary *Samketa* on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaṅprakāśa*, Ruyyaka's *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* and *Alamkārasarvasva*

with the commentary of Jayaratha, called *Vimarśinī*, and Śobhākaramitra's *Alamkāra-Ratnākara* (*Ratnākara*).

If the text, whether Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa, is not restored to its original form, the verse remains obscure and the very purpose of explaining or making clear by examples the points of Poetics is defeated.

Of all the works, the A.Bh., the VJ, the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* (*SK*) with its commentaries, the *Sāhityamūmāmsā*, the *Vimarśinī*, and the *Ratnākara* pose a real challenge to one's critical ability, scholarship, patience and industry, for a very large majority of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa passages are presented in these works in a very corrupt and confounding form—some of them are indeed corrupt beyond recognition.

I think it is the duty of modern research scholars to present the text of the corrupt passages in their correct or original form. These corrupt passages from works on *Alamkāra* haunted me all along. I decided to do my best to restore them to their correct form. During several years past I endeavoured to restore the corrupt passages in the above works. In restoring many corrupt readings and passages the following three works have rendered invaluable services: Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (*Kāś*), Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra's *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (*ND*) and Ambāprasāda's *Kalpalatāviveka* (*KLV*). The authors of these three works have freely drawn on A. Bh., *Dhvanyālokalocana*, VJ, *SK*, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, etc. Hemacandra has preserved intact the ideas and the language of some of the long sections from *Abhinavabhāratī* on the key chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Rasādhyāya* (Ch. VI), the *Bhāvādhyāya* (Ch. VII), the *Daśarūpakavidhāna* (Ch. XVIII) and the *Samdhyādhyāya* (Ch. XIX) by incorporating them in their original form without abridging them or paraphrasing them in his own language. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra too have freely used A.Bh. on almost every page in the course of their treatment of the various dramatic topics. Ambāprasāda too has incorporated many long passages from the *Dhvanyāloka*, the *Locana* commentary on it and the A.Bh. (on Ch. VI and Ch. VII) in his *KLV*. These works are of supreme importance, especially from the point of view of restoring corrupt passages and readings because their authors had access to more reliable or correct manuscripts than we now possess. We may consider here, by way of example, the case of A.Bh. Its text has been badly preserved in its available manuscripts. The first editor of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* along with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*, Ramakrishna Kavi, remarked : "...even if Abhinavagupta were to descend from Heaven and see the MSS, it would not be easy for him to restore his original text."¹

With the help of the above texts which preserve sentences, paragraphs and sometimes even long sections of the original text of the A. Bh. I wrote and published a series of articles entitled “*Abhinavabhāratī : Text Restored*”.

I also wrote and published a number of papers restoring scores and scores of corrupt Prakrit verses from *Alamkāra* works, disfigured by corrupt passages, that are mentioned above.

In restoring the corrupt verses / passages through my own experience I evolved the following principles of emendation :

- (i) First of all, to hunt the source of the corrupt passage. If the source is traced the emendation becomes universally acceptable.
- (ii) If the source is irretrievably lost, to try to find if the passage under consideration is cited in any other work on Poetics or Metrics or Grammar.
- (iii) If it is not so traced, to try to find if the verse in question is included in a later anthology, or any other poetic work by way of quotation.
- (iv) If by chance the corrupt verse is found quoted at two or more places in one and the same work, to reconstruct it by comparing the corrupt texts at the different places.
- (v) If no internal or external evidence be available, to take into consideration the immediate context and emend the text in consonance with the metre and the general or overall purport.
- (vi) To take into consideration parallel ideas found in other works in Sanskrit or Prakrit and emend the text accordingly.
- (vii) To take special care that the emended text is as far as possible very akin to the printed letters or words in the corrupt verse/passage.
- (viii) Failing all these alternatives, to emend the text, by using one’s (creative) imagination (*pratibhā*) keeping in mind the immediate and the larger context, the metre and the tenor of the concerned verse.
- (ix) To take particular care that the proposed emendation keeps arbitrariness to the minimum.
- (x) To consult, wherever possible, the manuscripts on which the printed text is based; if the editor of the printed text has read a word or quarter of a verse or part of it wrongly, the consulting of manuscripts may help one to recover the correct reading.

For my work of restoration, however, I consulted printed editions only. I felt the need of consulting manuscripts only in the case of *Śrngāraprakāśa*. I understand a new edition of Bhoja's *Śrngāraprakāśa* with V. Raghavan's own Sanskrit commentary is published in the Harvard Oriental Series. On a perusal of this edition we would know how far the editor has succeeded in restoring the corrupt verses and passages, both in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.

I would have liked to discuss in detail a few corrupt passages and their restoration by me. Being afraid of boring you with such a discussion, I thought of drawing your attention to two of my works which embody these restored verses and passages : (i) *Studies In Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra*, and (ii) *Prakrit Verses In Sanskrit Works on Poetics* in two volumes, Vol. I : Text and Vol. II : Translation (with Introduction, Glossary and Notes). This evening I discuss, rather refer in a general way to, just a few of them to give you some idea.

I am fully aware that the subject of restoration of corrupt passages and reading is dry, dull, tedious and patience-wearing. But even in this work when you trace after a long search the original source of a corrupt passage or reading you feel thrilled. This thrill, this joy is the greatest reward the hard work involved fetches. When the work leads you to the discovery of an invaluable text or a portion of it, hitherto believed to have been lost, for example, the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Bhāvādhyāya* (*Nāṭyaśāstra* Ch. VII.) helps you to shed new light on an epoch-making work like Sarvśena's *Harivijaya*, which has been irretrievably lost, your joy is all the greater. It is like landing on the source of the Nile.

1) In the course of his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaśāstra* (XI. 36) Namisādhu observes :

अत्र च वास्तवादीनां चतुर्णामपि ये सहोक्त्यादयः प्रभेदा उक्तास्ते बाहुल्यतो न पुनरेतावन्त एव । उक्तं च-

न हुषट् इताणअवही नयने दीसन्ति कहवि पुणरूता ।
जे वि सनापियआणं अत्था वा सुकइवाणीए ॥
ततो यावन्तो हृदयावर्जका अर्थप्रकारस्तावन्तोऽलंकारः ।

Now, the Prakrit *gāthā*, as presented here by the editor of the printed text, is on the face of it corrupt, and hardly yields any satisfactory sense.

Namisādhu asserts here that the sub-varieties, the *Sahokti śāstra*, etc, of the four main varieties *vāstava*, *aupamyā*, *atīśaya* and *śleṣa*, that are dealt with in the text, are only illustrative and not exhaustive. In support of this statement he has cited the Prakrit *gāthā*. But the *gāthā* is quite corrupt. In the

course of search for its source, we find Ānandavardhana, the greatest Sanskrit critic, citing it from his own poetic work, *Viṣamabāṇalīlā*, towards the end of his *Dhvanyāloka* :

दर्शितमेव चैत द्विषमबाणलीलायाम्

ण अ ताण घडइ ओही ण अ ते दीसंति कहवि पुणरुत्ता ।

जे विब्भमा पिआणं अत्था वा सुकइवाणीणं ॥

[न च तेषां घटतेऽवधिः न च ते दृश्यन्ते कथमपि पुनरुक्ताः ।

ये विभ्रमाः प्रियाणामर्था वा सुकविवाणीनाम् ॥] —*Dhvanyāloka* (IV.7) *Vṛtti*)

Translation : “There is no end to the flirtatious ways of the beloved and similarly no end of variations in the expression of good poets; there can be no repetition in either.”

Namisādhu concludes : ततो यावन्तो हृदयावर्जका अर्थप्रकारस्तावन्तोऽलंकारः ।

(There are as many *alamkāras*, figures of speech, as there are charming ideas.)

2) In his *Dhvanyāloka*, (I. 16) Ānandavardhana categorically states : Words which signify by popular usage meanings other than their etymological meanings (as, for example, the word *lāvanya*—its etymological or original meaning is saltiness, from *lavaṇa* meaning salt—whereas by common usage it signifies ‘loveliness’ or ‘beauty’) do not become instances of suggestion—*dhvani*.

In the course of his commentary on the *kārikā* Abhinavagupta cites the following passage :

ननु ‘देवडिति लुणाहि पलुत्रम्मिगमिज्वालवणुज्वलं गुनरिफेल्परण्य’ (!)

Rāmasāraka in his *Bālapriyā* commentary (*Praudhalocanaṭippanī*) remarks :

पुस्तके दृश्यमानाया ‘देवडित्यादिगाथाया ग्रन्थेषु तत्र तत्राक्षरभेदा दृश्यन्ते ।

अतश्चास्याः स्वरूपं छायां च निश्चेतुं न शक्नोमि । सहृदया निश्चिन्वन्तु ।

—p. 147.

The text of the passage given above from the *Locana* is highly corrupt. It is also cited in the *Abhinavabhārati* (Ch. VI., p-305, GOS edn. 1956) there too the text is very corrupt. Appendix I (p. 383) to that Volume I of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives the readings in the manuscript of the *Dhvanyāloka* which too are very corrupt. The second half of this verse is correctly preserved in Someśvara’s *Samketa* (p. 24). The *Kalpalatāviveka* of Ambāprasāda, however, for the first time gives us the text in its correct form :

दीवडी तेह्लु गाहि पलु द्रम्मि (? द्रम्मु) गमिड्डा (? गविड्डा) ।

लावणुज्जलंगु घरि दोह्लु पड्डा ॥

[दीपके तैलं नास्ति पलं (पलमात्रं), द्रम्मं गवेधितम् ।
लावण्योज्ज्वलाङ्गो गृहे प्रियतमः प्रविष्टः ॥]

(Note : द्रम्मु-द्रम्म (a drachama, a word derived from the Greek drachama) is the Marathi 'dāma', cf. 'damadī' too, *Pala* is a measure for fluid. 'Pala' may be compared with 'Pali' in Marathi).

Translation : There was not a drop of oil in the lamp. nor could I find even a farthing in the house. Exactly at this time came in my lover, his body resplendent with its beauty.

The suggested meaning here is : The bright and beautiful face of the lover gave light to (the room, or rather) brightened all the quarters. So there was no need of a lamp.

3. Ānandavardhana holds the view that the literal meaning and the suggested meaning are apprehended almost simultaneously—if the suggested meaning be *rasa* or *bhāva* or *rasābhāsa*, *bhāvabhāsa*, etc., and if it shines with prominence then we have the very soul of suggestion (*Dhvanyāloka* II 3. *vṛtti*).

Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* on this *kārikā* observes : in some cases the two conjoined transitory emotions (*bhāvasam̐dhi*) become the object of relish. As an example he quotes the verse :

ओसुरुसुम्भि आइं मुहु कम्बिउ जेण ।
अमिअरसघोण्टाणं पडिजाणिउ तेण ॥

The *Bālapriyā* commentary gives its Sanskrit *chāyā* as follows :

ईर्ष्याश्रुशोभिताया मुखं चुम्बितं येन ।
अमृततरसनिगरणानां तृप्तिर्ज्ञाता तेन ॥

This *chāyā* gives the overall meaning all right. The earlier part of the first half of the (Apabhraṁśa) text is very corrupt. It needs to be corrected keeping in view the reading उसुरुसुंभियाए (cited as *pratīka* in *Kalpalatāviveka* (p. 127, 1. 17) and the following statement in Hemacandra's *Deśīśabdasaṁgraha* (p. 55) :

ऊसुंभिय-ऊसुरुसुंभिया य रुद्धगलरुण्णम्मि ।
(ऊसुंभियं तथा ऊसुरुसुंभियं रुद्धगलं रोदनम् ।)

We may, therefore, restore the Apabhraṁśa passage as follows :

ऊसुरुसुंभिआए मुहु चुम्बिउ जेण ।
अमिअरसघोण्टाणं पडिजाणिउ तेण ॥
(रुद्धगलं रुदत्या मुखं चुम्बितं येन ।
अमृततरसगण्डूषाणां परिज्ञातं तेन ॥)

Translation : He alone has tasted nectar—even a mouthful of it—who has kissed the mouth of his sweetheart when she could not weep aloud, being choked with tears.

4. The *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Ch XXII verse 210)² has the following corrupt passage :

अत्र तु वृद्धपशुव्यो (पशवो?) वदन्ति-
मासपसूआ....(षण्) मास गन्धिणी एकदिअहज्जरमुहे...।

The editor in a footnote adds : अपूर्णा चास्फुटार्थेयं गाथा कोक्कोकवचनस्य मूलं स्यात् ।
यथा-

रङ्गादिश्रान्तदेहा चिरविरहवती मासमात्रप्रसूता
गर्भालस्या न नव्यज्वरयुततनुका त्यक्तमानप्रसन्ना ।
स्नाता पुष्पावसाने नवरतिसमये मेघकाले वसन्ते
प्रायः संपन्नरगा मृगशिशुनयना स्वल्पसाध्या स्ते स्यात् ॥ -अनङ्गरङ्ग ४.३६

The reading 'वृद्धपशुव्यो (पशवो ?)' is very doubtful. The corrupt *gāthā* मासपसूआ etc. is, however, to be identified with the following *gāthā* from Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī* (III. 59) :

(बहोः कालात् पूर्णधनदानेन तोषयन्तं धनिकभुजङ्गं प्रति कामशास्त्ररहस्योपदेशेन निजनिर्मायतां सूचयन्ती
सहैव नर्तनकर्माणां स्वदुहितरं प्रति तं साभिलाषं कुर्वती च वृद्धा वेश्यामाता आह-)

मासपसूअं छम्मासगन्धिणिं एकदिअहजरिअं च ।
रंगुत्तिण्णं च पिअं पुत्तअ कामंतओ होहि ॥
(मासप्रसूतां षण्मासगन्धिणीमेकदिवसज्वरितां च ।
रङ्गोत्तीर्णां च प्रियां पुत्रक कामयमानो भव ॥)

Translation : O, dear boy, direct your sexual / lustful desire towards the woman, who has given birth to her child a month back, or who has been pregnant for six months, or who has had fever for one day, or who has finished her dance or performance on the stage.

5. Bhoja asserts in his *Sarasvatikanthābharana* (Ch.I.123) :

यदा तीव्रप्रयत्नेन संयोगादेरगौरवम् ।
न च्छन्दोभङ्ग इत्याहुस्तदा दोषाय सूरयः ॥

Ratneśvara in his commentary on this *kārikā* quotes the following two lines :

धवलाइं गलेत्ति धवलेहिं अणञ्जणसामलेहि गिसाल्ताए ।
णक्खत्तकुसुमाइं णहअलाओ ओसरइ ॥ —p. 121

These two lines, though printed in the form of a verse, do not yield any

consistent meaning. The point under discussion is : under a particular circumstance *chandobhaṅga* (offending against metre) ceases to be a flaw. As the topic falls under prosody, I thought it wise to consult Hemacandra's *Chando'nuśāsana* (Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1961, edn.). To my delight, I found Hemacandra citing the following two *gāthās* with the introductory remark :

पदान्ते वर्तमानौ एकार-ओकारौ प्राकृतभाषायां वा ह्रस्वौ भवतः । यथा-
 पच्चूसगयवरूमूलिआएँ उड्डीण-ससि-विहंगाए ।
 धवलाईगलन्ति निसालयाएँ नक्खत्त-कुसुमाइं ॥
 उअ पोम्मरायमरगयसंवलिआ णहयलाओँ ओअरइ (v.1. ओसरइ)।
 णहसिरिकंठभट्ट व्व कंठिआ कीररिंछेली ॥
 [प्रत्यूषगजवरोन्मूलितायाः उड्डीन-शशी-विहंगायाः ।
 धवलानि गलन्ति निशालतायाः नक्षत्र-कुसुमानि ॥
 पश्य पद्यरग-मरकत-संवलिता नभस्तलादवतरति ।
 नभःश्रीकण्ठभ्रष्टेव कण्ठिका शुक्पडिक्तः ॥]

The words, in bold type in the corrupt passage, are common to the two *gāthās* cited above. So from the mixing up of different verses we can easily identify these two *gāthās* that were intended by Ratneśvara as illustrations. The first verse occurs in *Lilāvai* (verse 1091). The second verse occurs in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* (I. 75). Still, however, the two *padas* धवलेहि अणंजणसामलेहि from the medley passage remain unaccounted for or untraced. When we turn to *Svayambhūcchandaḥ*, another work on prosody, the whole problem of this jumbled text is solved, Svayambhū cites three verses to illustrate three different rules of Prakrit Prosody :

- (i) हिआरो बिंदुजुओ पआवसाणम्मि लहू । छइल्लण जहा-
 [हिकारो बिन्दुयुतः पदावसाने लघुः । विदग्धानां यथा -]
 धवलेहि अणंजणसामलेहि पेरंत-तणुअ-तणुएहिं ।
 णिद्वाएत्तिउवेदो, गअणिहएहि अच्छाहिं ॥
 [धवलाभ्यामनञ्जनश्यामलाभ्यां पर्यन्ततनुकतनुकैः ।
 (निद्रायते उपेन्द्रो गतनिद्राभ्यामक्षिभ्याम् ॥)]- गाथादिविधि १-२
- (ii) एआरो सुद्धो पआवसाणम्मि लहू । वम्मउत्त(? स्स) जहा-
 [एकारः शुद्धः पदावसाने लघुः । वर्मपुत्रस्य यथा -
 पच्चूस-गअवर...(as cited above)
- (iii) ओआरो सुद्धो पआवसाणम्मि लहू अ । पालित्तस्स जहा-
 [ओकारः शुद्धः पदावसाने लघुश्च । पादलित्तस्य यथा-]
 उअ पोम्मराअमरगअ...(as cited above)

Ratneśvara's text may be written as follows : “धवलेहि अणंजणसामलेहि”, “धवलाइं गलंति णिसालआएँ णक्खत्तकुसुमाइं”, and “णहअलाओ ओअरइ / ओसरइ.”

These three *gāthās* may be translated as follows :-

(i) Upendra (Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu) is sleepy, his sparkling eyes, (naturally) dark even without collyrium, are drooping drowsily like the half closed eyes of an elephant.

(ii) At the daybreak, a mighty elephant uprooted the night-creeper, the moon-bird flew off and the white constellations, the flowers, dropped (in panic).

(iii) Lo, behold, there comes down from the firmament a line of parrots, as if a necklace with rubies and emeralds has dropped from the neck of the Sky Beauty.

6. Kuntaka cites in his *Vakroktijīvitā* a Prakrit passage as an example of suggested *Utpṣrekā*. The text of this passage is highly corrupt and it is given as running prose :

प्रवाण चल विज्जु य दुलिअं राइआसु खनअन्ति मे अआसो उवाण उरुलिसद्वयमि हिळिआसुक जिल्लइ विरहए । (?)

Dr. H. C. Bhayani, in his paper³, has suggested the following reconstruction:

पवणेण चलं विज्जु-चडुलिअं
राइआसु पुलअन्ति मेहअं ।
सोरुण अ ओरल्लिसद्वयं
महिलिआसु कलिज्जइ विरहओ (?)

The Sanskrit *chāyā* :

पवनेन चलं विद्युत्-प्रज्वलित-पूलकं रात्रिषु पश्यन्ति मेघम् ।
श्रुत्वा च दीर्घगम्भीर-गर्जित-शब्दं महिलासु कल्पते विरहः ॥

Kalpalatāviveka (p. 75), however, seems to have preserved the original text :

घेतुआण चलविज्जुचडुलियं
राइआसु पुलयन्ति मेहया ।
सोउआण ओरल्लिसद्वयं
महिलियाण का जियइ विरहए ॥
[गृहीत्वा चलद्विद्युत्-प्रदीपं रात्रिषु प्रलोकयन्ति मेघाः ।
श्रुत्वा (दीर्घगम्भीर) मेघध्वनिं स्त्रीणां का जीवति विरहे ॥]

[Note : It is creditable to Dr. Bhayani that his reconstruction hits upon

quite a few words in the original.]

Translation : With the help of the lamp of tremulous lightning the clouds see during the nights if any of the ladies separated from their beloveds still continue to live even after hearing the loud thundering noise.

7) In *Śṛṅgārraprakāśa* (Vol. III p. 800), Bhoja cites a Prakrit *gāthā* as an example of *gīta-nimittaḥ naimittikānurāgaḥ*. Its text is somewhat corrupt :

केणा चि अज्ज गोसे कप्पिवणे वल्लहं म्हरतेण ।
अंहमअणसराहअहिअअवणप्फोडणं गीअं ॥

I reconstructed the text as follows :-

केणावि अज्ज गोसे कप्पिवणे (? अंबवणे) वल्लहं भरतेण ।
दूसह-मअण-सराहअ-हिअअ-वण-फोडणं गीअं ॥
[केनापि अद्य प्रभाते आम्रवने वल्लभं स्मरता ।
दुःसह-मदन-शराहत-हृदय-व्रण-स्फोटनं गीतम् ॥]

After the text was printed I realised that the second half of the *gāthā* is metrically defective. I should have read either 'हिअअ-व्वण' or 'वण-प्फोडण'. But my two emendations of कप्पिवणे to अंबवणे and अहं to दूसह were quite arbitrary. But when the translation was being printed, by chance I came across the original *gāthā* :

अज्ज सहि केण गोसे कं पि मणे वल्लहं भरतेण (पा० भे० म्हरतेण) ।
अम्हं मअणसराहअ-हिअअ-व्वणफोडणं (पा०भे० हिअअ-वण-प्फोडणं) गीअं ॥
[अद्य सखि केन प्रभाते कामपि मन्ये वल्लभां स्मरता ।
अस्माकं मदनशराहत-हृदय-व्रण-स्फोटनं गीतम् ॥]

—*Gāthāsaptāsatī* IV. 81

Translation : Early this morning, my friend, some one sang a song remembering, methinks, his sweetheart and that tore up all the wounds caused to my heart by Madana's arrows.

The method of comparative study that I followed for restoration of the corrupt readings and passages in the works on Sanskrit Poetics paid rich dividends. It led to the discovery of (i) a major portion of *Abhinavabhāratī*, on Ch. VII, the *Bhāvādhyāya* which was believed till yesterday to have been lost, and (ii) considerable portion of Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* which also was believed to have been lost altogether.

Let us first take up for discussion the discovery of (i) *Abhinavabhāratī* (Ch. VII). Abhinavagupta is the greatest name in Sanskrit literary criticism. His two famous commentaries, one, *Abhinavabhāratī* on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and two, *Locana* on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, are regarded as their Bible or Stud.-39

more appropriately the Vedas by most of his successors and even modern scholars working in the field of Sanskrit Poetics and Aesthetics.

Of all the chapters in the voluminous *Nāṭyaśāstra* the most important are the sixth (on *rasa*), the seventh (on *bhāva*), the eighteenth (on *daśarūpa*) and the nineteenth (on *saṁdhis*). The *Abhinavabhāratī* on these chapters too is equally important. The loss of *Abhinavabhāratī* Ch. VII was naturally very much felt by all scholars working in the field of Poetics and Aesthetics. To wit : Dr. J. L. Masson and Prof. M. V. Patwardhan observe in their recent work *Śāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Aesthetics* (1969) :

“All of the seventh chapter of the *Abhinavabhāratī* but the very beginning has been lost, which is a great misfortune, since *Abhinava* refers to it frequently. It must have been a large and important section of the A.Bh.” (p. 120, f. n. 2)

I wrote two papers : (i) ‘*Abhinavabhāratī* Ch. VII Recovered’ ? and (ii) ‘*Hemacandra on Sāttvikabhāvas*.’ In the first paper I have instituted a detailed comparison between the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of Hemacandra and the *Kalpalatāviveka* and also between the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra and the *Kalpalatāviveka*. These comparisons lead us to the obvious inference that the authors of these works draw on a common source and to a further inference that their common source could not have been anything else than the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Bhāvādhyāya* (*Nāṭyaśāstra* Ch. VII), Further, the authors of *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* do not reproduce the definitions of the forty-nine *bhāvas* as they are found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but adopt them and that they do not fully borrow the comments in the *Abhinavabhāratī* on them but pick up only such phrases and significant lines from them as they think to be useful for a clear exposition. On the other hand, the author of the *Kalpalatāviveka* reproduces *verbatim* the definitions of the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* in the same order as found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and also he gives fuller comments which agree in parts with the corresponding portion in the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. From this fact we may draw a further inference that these fuller passages, presenting comments on the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas*, found in the *Kalpalatāviveka* represent the original portion of the *Abhinavabhāratī*. That the author of the *Kalpalatāviveka* borrows this long, whole section from the *Abhinavabhāratī* should not surprise us if we remembered that elsewhere too in his work he has borrowed long sections from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinavabhāratī* and from the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana* commentary on it.

This conclusion finds strong support in the similarity of language, style, diction and the method of exposition found in this portion and the rest of the

Abhinavabhāratī. If this portion of the commentary from the *Kalpalatāviveka* were to be printed as the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Bhāvādhyāya* no one would ever have dreamt of doubting its genuineness. So complete, so perfect is the similarity, even identity. In addition, I have shown how the promised discussion of *nirveda* referred to in the treatment of the *Śāntarasa* (Ch. VI) is found in this portion of the *Kalpalatāviveka*. On the basis of all these arguments I have established that the *Kalpalatāviveka* (pp. 286-303) preserves a major portion of the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Bhāvādhyāya*.

In another paper, "Hemacandra on *Sāttvikabhāvas*", I have shown how Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (pp. 144-147) has preserved the section of *Sāttvikabhāvas* (dealing with the theoretical aspect of the *Sāttvikabhāvas* and citing verses to illustrate each and everyone of them) from the *Abhinavabhāratī* Ch VII. This portion on *Sāttvikabhāvas* and the long section on the thirty three *vyabhicāribhāvas* preserved in the *Kalpalatāviveka* together preserve most of the *Abhinavabhāratī* on *Bhāvādhyāya*. Abhinavagupta is a *sahṛdayaśiromaṇi*, He selects carefully best examples from first-rate poetic works like *Setubandha*, *Śākuntala*, *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Amaruśataka*, etc. I have not been able to trace three of the examples to their source. I quote here one of them :

आश्लेषे प्रथमं क्रमादथ जिते हृद्येऽधरस्यार्पणे
केलिद्यूतविधौ षणं प्रियतमे कान्तां पुनः पृच्छति ।
सान्ताहीसनिरुद्धसंभृतरसोद्धेदस्फुरदगण्डया
तूष्णीं शारविशारणाय निहितः स्वेदाम्बुगर्भः करः॥

[Perspiration (*sveda*) due to the infusion (of *tejas*) into the water-dominated element of the vital force is exemplified in the following stanza :]

At a game of dice with which they amused themselves she first wagered a close embrace which her lover won. The second was a kiss of her nether lip which also he won. Now when he asked what the third wager would be, perspiration broke on her hand as she prepared to throw the dice; her cheeks quivered as the rush of passion filled her bosom and her mouth tightened in suppressed smile.

Only four verses from Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṅthābharana* were, according to Raghavan⁴, identifiable as Sarvasena's from his *Harivijaya*, now lost. In the course of restoration I noticed that, at least forty verses, some of them are repetitions, are definitely identifiable and nearly a century of verses as probably identifiable as Sarvasena's from his *Harivijaya*.

Leaving aside probably identifiable verses and piecing together all the

available items of knowledge from the identifiable verses and taking into account the discussions by critics, viz, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Abhinavagupta, Bhoja and Hemacandra, we get a good deal of information about the theme of Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*, its structure, language, style and poetic merits and its place in artistic epics :

The *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena (4th century A. D.)

The Title : The title means "The Victory of Hari (Kṛṣṇa)", The object of Hari in the present epic is to carry off the Celestial Pārijāta tree from Indra's heaven. He marched against Indra with a view to securing the desired object—the Pārijāta tree, the rise of the hero in the form of the conquest of the enemy (Indra) who himself surrendered and allowed him to carry the Pārijāta tree for Satyabhāmā.

The Contents of the epic : Hari offers the Pārijāta *mañjarī* (given to him by Nārada who had brought it from Indra's heavenly Nandana garden) to his beloved Rukmiṇī, Although Satyabhāmā and the other wives of Hari (Jāmbavatī, etc.) were hurt, Satyabhāmā alone showed her anger and jealousy—her feelings reflected her deep and abiding love for Hari. The rays of the moon, blended with the lustre of the sparkling Kaustubha gem, which should normally have increased her joy, actually aggravated her agony and made it just unbearable (because of Hari's offence—who offered the heavenly Pārijāta *mañjarī* to Rukmiṇī but called on her empty-handed). When Hari met her, she sarcastically remarked : You have favoured Rukmiṇī with a bunch of Pārijāta flowers from Heaven and me with your kind visit. Both your women should be satisfied with the equally distributed favours." Hari replied : "You are hurt, I know, because I gave the celestial Pārijāta flowers to Rukmiṇī. But if I were to bring back the very flowers to gratify you it wouldn't be in keeping with my love for you, my delicate one, nor with my offence. I will soon get you the celestial Pārijāta tree itself, its leaves moist with spray of the rut of Airāvata, its flowers along with the bees greedily sucking the nectar of their honey." At this Satyabhāmā's heart was overpowered with joy. And owing to the excitement thus caused, tears gathered in her eyes, and in spite of her attempts to suppress them, they still rolled down and fell on the back of Hari who was lying prostrate at her feet". Hari then appeased whatever little anger still was there in her heart by his conciliatory gesture, viz., falling prostrate at her feet—the feet of his beloved Satyabhāmā whose heart was still half-closed against him." "Her face promises to beam out any time now—the shades of displeasure are receding, a glow of joy is gradually spreading and the mixture of the two contrasting moods is increasing the beauty

of her face.”

Now when Hari marched against Indra in order to secure the celestial Pārijāta tree, Satyabhāmā, although she had seen (known) his valour, was distressed at the great calamity she feared out of great love for him, and felt extremely anxious. Satyabhāmā was increasingly full of regret for having brought about separation from Hari and blamed herself for it.

“As the night advanced Hari, who has been separated from his beloved, saw the moon rising high in the sky as an impending calamity and as the god of love threatening with his bow”.

The next day Hari first sent his charioteer Sātyaka (or Sātyaki) as envoy to Indra. Sātyaka addressed Indra in these words : “You prize friendship with Hari, O Indra, and yet you are reluctant to part with Pārijāta, the jewel (i.e. best) among trees. Give up this show of naivety and honour the desire of the Yādavas”. Indra rejected Sātyaka’s advice. [Hari then fought with Indra. (Fearing total rout, Indra surrendered and allowed Hari to take the Pārijāta tree with him to the Earth)].

Hari achieved what Satyabhāmā had desired and came back home safe and sound. “ ‘Here he comes’—this announcement of her maids Satyabhāmā only heard but, even though he was close to her, she didn’t see him as her eyes were dimmed by tears”. “At the sight of Hari, Satyabhāmā’s heart leaped with joy, and her eyes, filled to the brim with happiness wandered all over with pleasure; both joy and happiness spread on her face—an expression of unique grace”, Satyabhāmā’s eyes, tremulous like a swarm of black bees, although her heart was enchanted by the fragrance of flowers first rested on her beloved Hari and only then on that celestial Pārijāta tree. “Look here at this your own excellent tree”—when her dear husband uttered these words, indicative of his profound love for her, immense satisfaction found free scope and spread over her whole body.” That very residence of hers (i. e. of Satyabhāmā) with the celestial Pārijāta tree planted at its entrance, and full of the decorative arrangement of its flowers, and with attendants plunged in joy, now looked quite different—exceptionally and uniquely beautiful.” “With a view to giving his beloved, Satyabhāmā, the rapture of sexual union far exceeding wildest of her desires, Hari, with a smile on his face and with both of his hands holding his *mukuta* (crown) in its place, fell at her feet.”

Rukmiṇī felt highly flattered by her dear husband’s visit to her which quite thrilled her and gave immense pleasure although she had reason to feel displeased with him who still showed on him the signs of dalliance with her rival

(Saryabhāmā).

Besides the valuable information collected above from the clearly identifiable *skandhakas* as Sarvasena's from his *Harivijaya*, Bhoja⁷ and, following him, Hemacandra⁸ gives us a good deal of information about the contents of Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* : It was marked by the word 'Utsāha' (energy) occurring at the end of each *āśvāsaka* (chapter) and indicating the intention of the author (*svābhiprāya*). It contained description of a city, seasons, the sunset, the hero, his mount (*garutmat-Garuḍa*), his envoy to Indra (Sātyaka), Sātyaki's visit to Indra (for securing the Pārijāta tree peacefully), his march against Indra for carrying off the Pārijāta tree, his victory over his enemy (Indra, the king of the gods) who is forced to surrender after a great fight, a drinking party (*madhu-pāna*) in a literary club (*goṣṭhī-grha*), the removal of Satyabhāmā's jealous anger (by securing for her the Pārijāta tree from the Nandana garden after defeating Indra in the fierce fight.)

Its Structure or Technique : From the point of view of form, Sarvasena's epic is written throughout in one metre called *skandhaka* consisting of two equal halves of thirty-two (32) (12+20) *mātrās*. Its older name is *āryāgīti*. The work is divided into *āśvāsakas* (and not into *sargas* as in the Sanskrit *Mahākāvya*).

Its Language : According to Bhoja, the *Setubandha* etc. are composed in pure Prakrit. Hemacandra follows Bhoja : the *Setubandha*, etc., are composed in Prakrit. This Prakrit *bhāṣā* is later known as *Māhārāṣṭrī*.

Its Style : Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakroktijīvita* chooses Sarvasena along with Kālidāsa, as representative of the *Sukumāra mārga* (delicate style). which is natural, fresh, simple in its scantily adorned beauty, dominated by emotion, and spontaneously lyrical. This *Sukumāra mārga* is nothing but the old *Vaidarbhī* style.

Its literary evaluation : From discussions by the critics, Ānandavardhana (and Abhinavagupta), Kuntaka, Bhoja and Hemacandra, we see that Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* was an epoch-making work. As a classical Prakrit (*Māhārāṣṭrī mahākāvya*) it was long famous. As Kālidāsa's plays eclipsed Bhāsa's plays, even so, it would seem, Pravarasena's *Setubandha* eclipsed Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*.

Hemacandra criticises Sarvasena for inserting a disproportionated lengthy description of the ocean out of his inordinate love for composing alliterative (*galitaka*) verses, and that too in a situation of *Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra*—when

Hari is marching against Indra to secure the celestial Pārijāta tree with a view to placating Satyabhāmā's jealous anger. Daṇḍin in his *Avantisundarī* (verse 12 at the beginning) refers to King Sarvasena and his epic poem *Harivijaya*. This reference must have been made out of admiration, no doubt.

Ānandavardhana admires Sarvasena, along with Kālidāsa, for effecting changes in the story adopted from the *Itihāsas* to suit the intended *rasa*⁸. Abhinavagupta adds in his *Locana* commentary that the incidents of the wedding of Aja, etc., described in the epic, *Raghuvamśa*, were invented by Kālidāsa which were not found in the *Itihāsas*; and the emotive motivation of placating the jealous anger of Satyabhāmā by securing the Pārijāta tree from Indra's garden, and centering the entire story round the rivalry of the two wives of Hari—Satyabhāmā and Rukminī—was invented by Sarvasena in his *Harivijaya*, although not found in the *Itihāsas*.⁹

This change in the emphasis is poetically effective; it makes the poem humanly appealing and emotionally rich, Ānandavardhana's remark about Sarvasena's originality and genius with specific reference to this motif—*kāntānunayanāngatvena pārijātaharaṇādi*, as explained by Abhinavagupta, shows how he discusses the whole epic from the standpoint of how the author deals with the *rasa*, which constitutes the very life—forms the very essence—of the epic.

This then is a brief account of my work of restoration of many corrupt readings, verses and passages from the works on Sanskrit Poetics, and of the discovery of invaluable portions of *Abhinavabhāratī* of Abhinavagupta and *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena through restoration.

I have done. I thank you all for giving me a patient hearing.

Notes and References :

1. Cf. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*, Chs. I–VII, edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, 2nd edn, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1956, p. 63.
2. उचिते वासके स्त्रीणामृतकालेऽपि वा नृपैः ।
द्वेष्याणामथवेष्टानां कार्यं चैवोपसर्पणम् ॥ —*Nāṭyaśāstra* XXII. 10
3. Restoration of the text of some corrupt... citations.. in Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*, Journal, Asiatic Society of Bombay, Volumes 52-53, 1981, P. 53.
4. Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* by Dr. V. Raghavan, Punarvasu, 7 Sri Krishnapuram Street, Madras—14, P. 825, See also : *Indian Kāvya Literature, Volume Three*, A. K. Warder, The Early Medieval Period, Motilal Banarasiass, Delhi 1977, PP. 62-63.

5. Mahārāja Bhojarāja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Second Volume, ed. by the Yatirāja Swamy of Melcote and G. R. Josyer, Mysore-4, 1963, pp. 474-476.
6. *Kāvyaṅśāsana* of Ācārya Hemacandra, ed. by R. C. Parikh and V. M. Kulkarni, Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964, pp. 458-462.
7. एवं सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । —Dharwād edn. p. 66.
8. इतिवृत्तवशायातां कथञ्चिद् रसाननुगुणां स्थितिं त्यक्त्वा पुनरुत्प्रेक्ष्याप्यन्तराभीष्टसोचितकथोन्नयो विधेयः । यथा कालिदासप्रबन्धेषु । यथा च सर्वसेनविरचिते हरिविजये । —*Dhvanyāloka* (III.11) *Vṛtti*, pp/ 335-336.
9. रघुवंशे अजादीनां राज्ञां विवाहादिवर्णनं नेतिहासेषु निरूपितम् । हरिविजये कान्तानुनयनाङ्गत्वेन पारिजातहरणादि निरूपितमितिहासेष्वदृष्टमपि । —*Locana*, p. 335)



JAIN CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT POETICS AND AESTHETICS

Winternitz observes at one place¹ :

“The Jains have extended their activities beyond the sphere of their own religious literature to a far greater extent than the Buddhists have done, and they have memorable achievements in the secular sciences to their credit, in philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetics, mathematics, astronomy and astrology, and even in the science of politics. In one way or other there is always some connection even of these “profane” works with religion. In South India the Jains have also rendered services in developing the Dravidian languages, Tamil and Telugu, and especially the Kanarese literary language. They have, besides, written a considerable amount in Gujarati, Hindi and Marwari. Thus we see that they occupy no mean position in the history of Indian literature and Indian thought.”

Now, the present paper confines itself to an examination of this view with particular reference to the Jain contribution to poetics and aesthetics. Soon we will be undertaking a brief review of the published Jain works on *alamkāra śāstra* but before that we take note of the widely known work, *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of Ācārya Hemacandra who has been extolled as Kalikālasarvajña. Standard works on the history of Sanskrit poetics and Sanskrit literature make critical references to this work and devalue it. I quote from the works of Kane, De and Keith in support of this statement. Kane remarks :

“The *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* is a compilation and exhibits hardly any originality. It borrows wholesale from the *Kāvyaṃimāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara, the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, the *Dhvanyāloka* and from Abhinavagupta’s works”². De observes : “His (Hemacandra’s) dependence on earlier works is so close as to amount at times to almost slavish imitation or plagiarism.”³ And, “It (*Kāvyaṅuśāsana*) is like most of Hemacandra’s other productions, more or less an industrious compilation displaying its author’s encyclopaedic erudition, but hardly constituting an

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original contribution to the subjects.”⁴

Finally, Keith remarks : “In the contemporary of Mammaṭa, Hemacandra, we find a placid borrowing from Mammaṭa, Abhinavagupta, Rājaśekhara, the *Vakroktijīvita*, and so on. His *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, with the *Viveka* by himself is destitute of originality, but contains a section on dramaturgy.”⁵ I have quoted these three eminent scholars to draw your special attention to what they think of Hemacandra’s work, perhaps the best among all the Jain works on poetics. And it follows that they regard other Jain works on poetics “even less valuable”.

The approach of these eminent scholars to the Jain works, especially to Ācārya Hemacandra’s *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, is wrong and their criticism unfair, unjust and unsympathetic. In my paper “The Sources of Hemacandra’s *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*.”⁶ I have shown in detail how Hemacandra’s work does not constitute an original contribution to the subject, and observed : “It is, however, not quite correct to describe the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* as a compilation exhibiting hardly any originality as Kane does or to charge Hemacandra of plagiarism as De does. Instead of briefly summarising or paraphrasing or describing in his own language the theories and doctrines of his predecessors too illustrious to be mentioned by name, if Hemacandra preferred to present them in their original form we need not find fault with him. Besides we cannot forget the fact that his writing was of a scientific nature and in such scientific books such quotations are justified. We will only be betraying poverty of our imagination and scant respect for Hemacandra’s intelligence if we were to insinuate that Hemacandra pretended that all the passages and excerpts which he quoted would pass as his own. The truth of the matter is that Hemacandra regards the masterpieces of his predecessors as the property of the entire world. Hemacandra is a man of *pratibhā* but his *pratibhā* is more of the *bhāvayitrī* and less of the *kārayitrī* type. His capacity to select choicest excerpts from his authorities and to organise them into a homogeneous and organic whole is supreme. It would, therefore, seem that the criticism against Hemacandra’s *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* is not fair. It would be more correct to describe the *Kās* as a good text-book lucidly setting forth various topics of *Alamkāraśāstra* in the very words of the masters and serving as a good introduction to the study of the well-known authorities.”⁷

This approach and point of view adopted in the above-mentioned paper is, to my mind the right one⁸.

We now briefly review the published Jain works relating to poetics.

(1) The old passage in Prakrit in *Anuyogadvārasūtra*⁹ (third century A. D.

or latest the fifth century A. D.) : This passage speaks of nine *rasas* in poetry. They are : “The heroic (*vīra*), the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), the wondrous (*adbhuta*), the furious (*raudra*), the bashful (*vṛīdanaka*), the disgusting (*bībhatsa*), the comic (*hāsyā*), the pathetic (*karuṇa*) and the tranquil or the calm or the quiet (*prasānta* = *sānta*). This enumeration of *rasas* is markedly different from Bharata’s well-known list in three respects. One, it opens with *vīra* and not with *śṛṅgāra*. Two, it does not mention *bhayānaka* but speaks of a new *rasa* called *vṛīdanaka*. And three, it gives nine *rasas*, instead of eight, by adding an altogether new one, namely, *prasānta*.

According to the commentator Maladhāri Hemacandra (end of the 11th century and early part of the 12th) *vīra* is mentioned first because it is the noblest and foremost of *rasas* and the *vīra* meant here is *dānavīra* and *tapovīra* (and not *yuddhavīra* which is vitiated by *paropaghāta* (destruction of others); and that *bhayānaka* is included under *raudrarasa* and hence not mentioned separately. And to the addition of *prasānta* (= *sānta*) he did not feel the necessity of giving any explanation most probably because the modified version of Bharata’s text enumerating nine *rasas* was already well known.

Now, the question arises whether this whole passage in Prakrit dealing with nine *rasas* of poetry is adopted from an earlier independent text in Prakrit on *alamkāra* or the redactor of the text *Aṅuogaddārāim* has himself composed and added it or it is still a later interpolation. As regards the existence of an independent Prakrit text on *alamkāra* prior to *Anuyogadvārasūtra* there is no clear evidence. The possibility of interpolation cannot be entirely ruled out in the case of a text that provides examples of numbered objects. If, however, there existed any such ancient text on *alamkāra* in Prakrit it passes one’s comprehension why none of the Jain authors on *alamkāraśāstra* cares to refer to this work or the passage adopted from it by their sacred text. The puzzle remains unsolved.

(2) *Alamkāradarpaṇa* in Prakrit, consisting of 134 *ślokas* (to be precise *gāthās*) is devoted to the treatment of poetic figures. The name of its author is not known. *Catalogue of Sanskrit And Prakrit Manuscripts, Jesalmer Collection*¹⁰ gives a description of a manuscript of this work and reproduces a few *gāthās* that occur at the beginning and at the end of the work¹¹. It is hardly a work of value or importance.

(3) Hari’s work on *alamkāraśāstra* ?

Namisādhu in his *Ṭippaṇa* (Commentary) on Rudraṭa’s *Kāvyaalamkāra* (II. 19) quotes a *gāthā* with the introductory remark :

Tathā hyaṣṭau (vṛttayaḥ) hariṇoktāḥ | Yathā :

*Mahuram parusam komalamojjassim nitthuram ca laliyam ca |
Gambhiram sāmāṇam ca aṭṭha bhaṇii u nāyavvā ||*

Hari speaks of eight vṛttis of *anuprāsa*. They are as follows : 1. sweet (*madhura*), 2. harsh (*parusa*) 3. gentle (*komala*), 4. vigorous (*ojasvi*), 5. jarring (*niṣṭhura*), 6. graceful (*lalita*), 7. deep (*gambhīra*) and, 8. common or miscellaneous (*sāmānya*).

Now Kane, in his *Index of authors and works on Sanskrit Poetics* (1951 edn, p. 422) makes the following statement : “Hari mentioned by Namisādhu on Rudraṭa’s *Kāvyaḷamkāra* II.19 as a writer on Poetics in Prakrit.” (italics mine). De too observes : “It is interesting to note that Nami quotes a Prakrit verse from one Hari (ii) presumably a writer on Poetics, which mentions eight vṛttis instead of five of Rudraṭa.”¹² V. Raghavan, however, writes in his work, *Bhoja’s Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (1963 edn, p. 821) : “The verse (mentioning eight varieties of *anuprāsa*) is evidently from the preliminary part of the opening chapter of some Prakrit poem by one Hari.” (Italics mine).

The nature of the quotation is such as to allow Kane and De on the one hand, and Raghavan on the other to draw their respective inferences as to its source—whether it was a work on Prakrit poetics or poem. In the absence of any supporting evidence it would be wrong on one’s part to accept or reject either inference.

Some noteworthy Jain commentaries

(4) *Kāvyaḷamkāra-Ṭippaṇa*¹³ by Namisādhu :

Nami, known as Nami-sādhu or Nami-panḍita was a Śvetāmbara Jain and pupil of Śālibhadra. He composed his commentary in Saṃvat 1125=1069 A. D. He ‘deserves more than a passing notice.’ He is an early writer. He followed older commentators as he himself says :

‘*pūrvamahāmativiracitavṛtṭyanusāreṇa kimapi racayāmi.*’ His commentary, though generally concise and to the point contains many quotations.

(5) *Kāvyaḷamkāra-Saṅketa* :¹⁴ Māṇikyacandra, a Jain author of Gujarat wrote his commentary called *Saṅketa* on the famous *Kāvyaḷamkāśa*. It is dated in Saṃvat 1216-1159-60 A. D. “Among the numerous commentaries those of Māṇikyacandra, Someśvara, Sarasvatī-tīrtha and Jayanta deserve special mention as being amongst the earliest ones.”

(6) *Kāvyaṣakhaṇḍana*¹⁵ : by Siddhicandraṅḍaṅi (1587-1666 A. D.). The author's intention was to write a critical exposition and to distinguish it from mere expositions he calls it *Kāvyaṣakhaṇḍana*. On more than sixty occasions Siddhicandraṅḍaṅi differs with Mammāṭa. Thus he criticises Mammāṭa's definition of poetry, varieties of poetry, the nature and number of *rasas*, etc. His criticism is bold and refreshing.

Treatises in Sanskrit on Alamkāraśāstra

(7) *The Vāgbhaṭālamkāra of Vāgbhaṭa*¹⁶ (the first half of the 12th century A. D.) with the commentary of Simhadevaṅḍaṅi : Vāgbhaṭa is perhaps the first Jain author to write a treatise on Sanskrit Poetics. His work is divided into five *paricchedas* (Chapters) and it contains 260 verses. Most of these verses are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre. He treats of the same topics usually covered in a treatise on poetics. He speaks of four figures of word (*Citra*, *Vakrokti*, *Anuprāsa* and *Yamaka*) and thirty-five figures of sense and two styles (*Vaidarbhī* and *Gaudīyā*). The examples cited in the work are the author's own. The popularity of this work could be judged from the number of commentaries on it. No commentaries on Hemacandra's or Vāgbhaṭa's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* are known. But the *Vāgbhaṭālamkāra* is fortunate in this respect. De has recorded information about eight commentaries on this work. The commentaries of Simhadeva Ḡaṅi and Jinavardhana Sūri are better known.

(8) *The Kāvyaṅuśāsana*¹⁷ of Hemacandra (between 1136 to 1143 A. D.) :

The *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* with its *vṛtti* called *Alamkāra-cūḍamaṅi* and its commentary, called, *Viveka*, composed by Hemacandra—the author himself, is a fine book in eight chapters comprehending the following topics (i) the purpose (*prayojana*) of poetry, its cause (*hetu*) viz. *pratibhā*, the aids to *pratibhā*, viz., *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*, definition of poetry; the nature of *śabda* and *artha*, meanings—the denoted, indicated and suggested meanings. (ii) The *rasa* and its factors *sthāyi vyabhicāri* and *sāttvikabhāvas*. (iii) The *doṣas* (defects) of *pada*, *vākya*, *artha* and *rasa* (iv) The *guṇas* which are three, *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda* and the letters which help to produce them. (v) six figures of word. Twenty-nine figures of sense, (vii) The characteristics and kinds of *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*. (viii) Division of *kāvya* into *prekṣya* and *śravya*, and their sub-divisions and their characteristics. Hemacandra lucidly sets forth these topics very often in the very words of the authorities on *Alamkāraśāstra* that preceded him and thus his work serves as a very good introduction to the study of the authoritative texts used by him. It is rather unfair to Hemacandra to describe his work as a compilation exhibiting hardly any originality as Kane does or to charge him of

plagiarism as De does.

A close study of the *Kāś* reveals that Hemacandra shows independence of thought and judgment in good many places refusing to follow blindly his acknowledged authorities. It is, however, incorrect to call Hemacandra's *Kāś* unique because it brings *for the first time* poetics and dramatics within the compass of a single work. For it is not the first of its kind. Hemacandra takes the lead from Bhoja's *Śṅgāraprakāśa* which treats of both poetics and dramatics. Again, it is to be remembered that Hemacandra's treatment of dramatics is scanty. It is probably for this reason that his two pupils Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra undertook writing their *Nātyadarpaṇa* which gives a comprehensive treatment of this science of dramatics.

(9) *Kalpalatā* and its *Pallava* (and *Viveka*)¹⁸ of Ambāprasāda (c. 1136 A. D.) : The text *Kalpalatā* and its *vṛtti Pallava* are as yet not discovered. *Kalpalatā* and its *svopajñā* (auto) commentary *Pallava* are the composition of Ambāprasāda, who was, most probably, a Jain.

Whether *Viveka* was also composed by him or by some other author is not as yet *definitely* known. Possibly, this *Viveka* is the composition of a Jain author. This *Viveka* commentary forms a supplement to the *Pallava* commentary. Although it is a supplement and sub-commentary it is highly important in many respects : It presents correctly a couple of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa verses which were otherwise extremely corrupt and obscure. *It preserves a large portion of the Abhinavabhāratī ch. VII, which was regarded as lost for ever by scholars working in the field.* It helps a good deal in restoring corrupt readings in *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Locana*. It preserves about a hundred *pratīkas* of the *Vakrokti-jīvita* mostly related to Chapter III and presents authentic explanations. It throws fresh light on *Bhāmahavivarāṇa* (Udbhata's commentary on Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-lamkāra*) which was presumed to have been lost beyond recovery. It supports Gnoli's identification of his publication of some fragments from this commentary with *Bhāmahavivarāṇa*. It also helps to restore some of the corrupt readings in the voluminous *Śṅgāraprakāśa* published from Mysore in four volumes.

(10) The *Nātyadarpaṇa*¹⁹ of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (c. 1125 to 1172 A. D.) : This is a very important work dealing with the science of dramatics. Unfortunately it is less known but deserves to be known better. It treats of almost all the topics of dramaturgy which a playwright ought to know. The authors of the *ND* critically studied all the literature on dramaturgy that was available to them. They made full use of the works of their predecessors but whenever and wherever they disagreed, they boldly criticised them and set forth

their own views. Their exposition of the theory of *rasa* (aesthetic experience) which markedly differs from that of his illustrious predecessors such as Abhinavagupta is noteworthy from this point of view. The *ND* notes anonymously the views of other authorities, some of which are no longer extant. It is rich in illustrations drawn from various plays of great merit, some of them are now lost to us. It is, therefore, valuable from the standpoint of literary history as well. Its long quotations proved of great help in reconstructing the lost play *Devīcandragupta* and they are of great historical value. Its style is simple and lucid and exposition brief yet clear. It bears comparison with the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya (with Dhanika's *Avaloka*), the most popular work on dramaturgy, nay, it surpasses it in many respects.

(11) *The Alamkaramahodadhi*²⁰ of Narendraprabhasūri (first half of the 13th century A. D.) : This work on Sanskrit Poetics was composed at the request of Vastupāla (d. 1242 A. D.). It is divided into 8 *tarāṅgas* (Chapters.) It contains 304 *kārikās* and 982 illustrative stanzas. The author himself wrote a commentary on this his own work. He does not lay any claim to originality but frankly admits that it is a compilation based on works of his predecessors in the field of poetics.

नास्ति प्राच्यैरलङ्कारकैराविष्कृतं न यत् ।

कृतिस्तु तद्वचःसारसङ्ग्रहव्यसनादियम् ॥ —Introductory v.no 21, p.3

A study of this work shows that the work is primarily based on the work of his distinguished predecessors, for instance, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Bhoja, Mammaṭa, Hemacandra and the like. It is, no doubt, an industrious and intelligent compilation and the treatment of the topics is at once lucid.

(12) *The Śṛṅgārārṇavacandrikā*²¹ of Vijayavarni (last quarter of the 13th century A. D.) : The author was a Digambara Jain. He composed this work at the request of king Kāmirāya of Baṅgawāḍī (Karnataka). It is divided into ten *paricchedas* (chapters). Chapter I mainly deals with consequences ascribed to initial letters of any composition and to the metrical feet employed in it. Chapter II enumerates seven groups of poetry and deals with fourfold sense and fourfold power of word Chapter III treats of *rasa* and *bhāva*. Chapter IV gives a study of the types of hero and heroine and their friends, messengers and rivals. Chapter V treats of ten *Guṇas*. Chapter VI makes a study of *Rīti* and its kinds. Chapter VII deals with *Vṛtti* and its varieties. Chapter VIII, which is the shortest of all, deals with the concepts of *śayyā* and *pāka*. Chapter IX which is the longest of all deals with *Artnālamkāras*. Chapter X treats of *doṣas* in a poetic composition and also of circumstances when they cease to be so. In the course of his exposition

of various topics of poetics the author sings the glory of king Kāmirāja.

Vijayavarni, generally follows the authorities on poetics (*Pūrvaśāstra* or *śāstra*). The author of *Alamkāra-saṅgraha* and this author for the first time introduce the topic of *varṇa-phala* and *gaṇa-phala* in works on poetics. Vijayavarni has drawn on the *Kāvya-darśa*, *Kāvya-alamkāra* (of Rudraṭa), the *Daśarūpaka*, the *Kāvya-prakāśa* and the *Pratāparudrayaśo-bhūṣaṇa*. The verses, illustrative of various points of poetics, are his own. It has to be said, however, that their literary merit is not up to mark.

(13-14) The *Alamkāracintāmaṇi*²² (and *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*) of Ajitasena (1420 A. D.) : He was a Digambara Jain; this work of his is divided into five *paricchedas* (chapters) The first chapter treats of *kaviśikṣā* ("education of the poet", "instruction of the aspiring poet in the devices of the craft."). It sets forth in great detail various instructions for an aspiring poet, the eight topics to be described in a *mahākāvya* (epic-poem) and various poetic conventions. The second chapter treats of the *citrālamkāra* (with its 42 varieties), one of the kinds of *śabdālamkāra* (figures of word). The third chapter treats of the remaining three kinds of figures of word—*vakrokti*, *anuprāsa* and *yamaka* (with its eleven varieties). The fourth chapter treats of 72 *arthālamkāras* and the last chapter deals with *rasādi* (*rasa*, *rīti*, *śabdaśakti vṛttis*, *guṇas*, *doṣas* and the types of hero and heroine.

Śṛṅgāramañjarī is possibly (or rather probably) from the same Ajitasena, the author of *Alamkāracintāmaṇi*. It was written at the instance of a Jain Apupa prince of the lunar race, named Rāya or Kāmirāya for his instruction. It consists of three chapters and 128 stanzas dealing with (1) *doṣas* (2) ten *guṇas* of Vāmana and (3) ten *arthālamkāras*. The work has not been published so far.

(15) The *Kāvya-nuśāsana*²³ of Vāgbhaṭa (c. 14th century A. D.) : This work (with its *vṛtti*, *Alamkāratilaka*, by the author himself), like Hemacandra's work of the same name, is written in the form of prose *sūtras*.

Śikṣā-works

(16) The *Kavi-śikṣā* of Jayamaṅgala (end of the 11th Century and first half of the 12th Century A. D.) : The author was a Jain who wrote at the time of Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A. D.) and was thus a contemporary of Hemacandra. The work has not been published so far.

(17) The *Kāvya-śikṣa*²⁴ (also known as *Kavi-śikṣā*) of Ācārya Vinayacandra (about 1250 A. D.) : is divided into six *paricchedas* (chapters) : 1. *Śikṣā*, 2. *Kriyā-nirṇaya*, 3. *Loka-kauśalya*, 4. *Bīja-vyāvāṇana*, 5.

Anekārthaśabdasaṃgraha and 6. *Rasa-bhāva-nirūpaṇapariccheda*. The first chapter deals with certain *śikṣās* (instructions) for the composition of *kāvya* (poetry), for example, conventions about describing things which are not actually found in certain place as being present there, not describing some things as existing even when in reality they do exist, artificial restrictions on the existence of things; use of expletives, conventions regarding metres, colours, and topics which should be described in an epic poem, The second chapter deals with *kriyā-nirṇaya* 'correct forms of verbs' and exposition of numerous verbs with their roots, meanings and *gaṇas*. The third chapter makes the reader conversant with the various ways of the world. This chapter lists entities numbering one, two, three, etc. (*ekādi-padārtha-gaṇana*) terms of collective nouns and some select *ābhāṇakas*, sayings, in Sanskrit and Prakrit and examples to illustrate acquaintance or familiarity (*paricaya*) with various *sāstras*, and standards of comparison (*upamā-padāni*). The fourth chapter deals with the description of *bījas* of various topics, Jina, Hara, Brahmā, Hari and so on. The fifth chapter deals with homonymns (*anekārthaśabdās*) arranged according to different principles. Last chapter deals with the characteristic features of *rasas* and *bhāvas*. This work is a lucid and comprehensive treatise on *Kāvya-śikṣā* and very useful for an aspiring poet.

(18) *Kavitārahasya* or *Kāvyaikalpalatā*²⁵ of Arisimha and Amaraçandra (Middle of the 13th Century A. D.) : These two Śvetāmbara Jain authors are notable in Sanskrit poetics for this work on the composition of verses and its commentary entitled *Kaviśikṣā-vṛtti*. This work was composed in part by Arisimha and completed by Amaraçandra who also wrote the commentary. The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* consists of four *Pratānas*, (Chapters) viz, : 1. *Chandaḥ-siddhi*, 2. *Śabda-siddhi*, 3. *Śleṣa-siddhi* and 4. *Artha-siddhi*.

The first chapter deals with prosody. It consists of sections on (i) the construction of the *anuṣṭubh* metre, (ii) enumeration of the principal metres, conversion of one metre into another, caesura (*yati*) (iii) use of expletive particles and words for filling up the verse, (iv) argumentation, pointed sayings, subjects of laudation or vituperation etc. and (v) subjects for descriptive poetry, how to describe the King, his ministers, the prince, the army, battle and hunting as well as a city, a village, a garden, a lake and so forth; enumeration of poetic conventions (*varṇya-sthiti*). The second chapter treats of etymology, derived meanings of compounds, denoted, indicated and suggested meanings, etc. The third chapter deals with play on words of various kinds. The last chapter is devoted to the construction of similes, ellipsis and similar figures.

(19) The *Kavi-Kalpalatā* of Deveśvara (c. beginning of the 14th century A. D.) : This work is "directly modelled on the *KāvyaKalpalatā* with considerable plagiarism of passages *in extenso*."

General Evaluation of the Jain works on Sanskrit Poetics

We must not lose sight of the fact, when we judge the works, that they belong to the period of decline and decadence and that the creative period was over since long before. It is idle on our part to expect of the authors, whether Jain or non-Jain, (belonging to the decadence period) any new poetic theories. The writers' creative period had already propounded the various doctrines of *rasa*, *alankāra*, *rīti*, *dhvani*, *vakrokti* and *aucitya* and there was hardly any scope to set forth a new doctrine of poetics. We must judge these works not by applying the test of originality and novelty of thought as they hardly lay claim to originality. Rather we must judge them as text-books presenting a rare collection of fine passages in earlier works for they are primarily intended as text-books, or as manuals of poetics to guide the aspiring poet in his profession, their primary object being *Kavi-sikṣā*—instruction of the aspiring poet in the devices of the craft. When they are judged from the correct stand-point we realise that they are not trash or insignificant and that they serve very well the purpose of text-books or of *sikṣā-granthas* as the case may be.

Although these Jain authors and commentators *in a sense* do not contribute anything new to our knowledge they do, in another sense, contribute to our knowledge in that they have preserved long paragraphs, passages, chapters from the original far-famed works they drew on such as *Bhāmahavivarāṇa*, *Dhvanyāloka*, *Vakroktijīvita*, *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Locana*, etc; and adopted passages have proved of invaluable help in restoring many corrupt passages and recovering lost passages and chapters.

Jain Contribution To Aesthetics : Introductory

Aesthetics or the inquiry into the character of beauty (*Saundaryasāstra*) is a regular part of philosophy in the West. In India, it does not form part of philosophy. The study of aesthetics was carried on here by a distinct class of thinkers *alankārikas* (literary critics) who were not professional philosophers. Naturally, they nowhere systematically discuss in their works the essential characteristics of art in general, or of the fine arts in particular. They deal mainly with beauty in creative literature, only in one of the fine arts. They do not explicitly or emphatically speak of the distinction between the "Fine Arts" and the "Lesser" or "Mechanical" Arts—those which minister to the enjoyment of man, and those which minister to his needs. Nor do they speak of "Arts of the

Eye” and the “Arts of the Ear”. Nor do they venture upon a definition of Art, applicable to all the (Fine) Arts. They merely attempt definition of one of the Fine Arts, namely Poetry (*kāvya* or creative literature as such) and investigate into the sources of literary beauty. Finally, they arrive at the conception of *rasa* as the first and foremost source of Beauty in Literature. Modern scholars like M.Hiriyanna say “... the numerous works in Sanskrit on poetics furnish adequate data for constructing a theory of fine art in general.” And, “The conception of *rasa* is general and furnishes the criterion by which the worth of all forms of fine art may be judged²⁶.” Some other scholars however hold that in the context of other fine arts the term *rasa* is used by metaphorical extension only and the *rasa* theory is not applicable to other fine arts. Be that as it may, let us revert to aesthetic inquiry carried on by the *ālamkārikas* in relation to the fine art of *kāvya* (Poetry including the Drama).

Two stages in the growth of Sanskrit literary criticism

In the growth of Sanskrit literary criticism we discern two distinct stages. The first stage is represented by the early *ālamkārikas* and the second by Ānandarvadhana and his followers. The early *ālamkārikas* hold that in *kāvya* it is the *alamkāra* that enjoys the pride of place. They fail to notice the central essence of *kāvya* as their attention is concentrated on its body—the outward expression or externals of *kāvya*, viz., *śabda* and *artha*. It is Ānandarvadhana the Dhvanikāra—who completely revolutionized the Sanskrit poetics and aesthetics by his novel theory that *dhvani* (suggestion) is the soul (the very essence) of *kāvya*. *Pratibhā* is the cause of poetry. It renders the poet’s creation unique. And to appreciate and enjoy the poet’s unique creation a *sahṛdaya* (a sensitive and sympathetic spectator or reader) is needed. The poet and the *sahṛdaya* are gifted with *pratibhā*. In the realm of *kāvya* *pratibhā* enjoys the place of supremacy. Whatever is touched by the magic wand (power) of *pratibhā* becomes *alaukika* (unique) and a source of beauty. Mere *dhvani* is not a source of beauty, the *dhvani* itself must be charming. There is no charm in such expressions as *siṃho baṭuḥ* (The boy is a lion) or *gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* (there is a hamlet on Gaṅgā.)—just as there is no beauty in the bald *vakratā* of a dog’s tail (but the *vakratā* of the crescent moon is incomparably beautiful).

The traditional views of *rasa*

Now, the traditionally accepted view of *rasa* is stated out in Abhinavagupta’s *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Locana* commentary on *Dhvanyāloka*. Its distinguishing features are :

Rasa is totally different from an ordinary emotion. It is generic—

universal i.e. common to all other *sahrdayas* while an emotion is individual and immediately personal. *Rasa* is always pleasurable but an emotion may be pleasant or painful. *Rasa* is not created as the result of the denotation—the way joy is produced when (a man hears the words), “A son has been born to you” nor does it come about through *lakṣaṇā*; nor it is created as a result of perception, inference or recollection. It cannot exist without *vibhāvas*, etc. but these are not in the normal sense causes; an effect can exist when its causes have disappeared but *rasa* exists only while the *vibhāvas* etc., last. *Rasa* is something *alaukika* (supernatural or supernormal, transcendental, unique, *sui generis*). It is marked by unselfishness-selflessness- a forgetting, though temporary, of one’s private self-individuality and by a unique kind of delight. Its essence consists exclusively in aesthetic pleasure (*carvyamāṇataikasāra*). As in the case of a taste like *mādhurya*—sweetness there is no knowing of *rasa* apart from directly experiencing it (*āsvādyā-mānatā-prāṇatayā bhānti*); *rasa* is felt, therefore it exists. *Rasa* is *parabrahmāsvāda-sahodara* (similar to the enjoyment of the Absolute or Ultimate Reality, but not identical), *Rasa* is manifested or suggested by the *vibhāvas* etc., in their idealised or generalised form. *Rasa* is marked by restful joy.

We have deliberately set forth in some detail the view of *rasa* set out in Abhinavagupta precisely because it has been accepted *in toto* by the polymath—who is known as *Kalikālasarvajña*—the Jain scholar Ācārya Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* :—*tena sādharanībhūtaratiḥ śṛṅgāraḥ—iti śrīmānabhinavagupt-ācāryaḥ | Etanmatameva cāsmābhirupajīvitamiti* (p. 103).

Now, chronologically speaking, the “*nava kavva-rasā paṇṇattā*” passage in *Anuyogadvārasūtra* is the oldest one. We have absolutely no clue to know the author’s view as to the *laukika* or *alaukika* nature of *rasa* and its *sukhātmakatā* or *sukhaduḥkhātmakatā*. The senior Vāgbhaṭa who preceded Hemacandra, it would seem, regards that *sthāyibhāva* itself, when fully developed by the *vibhāvas* etc., becomes *rasa*. This view is in agreement with the view of Lollaṭa and differs from Abhinavagupta’s *sthāyivilakṣaṇo rasaḥ*—“*Rasa* is very different from the permanent emotion.”

Namisādhu, while commenting on Rudraṭa (Ch, XII. 3), explains the line : ‘इति मन्तव्या रसाः सर्वे’ as follows :

इति शब्दः एवंप्रकारार्थः । एवंप्रकार अन्येऽपि भावा रतिनिर्वेदस्तम्भादयः सर्वेऽपि रसा बोद्धव्याः ।

If Rudraṭa extends *rasatva* to *nirvedādi* i.e. to all the *cittavṛttis* and primarily to the *vyabhicāriṇs*, Namisādhu extends *rasatva* to *sāttvikabhāvas* also (which are, though called *bhāvas*, physical manifestations). He follows, it would

seem, Bhoja in this respect²⁷.

From amongst the rest of the Jain commentators on poetics and writers on poetics all excepting Siddhicandragani (the author of *Kāvyaaprakāśa-khaṇḍana*) and Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (the authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*) have nothing new to say about the nature of *rasa*²⁸. They follow, as a rule the standard works on Sanskrit poetics, like Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaaprakāśa*.

The credit of presenting graphically and vigorously the view that all the *rasas* are not pleasurable, but some alone are pleasurable and some others painful, goes to Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra²⁹. They were disciples of Ācārya Hemacandra, the author of *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*. They, however, do not agree with their master, for whom they have great reverence, as to the nature of *rasa* and set forth cogently their own view which may be termed as *sukha-duḥkhātmavāda* (according to which some *rasas* are pleasurable and some painful) as opposed to *Kevalānandavāda* according to which all *rasas* are pleasurable.

According to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*³⁰, 1. *śṛṅgāra*, 2. *hāsyā*, 3. *vīra*, 4. *adbhuta* and, 5. *sānta* are pleasurable whereas 1. *karuṇa*, 2. *raudra*, 3. *bībhatsa* and, 4. *bhayānaka* are painful. They say : the view that all *rasas* are pleasurable goes against experience. The *karuṇa*, *raudra*, etc. when presented on the stage or in poetry cause indescribable pain to the spectators or sensitive readers. They experience *camatkāra*, only at the end of *rasāsvāda* due to the poet's divine *pratibhā* and actor's skill in presentation. Persons (like Abhinavagupta) duped—carried away—by this *camatkāra*, regard the *karuṇa*, *raudra* etc. as pleasurable although in reality they are painful³¹. Attracted by this aesthetic experience of grief etc., spectators feel like going to plays in which *karuṇa* is present. Poets and playwrights compose poems and plays which consist in pleasure and pain in accordance with this worldly life itself which consists in both pleasure and pain. Witnessing of tragic events on the stage never produces pleasure. If the representation of tragic events be pleasurable then the representation itself will have to be called misrepresentation³².

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* holds that the *sthāyibhāva* itself, when developed by *vibhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas* and manifested by *anubhāvas* is to be called *rasa*. This view of the nature of *rasa* is identical with the *utpattivāda* or *puṣṭi-vāda* of Lollaṭa (and Daṇḍī), and most probably with Bharata's own view of *rasa* as found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. For Bharata explicitly says :

Sthāyibhāvānsca rasatvam upaneṣyāmaḥ |

—NS, Vol. I, Ch. VI, p. 299

and, *sthāyveva tu raso bhavet* |

—NS, Vol. I, Ch.VI.p. 379

Further, Bharata's description of a sensitive spectator corroborates this above statement : "A true spectator at drama is he who, when the character is happy becomes himself happy, when the character is in sorrow is himself in sorrow, and when the character is depressed becomes himself depressed."

Thus it would seem that the authors of the ND, in contrast to their own revered Ācārya Hemacandra who follows Abhinavagupta, word for word, as regards the nature of *rasa*, regard, following Bharata, Lollaṭa, Daṇḍi etc., *rasa* as *laukika* and therefore, *sukhaduḥkhātma*. Here, we may note, in passing, that the authors of the ND do not subscribe to the *miśrānanda-vāda* of *rasa* alluded to in their work by Dhanika and Jagannātha, when they speak of its being *sukha-duḥkhātma* ! They clearly state that five *rasas* are *sukhātma* and four, *duḥkhātma*. Regarding the location of *rasa* they differ with Lollaṭa. They hold that *rasa* is present in the hero (say, Rāma, Duṣyanta, etc.), in the spectator, and some times in the actor also.

Siddhicandragani's view of *rasa* is more radical. He very probably sets out his own view under the guise of 'iti navīnāḥ' or "navīnāstu" : According to him, the aesthetic pleasure or rapture is just like ordinary pleasures of sense, that arise, for instance, from pressing plump breasts of a beautiful young lady or from applying cool sandal paste to our bodies³³. *Rasa* is thus *laukika* *Rasa*, by its very nature, being pleasurable he holds that there are only four *rasas* : 1. *śṛṅgāra*, 2. *vīra*, 3. *hāsyā* and, 4. *adbhuta*. He rejects the claim of *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *bībhatsa*, *bhayānaka* and *śānta* to the title of *rasa*³⁴. The whole discussion of this topic is marked by originality logical reasoning and freshness of outlook and deserves to be read in the original³⁵. Siddhicandra goes a step, and a very big step indeed, further than Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in holding that there are four *rasas* only. The description of *Aja-vilāpa*, or *śānta* or of *bhayātīśaya* is aimed at showing the intensity of love towards Indumatī, his beloved wife, or complete detachment or world-weariness of *mumuḥṣus* or the tenderness or softness of a particular individual, respectively. In fact, however, poets undertake to describe such incidents, events or situations only to demonstrate their own descriptive power or the richness of their own imaginative faculty³⁶.

This survey would show that there is nothing peculiarly Jain about their view of the nature of *rasa*. Along with other writers on poetics they take *rasas* to be *laukika* or *alaukika*, *sukha-duḥkhātma* or *sukhātma* only. A "Modern" like Siddhicandragani disregards tradition and holds that there are

four *rasas* only. It is, however, very surprising, if not shocking, that none of these Jain authors and commentators takes cognisance of the “*nava-kavva-rasā pannaṭā*” passage found in their sacred text., the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the Jain contribution to the Sanskrit poetics and aesthetics is noteworthy, especially when we remember that almost all these Jain works have been composed during the period of decline and decadence. A few of them, like Ācārya Hemacandra, (Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra) adopt the finest passages or lines from the standard works or early authorities on *alamkāra* and organise them into good text-books. A few others choose to write commentaries on the far-famed *Kāvya prakāśa*. Māṅkiyacandra's commentary *Kāvya prakāśasamketa* enjoys reputation and authority as one of the early and authentic commentaries. Still a few others devote their attention to writing convenient hand-books or manuals with a view to providing instruction to the aspiring poet in the devices of the craft. The *Kāvya kalpalatāvṛtti* of Arisimha and Amaraçandra is a typical or model *śikṣā-grantha*. Authors like Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra who wrote the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and a ‘moderner’ like Siddhicandraḡaṇi who wrote *Kāvya prakāśakhaṇḡana* set out their novel theories regarding the nature of *rasa*—whether it is *laukika* or *alaukika*, whether it is *sukhātma* or *sukha-duḡkhātma*, whether their number is limited to eight or nine or whether there are as many *rasas* as there are *cittavṛttis* or *bhāvas* including the *sāttvikabhāvas* (which are, in fact, physical manifestations) and spring on us a pleasant surprise by their fresh outlook and logical reasoning in the face of stalwarts—intellectual giants like Abhinavagupta. By adopting passages long and short from early authorities and preserving them in their original form they have proved themselves of invaluable help in restoring the corrupt text of highly important works like *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Locana*. Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*, etc.

Notes and References :

1. *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 594-595.
2. *The Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha and *The History of Sanskrit Poetics* by P. V. Kane, third edition, Bombay 1951, p. 217.
3. *History of Sanskrit Poetics* In Two Volumes, Second Revised Edition, Calcutta, 1960, Vol. I, p. 189, f. n. 1.
4. *Ibid*, p. 190.
5. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* by A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1928, pp. 395-396.

6. *Studies In Sanskrit Sāhitya-Śāstra*, pub. by B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan (North Gujarat), 1983, pp. 149-154.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 153-154.
8. Cf Dr. Raghavan : *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Third revised and enlarged edition, Madras, 1978, p. 237 f. n. 1 : ... "Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* which is a rare collection of all the fine passages in all the earlier works." And, *Ibid*, p. 687 :... "Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* is a work embodying in itself the best portions of the works of many preceding writers like Bharata, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta (*Locana* and *Abhinavabhāratī*), Mahimabhaṭṭa and Kṣemendra."
9. *Nandisuttam* and the *Aṅuyogaddārāim*, Jaina-āgama series No. 1., Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1968, pp. 121-124.
10. Compiled by Muni Shri Punyavijayji, L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, Serial No. 326-2, p. 138.
11. *Ibid*, the following three *gāthās* out of six, reproduced in the Catalogue expressly inform us that the work deals with only figures of speech :
 सक्वाइं कक्वाइं सक्वाइं जेण होंति भक्वाइं ।
 तमलंकारं भणिमोऽलंकारं कुकवि-कक्वाणं ॥
 अच्चंतसुंदरं पि हु निरलंकारं जणम्मि कीरंतं ।
 कामिणिमुहं व कक्वं होइ पसणं पि विच्छअं ॥
 ता जाणिऊण णिउणं लक्खिज्जह बहुविहे अलंकारे ।
 जेहि अलंकरिआइं बहुमणिज्जंति कक्वाइं ॥
12. *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Calcutta, 1960 edn, Vol. I, p. 93.
13. Edited in the *Kāvyaṅmālā* Series (No. 2) with the *Ṭippaṇa* of Namisādhu, Bombay, 1909.
14. Edition with the text (i) By Vasudeva Abhyankar, Anandasrama press, Poona 1921; (ii) by R. Sharma Sāstry, Mysore, 1922.
15. Edited by Prof. R. C. Parikh and pub. in Singhi Jain Granthamālā (No. 40,) Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953.
16. Ed. by Sivadatta and K. P. Parab (with Simhadevagaṇi's commentary) "Nirnaya Sagar" Press, Bombay, 1895.
17. Second revised edition by R. C. Parikh and V. M. Kulkarni, pub. by Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1964.
18. L. D. Series No. 17, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380 009, 1968.
19. Revised Second Edition by Pt. L. B. Gandhi, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1959.
20. Ed. by Pt. L. B. Gandhi, Gaekward's Oriental Series, Baroda, 1942.
- 21: Manikachandra D. Jaina Granthamala : No. 50, ed. by V. M. Kulkarni, pub. by Bharatiya Jnanapitha Sales Office : 3620/21 Netaji Subhash Marg, Delhi-6, 1969.
22. Edited by Dr. Nemi Chandra Shastri, Bharatiya Jnanpitha Publication, publication office : Durgakunda Road, Varanasi - 221 005, 1973. It may be noted that there was a lot of confusion about the name of its author and his age which is now cleared by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy. Vide his paper "The Date of Ajita Ālankāracintāmaṇi" included

by him in his own vol. *Essays In Sanskrit Criticism*, pub. by Karnataka University, Dharwad, 1974, pp. 307-310.

23. Published in *Kāvya-mālā* Series, No. 43, "Nirnaya-sagar" press, Bombay. 1915.
24. Edited By Dr. H. G. Shastri, L. D. series No. 3, L. D. Institute of Indology., Ahmedabad-380 009, 1964.
25. Printed in Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Benares, 1931.
26. Art Experience By M. Hiriyanna, Kavyālaya Publishers Mysore, 1954, p. 2, and p. 64.
27. Vide Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* by Dr. Raghavan, 1978 edition, (p. 432) and *Sarasvatīkaṅṭhābharaṇa*, (ch V,) (p. 722) N. S. edn, Bombay, 1934.
28. Incidentally, it may be noted that Ajitasena, the author of *Alaṅkāracintāmaṇi*, introduces the technical terms of Jain philosophy, namely, *jñānāvaraṇīya (karma)*, *vīryāntarāya (karma)* and their *kṣayopaśama*, and *mohanīya (karma)* in defining *Sthāyibhāva* :
- क्षयोपशमने ज्ञानावृतिवीर्यान्तराययोः ।
इन्द्रियानिन्द्रियैर्जावे त्विन्द्रियज्ञानमुद्भवेत् ॥१॥
तेन संवेद्यमानो यो मोहनोयसमुद्भवः ।
रसाभिव्यञ्जकः स्थायिभावश्चिद्वृत्तिपर्ययः ॥२॥
- अलङ्कारचिन्तामणौ पञ्चमे परिच्छेदे
29. Abhinavagupta refers to the Sāmkhya view of *rasa* (that it is *sukha-duḥkha-svabhāva*) in his *Abhinavabhāratī* (Chapter VI p. 270, 4th edn).
- येन त्वभ्यधावि-सुखदुःखजननशक्तियुक्ता विषयसामग्री बाह्यैव साङ्ख्यदृशा सुखदुःखस्वभावा रसः ।
Vide also, Dr. Raghavan : *The Number of Rasas*, The Adyar Library And Research Centre, Adyar, Madras 600 022, 1979, (Ch.VII). The fact, however, remains that it is Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra who for the first time *forcefully* and *elaborately* set forth this view.
30. तत्रेष्टविभावादिप्रथितस्वरूपसम्पत्तयः शृङ्गार-हास्य-वीरद्वैत-शान्ता पञ्च सुखात्मानोऽपरे पुनरनिष्टविभावाद्युप-नीतात्मानः करुणरौद्रबीभत्स-भयानकाश्चत्वारो दुःखात्मानः । यत् पुनः सर्वरसानां सुखात्मकत्वमुच्यते, तत् प्रतीति (?प्रतीति-बाधितम्) ।
—*Nātyadarpana*, GOS edn, Baroda, 1959, p. 141.
31. भयानको बीभत्सः करुणो रौद्रो वा रसास्वादवतामनाख्येयां कामपि क्लेशदशामुपनयति । अत एव भयानकादिभिरुद्विजते समाजः । न नाम सुखास्वाददुद्वेगो घटते । यत् पुनरेभिरपि चमत्कारो दृश्यते, स रसास्वादविरामे सति यथावस्थितवस्तुप्रदर्शकेन कवि-नट-शक्ति-कौशलेन । विस्मयन्ते हि शिरच्छेदकारिणाऽपि प्रहार-कुशलेन वैरिणा शौण्डीरमानिनः । p. 141.
32. अन्ये च सर्वाङ्गाह्लादकेन कविनटशक्ति-जन्मना चमत्कारेण विप्रलब्धाः परात्मरूपतां दुःखात्मकेष्वपि करुणादिषु सुमेधसः प्रतिजानते । एतदास्वादलोल्येन प्रेक्षका अपि एतेषु प्रवर्तन्ते । कवयस्तु सुखदुःखात्मकसंसारानुरूप्येण रामादिचरितं निबध्नन्तः सुखदुःखरसानुविद्धमेव ग्रथन्तिअपि च सीताया हरणं द्रौपद्याः कचाम्बराकर्षणं.... अभिनोयमानं सहृदयानां को नाम सुखास्वादः ? ।यदि चानुकरणे सुखात्मानः स्युर्न सम्यगनुकरणं स्यात्, विपरीतत्वेन भासनात्...
33.इति प्राचां निष्कर्षः । तदपेक्षया कामिनीकुचकलशस्पर्शचन्दनानुलेपनादिनेव नाट्यदर्शन-काव्यश्रवणाभ्यां सुखविशेषो जायते । स एव तु रस इति नवीनाः ।
—*Kāvya prakāśakhaṇḍana* p. 16
34. इष्टनाशादिभिश्चेतोवैक्लव्यं शोक उच्यते ।

तथा-

रैद्रशक्त्या तु जनितं वैक्लव्यं मनसो भयम् ।
दोषेक्षणादिभिर्गर्हा जुगुप्सेति निगद्यते ॥

तथा-

तत्त्वज्ञानाद् यदीष्यदिर्निर्वेदः स्वावमाननम् ।

इत्यादिनियुक्तशोकादिप्रवृत्तिकानां करुणादीनां रसत्वनिषेधात् । यत्तु शोकादयोऽपि रत्यादिवत् स्वप्रकाशज्ञानसुखात्मका इति तदुन्मत्तप्रलपितम् ।

—*Ibid* p. 21

35. *Ibid*, p. 16 and pp. 21-22.

36. ननु कथमजविलापादिकं कविभिर्वर्णयत इति चेत्, उच्यते—तेषां अजमहीपति-प्रभृतीनां स्वस्वप्रियानुराग-प्रकर्षप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । . . . एवं शान्तस्थापि वर्णनं मुमुक्षुणां वैराग्यातिशयप्रतिपत्तये । एवं भयातिशयवर्णनं तत्तद्ब्यक्तीनां मार्दव . . . प्रतिपादनाय । वस्तुतस्तु कविभिः स्वशक्तिप्रदर्शनार्थमेव पद्यबन्धाबन्धादिनिर्माणवत् तत्र तत्र प्रवर्त्यत इति ।

—*Ibid*, p.22

□ □ □

JAIN AESTHETIC CONCEPTS

Jhalakikar¹, the learned Sanskrit commentator of *Kāvya prakāśa* informs us that the four commentators, Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śrīśaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta have explained the Bharata-*sūtra* (*rasasūtra*) in accordance with the four systems of philosophy, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya and Alarṅkāra, respectively. Professor Hiriyanna observes in one of his essays : “When the predominance of *rasa* came to be insisted upon as indispensable to artistic excellence, many of the systems of philosophy applied their own fundamental principles to its interpretation so that in course of time there came to be more than one theory of *rasa*”², and elucidates these theories according to two of the chief systems, viz. Vedānta and Sāṃkhya and sums up the essential differences between the Vedānta and the Sāṃkhya aesthetics³. In keeping with this usage one may speak of Jain aesthetics and Jain aesthetic concepts. On a closer study one would, however, find that it is somewhat misleading to stamp an *ālarṅkārika* as a Sāṃkhya or Naiyāyika or Vedāntin or Mīmāṃsaka simply on the basis of the fundamental principles or technical terms of a particular system of philosophy employed by him in the course of his interpretation of the *rasa-sūtra*. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, for instance uses the Sāṃkhya technical terms *moha*, *sattvodreka*, *rajas* and *tamas* and *bhoga* but at the same time compares this *bhoga* (characterised by a resting on one’s own consciousness which is pervaded by beatitude and light) with the tasting of the supreme Brahman (*parabrahmāsvādasavidha*), a phrase met with in Vedānta-*darśana*. On the basis of this slender evidence it would be simply incorrect to label Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka either as a Sāṃkhya or a Vedāntin. In fact elsewhere Abhinavagupta himself gives him the title of ‘Mīmāṃsakāgrāṇīh’⁴. Ācārya Hemacandra, perhaps the greatest Jain ācārya of medieval India, adopts the entire commentary of Abhinavagupta on the *rasasūtra* and declares that his authority (or source) is Ācārya Abhinavagupta—who is a ‘*Mahāmāheśvāra*’. It would be seen from what has been said that there is no such thing as Hindu or Jain or Buddhist Aesthetics. Of course we have some works on poetics and aesthetics by Jain writers:

Vāgbhāṭa-I (Vāgbhāṭālamkāra, 1st half of 12th century A. D.), Ācārya Hemacandra (*Kāvyaṅuśāsana* 1st half of 12th century A. D.), Maladhārī Narendraprabha (*Alamkāramahodadhī*, 1st half of the 13th century A. D.). Vāgbhāṭa (II) (*Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, 14th century A. D.) and Vijayavarṇi (*Śṛṅgārṇavacandrikā*, last quarter of the 13th century A. D. ?). These Jain writers accept, generally speaking, all the aesthetic concepts of *alamkāra*, *vakrokti*, *guṇa*, *rīti*, *aucitya*, *rasa*, *dhvani* and the like, as conceived and formulated by master ālamkārikās like Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Bhoja, Kuntaka, Mammaṭa and others, and presented in their celebrated works. They hardly have anything new to say about these concepts or add any new concepts. They have nothing new to say even about the central aesthetic concept of *rasa*. But there are two other Jain works which are noteworthy for their views about *rasa* and problems related to it. The first is *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, the two remarkable disciples of Ācārya Hemacandra, and the second, *Kāvyaṅprakāśakhaṇḍana*, a commentary on *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* of Mammaṭa, composed by Siddhicandraṅgaṇi, contemporary of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha (17th century A. D.). These two writers depart from the beaten path regarding the nature of *rasa* and problems related to it. They indeed break fresh ground and their views strike the reader as novel. It is proposed to deal in this paper with their novel views.

In the course of his commentary on the *rasasūtra* Abhinavagupta briefly deals with the Sāṃkhya view of *rasa*. According to the Sāṃkhyas *rasa* is of dual nature—of amphibian nature—of the nature of pleasure or pain. But it is the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* which for the first time divides the sentiments (*rasas*) into two distinct groups : 1. Those which are pleasurable (*śṛṅgāra*, *hāsyā*, *vīra*, *adbhuta* and *śānta*—the erotic, the comic, the heroic, the marvellous and the quietist) and those that are painful or unpleasurable (*karuṇa*, *raudra*, *bībhatsa* and *bhayānaka*—the sentiment of pathos, the furious sentiment, the disgusting sentiment and the terrifying sentiment) and gives a reasoned exposition of this dual nature of *rasa*. It takes intensified permanent emotion (*sthāyī bhāva*), which is of the nature of pleasure or pain, to be *rasa*. (See *kārikā* III. 7); and in the *vivaraṇa* (commentary) that follows sets forth arguments in support of the dual nature of *rasa* : To say that all *rasas* are pleasurable is against experience. The sentiment of *bhayānaka* etc. even when presented through poetic description or represented on the stage through fourfold *abhinaya* (acting) cause indescribable pain to the *sahṛdayas*—sensitive and responsive readers or spectators, in factuality ! That is why people simply shudder when they witness plays depicting sentiments like the terrifying; shuddering and relish of pleasure

ill go together. The *camatkāra* (peculiar delight) experienced by the spectators at the end of the performance of tragic scenes is, however, simply due to the genius or creative imagination of the poet and the high skill of the actors in presenting things faithfully⁶. The proud are wonderstruck at the sight of an enemy who cuts off the head at one stroke. The wise (*ālamkārikās* like Abhinavagupta), deceived or misled by this all-delightful *camatkāra* caused by the display of the poet's genius and the extraordinary skill of actors, regard even these unpleasurable or painful *karuṇa* and other *rasas* as highly pleasurable⁷. Spectators too, eager to taste this *camatkāra*, turn up to witness plays depicting *Karuṇa* and other painful *rasas*. Poets portraying the life of *Rāma* etc : depict it as intermingled with joy and sorrow in accordance with the actual human life which is mixture of both. Again, pleasures become all the more enjoyable when accompanied by sorrow like the sweetness of a beverage with a hot ingredient like chilly added to it. Tragic events such as the abduction of *Sītā*, *Duḥśāsana* dragging *Draupadī* by her hair and attempting to disrobe her, *Hariścandra's* serving a *Cāṇḍāla* as a slave, the death of *Rohitāśva*, *Lakṣmaṇa's* being hit by a *śakti*—a kind of missile—*Aghoraghaṇṭa's* attempt to kill *Mālatī* (in the play *Mālatī-Mādhava*) when represented on the stage can never cause delight in the hearts of the sensitive and sympathetic spectators (*sahṛdayas*). Again, the emotions of sorrow and other (painful) feelings in the original character cause lamentation, shedding of tears, etc., and are therefore undoubtedly painful. If through imitation by actors these painful feelings are said to become pleasurable, it is obvious that the actor's art is very deficient as it represents things falsely—in their perverted form⁸. The apparent relish of pleasure by one when a tragic event is being described or staged is really speaking the relish of pain. An unhappy person alone feels joy or satisfaction on hearing tragic news and is distressed on hearing good news. Thus *karuṇa* and other painful *rasas* produce sorrow and nothing but sorrow.

The seat of *rasa* is the original character; the spectator, the hearer or the poet himself. Generally speaking, an actor does not experience the aesthetic delight, but it is not an absolute or invariable rule that he never experiences *rasa*. For example, a harlot who, through avarice or cupidity enters into amorous dalliance for the pleasure of others, may at times herself experience great delight; a singer singing to delight others at times himself experiences great delight. Similarly an actor while playing the role of a character may at times be completely absorbed by that role and experience *rasa*⁹.

It is quite clear from the very definition of *rasa*, given by the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (III 7.), that it holds, like *Lollaṭa*, that *rasa* is *laukika* (as in

actuality). It holds *rasa* to be *alaukika* only in the sense that the *vibhāvas* as depicted in a play or poem are not real. In the case of a real man and real woman the *rasa* is apprehended vividly because its *vibhāvas* are actually present; and it is on account of this actuality that the *vyabhicārins* and *anubhāvas* produced by *rasa* are clearly perceptible. In the case of a spectator or an actor however the *rasa* is apprehended only indistinctly for the *vibhāvas* portrayed in a play or a poem do not have real existence. Consequently the *vyabhicārins* and the *anubhāvas* too which follow *rasa* are not clearly perceptible. That is why the *rasa*, apprehended in a spectator is called *alaukika* (not of actuality, nonworldly, supranormal)¹⁰.

It would seem from the above that the authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, strongly differ with Abhinavagupta on two points regarding *rasa*. Abhinavagupta holds all the eight (nine, including *sānta*) *rasas* to be pleasurable (*ānandarūpa*) whereas these authors speak of two distinct groups of *rasa* : (1) *śṛṅgārādi* (the erotic and others), which are pleasurable and (2) *karuṇādi* (pathos and others), which are unpleasurable or painful. Abhinavagupta locates *rasa* primarily in the spectator (or hearer) whereas these locate *rasa* in the original character, the spectator (or the hearer), the poet and at times even the actor.

And now as regards Siddhicandra's view :

Siddhicandra, a contemporary of Jagannātha, first explains the experience of *paramānanda*, the supreme joy of *rasa*, according to the doctrine of the Vedāntins¹¹. His use of terms like *ratyādyavacchinnam (caitanyam)*, "*bhagnāvaraṇam (caitanyam)*." strongly remind us of Jagannātha's explanation of *rasa* as *ratyādyavacchinnā bhagnāvaraṇā cideva rasaḥ* in his *Rasagaṅgādhara*¹². As compared with it, a peculiar pleasure which arises on watching a dramatic performance or hearing the recitation of poetry is similar to the pleasure of anointing one's body with sandal-paste or of pressing the breasts of a young beautiful woman is itself *rasa*—this is the view of the *moderns (navīnāḥ)* who belong to the 17th century¹³. In other words, the *navīnas* (possibly, including the author himself) regard the aesthetic pleasure as *on a par* with ordinary pleasures of the sense—as only *laukika*(worldly). As a corollary to this view they hold that there are only four *rasas*; the erotic, the heroic, the comic and the marvellous; and reject the claim of the pathetic, the furious, the terrifying and the disgusting to the title of *rasas*¹⁴. The pathos (*karuṇa*) and others, arising from sorrow (*śoka*) etc., although are revealed with *cit* (or *caitanya*)—consciousness consisting of delight, they cannot be called *rasa* since

the *sthāyī amśa* (part) is opposed to the state of *rasa*. Again, if you argue that they, being revealed by *alaukika vibhāvas*, etc., deserve to be called *rasa* like the pleasurable bites inflicted in the course of love game, our reply is 'No'. For following this line of argument you will have to call mental distress caused by hunger, thirst, etc., as new or different *rasas*. The bites in the course of sexual enjoyment remove the pain caused by overpowering passion and give a sense of relief as when a burden is taken off one's shoulders. But to say that sorrow (*śoka*) etc., like love (*rati*) etc., consists of (lead to) light, knowledge and joy is simply a madman's prattle¹⁵. Further in '*Aja-vilapa* (*Aja's Lament*) etc., because of *varnanīyatanmayībhavana* 'identifying one's self with the event or situation portrayed', how could there arise the aesthetic joy similar to *brahmānanda* ? In the disgusting (*bībhatsa rasa*) which describes vividly flesh, pus, etc., the reader or spectator does not vomit or spit is itself a matter of surprise; how could it produce *rasa* consisting of supreme joy ? It may be granted that the *sānta* somehow deserves the title *rasa* with reference to persons who have given up completely all *vāsanās* (various instincts) but certainly not with reference to sensualists as it (the *sānta*) involves abstention from all pleasures of the senses. The heroic and the furious do not differ as their *vibhāvas* bear resemblance. Regarding *dānavīra*, etc., the poet's chief intention is to describe the supreme generosity, greatness, etc. of the hero. The poets describe 'The Lament of Aja' for pointing out the profound love of Aja, towards Indumatī his beloved queen. So too the *sānta* is described to demonstrate the intense sense of world-weariness of *mumuṅṅṣus* (persons desirous of liberation). So too the terrifying in order to illustrate the tenderness of heart of the heroes concerned. In fact (to tell the truth), poets depict these/various situations to demonstrate the richness of their *pratibhā* (creative imagination) in the same way as they write *Padma-bandha* (artificial composition in which the words are arranged in the form of a lotus flower). etc¹⁶.

This point of view that "*rasa* is *laukika*, is made up of pleasure and pain, and that it in no way differs from other pleasures of the senses", however did not find able advocates among the *ālamkārikās* and was thrown into background, if not completely eclipsed by the writings of Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, Hemacandra, Visvanātha and Jagannātha.

Although the Jain writers do not make any significant or original contribution to the subject of Sanskrit poetics and aesthetics they deserve our gratitude on grounds more than one : They incorporate almost word for word, passages after passages, large and important sections from standard and authoritative works of master minds and preserve them intact and help us

immensely in restoring the corrupt and hence obscure text of *Abhinavabhāratī* (about which the first editor, Ramakrishna Kavi remarked : "...even if Abhinavagupta descended from Heaven and saw the Mss. he would not easily restore his original reading")¹⁷ and *Locana*, the two unique commentaries on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* respectively by Abhinavagupta, the greatest authority in Sanskrit literary criticism and aesthetics. These works are the sources of many aesthetic ideas, concepts and famous comparisons of later *alamkāra* literature. They preserve important passages and sections from authoritative works on *alamkāra* which are now irretrievably lost. The commentaries of Jain authors utilise earlier works and elucidate the text and help us a good deal to understand better the original works on *alamkāra* that they comment upon. Most noteworthy works which belong to the above categories are Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, *Kalpalatāviveka* of Ambāprasāda (?), Namisādhu's *Ṭippaṇa* (commentary) on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaālamkāra*, Māṅkiyacandra's commentary *Samketa* on *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* and Guṇaratnagaṇi's *Sāradīpikā*, another commentary on *Kāvyaṅprakāśa*.

Though Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* does not constitute an original contribution to the subject it is not quite correct to describe it as a compilation exhibiting hardly any originality as Kane¹⁸ does or to charge Hemacandra of plagiarism as De¹⁹ does or to label it as '*śikṣā-grantha*' as De, again, does. Instead of briefly summarising or paraphrasing or describing in his own words the theories and doctrines of his great predecessors too illustrious to be mentioned by name, if Hemacandra preferred to present them in their original form we need not find fault with him. Besides we cannot forget the fact that his writing was of a *śāstrīya* (scientific) nature and in scientific books such quotations are justified. We will only be betraying poverty of our imagination and scant respect for Hemacandra's intelligence if we were to insinuate that Hemacandra pretended that all the passages and sections which he quoted would pass as his own. The truth of the matter is that Hemacandra regards the masterpieces of his worthy predecessors as the property of the entire world. He is a man of *pratibhā* (creative imagination) but his *pratibhā* is more of *bhāvayitrī* (appreciative) and less of the *kārayitrī* (creative) type. His capacity to select choicest passages from his authorities and to organise them into a homogeneous and organic whole is supreme. Moreover, Hemacandra shows independence of thought and judgement in good many places, refusing to follow blindly his acknowledged authorities.

Hemacandra adopts the entire long section or *Abhinavabhāratī* on the famous *rasasūtra* of Bharata. He also adopts explanations of Bharata's

Daśarūpakādhyāya from *Abhinavabhārati*. He also freely incorporates passages after passages from his authorities as shown in my paper “The Sources of Hemacandra’s *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*.”²⁰ If the sections and explanations from *Abhinavabhārati* were not preserved intact by incorporating them in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, it would have been next to impossible to restore the corrupt text of *Abhinavabhārati* on the key *rasasūtra*. Next to the *Rasādhyāya* of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Bhāvādhyāya* is all important. The commentary *Abhinavabhārati* on it has been lost. Every student of Sanskrit poetics and aesthetics feels very much the loss of this portion. As late as 1969 A. D. Dr. J. L. Masson and Prof. M. V. Parwardhan observe in their recent work *Śāntarasa* and *Abhinavagupta’s Philosophy of Aesthetics* “All of the seventh chapter of the *Abhinavabhārati* but the very beginning has been lost, which is a great misfortune, since Abhinava refers to it frequently. It must have been a large and important section of the A. Bh.” (p. 120 f.n.2). In my paper “Abhinavabhārati CH.VII Recovered ?” I have shown decisively how the portion of the *Kalpalatāviveka* from p. 286, line 22 to p. 303, line 3, dealing with the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is a straight quotation of the major portion of the original *Abhinavabhārati* on the *Bhāvādhyāya*²¹. *Kalpalatāviveka* of Ambāprasāda, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra and *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of Hemacandra have been of great use in recovering the original readings of *Abhinavabhārati* and *Locana* as well. Again, Hemacandra’s treatment of *guṇas* is noteworthy : “On *guṇas* Hemacandra is a follower of Ānandavardhana and he draws upon Mammaṭa and probably on Rājaśekhara also....As regards the three *guṇas*, Hemacandra considers that *mādhurya* is of the highest degree in *vipralambha*, a little less in *karuṇa* and still less in *śānta*... This is one of the views recorded later by Jagannātha.” It is noteworthy for “his reference of strange views on *guṇas*.” One view holds that *ojas*, *prasāda*, *mādhurya*, *sāmya* and *audārya* are the five *guṇas* (in the sense of the *pāṭhadharmas*). The other view is these five *guṇas* belong to certain metres.” Hemacandra criticises both. What is remarkable is his reference to strange views on *guṇas* which are not mentioned elsewhere by any *ālaṅkārika*. Hemacandra’s *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* and Ambāprasāda’s *Kalpalatāviveka* shed abundant light on the vexed problem whether Gnoli’s claim that his publication, *Udbhata’s commentary on the Kāvyaālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha*²², really represents some fragments of the “lost” *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*. These two texts contain passages which support Gnoli’s identification.

Again, *Kalpalatāviveka* lucidly explains the six verses of *Bhāmaha* (*Kāvyaālaṅkāra* V. 5-10) which have baffled modern scholars, Pandits and commentators alike. In a paper “*Kalpalatāviveka* on *Bhāmaha’s Kāvyaālaṅkāra*

(Chapter V vv.5-10)²³ I have shown how *Kalpalatāviveka* throws a flood of light on the tough verses dealing with Logic and Epistemology.

As poets the Jains have also contributed their share to the literature of the Drama²⁴. Muni Rāmacandra, a well-known disciple of Ācārya Hemacandra wrote a number of plays. It may not be exaggeration to describe him as Bhāsa of medieval India. Some years ago I had occasion to read his delightful play of a *prakaraṇa* type called *Mallikāmakaranda*²⁵. A common man is puzzled to find a *muni*, who has renounced the world, depicting scenes of love between young men and women and describing approvingly the charms of young beautiful damsels. It also seems that some people professing to guard jealously the dignity and high position of *munis*, especially Jain *munis* must have severely criticised Rāmacandra for writing plays dealing with *śṛṅgāra* and *hāsyā* (the erotic and the comic) sentiments. For peace or quietitude is of the essence of *munis* and these sentiments are harmful to maintain and develop the attitude of quietitude. Rāmacandra defends himself against this criticism thus : “The whole world knows that *śama* (peace of quietitude) is of the very essence of *munis*. (Don't you however forget the fact that) although gods are born in heaven they move about in all the three worlds.” The suggestion is : *Munis* too should occasionally leave the high pedestal and come down on earth and should write plays and appreciate them when staged. Just as the gods do not lose their divine nature simply because they move about in the three worlds even so the *munis* who write plays and aesthetically appreciate them do not lose their sagesness or monkhood.

Rāmacandra on occasions expresses his views about beauty :

तं चिय परमत्थेणं रमणिज्जं जत्थ हिययवीसामो ।
हरिसंति असोयलया जेणं पायप्पहारेहि ॥
(तदेव परमार्थेन रमणीयं यत्र हृदयविश्रामः ।
हृष्यन्ति अशोकलताः येन पादप्रहारैः ॥) इति च्छाया ॥

This aesthetic concept strongly reminds us of Abhinavagupta's *hrdaya-viśrānti* or *cārurūpaṃ viśrāntisthānam* (Beautiful means that which gives rise to aesthetic repose).

यद् यस्य नाभिरुचितं न तत्र तस्य स्पृहा मनोज्ञेऽपि ।
रमणीयेऽपि सुधांशौ न नाम कामः सरोजिन्याः ॥

“Whatever one does not like, one has no eager desire or longing for it even if it be beautiful. The lotus-plant has indeed no longing for even the beautiful moon.” Rāmacandra has, of course, adopted this verse from Bhartrhari's *Śṛṅgāraśataka*.

Finally a word or two about Prakrit examples in Sanskrit works on *alamkāra* : Sanskrit thinkers introduce about 2500 Prakrit verses in their works by way of examples. The principal reason behind such a large number of Prakrit citations is that these thinkers (*ālamkārikās*) make no difference between Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures. They appreciated both—some of them wrote in both the languages. The norms laid down in their works were equally applicable to both and, indeed till recently to literatures even in our modern languages.

The Prakrit text of many verses is, in many places, corrupt or shows small or big gaps and in some cases it is so hopelessly corrupt that it becomes obscure. The Prakrit languages and literatures have been especially preserved by the Jain. I am glad to state that *Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics : A Critical Edition*, prepared by me is recently published. I have done my best to present the Prakrit text of these verses as correctly and faithfully as humanly possible.

In some quarters it is alleged that these Prakrit verses are full of obscenity. The *ālamkārikās* have defined in their works what constitutes the fault of obscenity. Use of words which give rise to feelings of shame, of disgust or convey the sense of inauspiciousness—such words are taboo in cultured and polite society—is condemned by them as obscene. They have, with their sharp intellect, recorded and denounced as obscene even particular combinations of letters giving rise to words meaning the names of private parts of the human body. So there is no question of defending obscenity.

These Prakrit verses fall into two groups : those which are highly erotic and those which portray illicit or clandestine or adulterous love. We must clearly distinguish between the erotic and the obscene. The writings of great poets, both Sanskrit and Prakrit, are highly erotic and artistic. To brand them obscene, as impatient critics do, would mean putting these great works out of the reach of the sensitive *sahrdayās*, We must not mistake the highly erotic for the obscene.

Indian tradition treats the joys of love and the relations between the two sexes in a frank manner. The explanation for the citing of the second group of verses could be given as follows : The height of pure love is said to exist in relations with other men's wives or unmarried girls. Naturally, poets, Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, composed verses portraying *Caurya-rata* and the *ālamkārikās* quoted such verses as specimens of *dhvani-kāvya* refusing to be impressed by considerations of morality. In other words, *ālamkārikās* show a very sensitive understanding of the aesthetics. Their approach to it is strictly a-moral. What they object to is not immorality but whatever is bad in aesthetic taste. To their

minds eroticism was not bad in taste; aesthetically it was most appealing to them.

Notes and References :

1. इदं हि भरतसूत्रं तट्टीकाकृद्भिर्भट्टलोल्लट-श्रीशंङ्कु-भट्टनायक- अभिनवगुप्तपादैश्चतुर्भिः क्रमेण मीमांसान्यायसाङ्ख्य-अलङ्कारमतरीत्या चतुर्धा व्याख्यातम् ।—*Kāvya prakāśa*, BOR Institute, Poona, 1950, edn., p. 87
2. *Art Experience* by M. Hiriyanna, Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1954, p. 7.
3. *Ibid*, pp 15-16.
4. See Introduction to *The Aesthetic Experience According To Abhinavagupta* (p.xx, f.n.1) by R. Gnoli, Varanasi (1968) edn. (Chowkhambha Sanskrit Studies Vol. LXII). In the *Dhvanyālokalocana* (Kashi Sanskrit Series, Banaras 1940 edn., p. 173) Abhinavagupta censures Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka thus "Such discussions are all right in Mīmāṃsā but have no place in poetry". He makes such a remark about Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in *Abhinavabhāratī* (Vol. III p. 309) : *Kevalam jaiminir anusṛtaḥ*.
5. Incidentally, it may be noted that *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, a sacred work of the Śvetāmbara Jains, which claims to be old (before third century A. D.) contains a Prakrit passage on nine *kāvya-rasas*. The list omits '*bhayānaka*' and substitutes in its place '*vriḍānaka*'. Further, it gives the pride of place to *vīra* and not to *śrīgāra*. It is surprising, if not shocking that all Jain writers on poetics and aesthetics completely ignore this passage giving an additional proof that aesthetics is not necessarily related to any religion or system of philosophy.
6. यत् पुनरेभिर्पि चमत्कारे दृश्यते, स रसास्वादविरामे सति यथावस्थितवस्तुप्रदर्शकेन कविनटशक्तिकौशलेन ।
—*Nāṭyadarpaṇa* III. p. 141.
7. विस्मयन्ते हि शिरश्छेदकारिणाऽपि प्रहारकुशलेन वैरिणा शौण्डीरमानिनः । अनेनैव च सर्वाङ्गाह्लादकेन कविनटशक्तिजन्मना चमत्कारेण विप्रलब्धाः परमानन्दरूपतां दुःखात्मकेष्वपि करुणादिषु सुमेधसः प्रतिजानते ।
—*Ibid*, p. 141.
8. तथाऽनुकार्यगताश्च करुणादयः परिदेवितानुकार्यत्वात् (? परिदेवितादिकार्यत्वात्) तावद् दुःखात्मका एव । यदि वानुकरणे सुखात्मानः स्युर्न सम्यगनुसरणं स्यात्, विपरीतत्वेन भासनात् । इति ।—*Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, p. 142.
9. ... न च नटस्य रसो न भवतीत्येकान्तः । पण्यस्त्रियो हि धनलोभेन परत्यर्थं रतादि विपञ्चयन्त्यः कदाचित् स्वयमपि परं रतिमनुभवन्ति । गायनाश्च परं रञ्जयन्तः कदाचित् स्वयमपि रञ्जन्ते । एवं नटोऽपि रामादिगतं विप्रलम्भाद्यनुकुर्वाणः कदाचित् तन्मयीभावमुपपात्येवेति ।
—*Ibid*, p. 142.
10. ...सुखदुःखात्मा लोकस्य नटस्य काव्यश्रोत्रानुसन्धात्रोः प्रेक्षकस्य च रसः । केवलं मुख्यस्त्रीपुंसयोः स्पष्टेनैव रूपेण रसो विभावानां परमार्थसत्त्वादत् एव व्यभिचारिणोऽनुभावश्च रसजन्याः तत्र स्पष्टरूपाः । अन्यत्र तु प्रेक्षकादौ ध्यामलेनैव रूपेण विभावानामपरमार्थसतामेव काव्यादिना दर्शनात् । अत एव व्यभिचारिणोऽनुभावश्च रसानुसारेणास्पृष्ट एव । अत एव प्रेक्षकादिगतो रसो लोकोत्तर इत्युच्यते ।
—*Ibid*, p. 143.
11. *Kāvya prakāśakhaṇḍana* (p. 16) Bhāratīya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953 A. D.
12. *Kāvya mālā* 12. "Nirṇaya-Sagar" edn. 1939, p. 27
13. तदपेक्षया कामिनीकुचकलशस्पर्शचन्दनानुलेपनादिनेव नाट्यदर्शन-काव्यश्रवणाभ्यां सुखविशेषो जायते । स एव तु रस इति नवीनाः ।
—*Kāvya prakāśakhaṇḍana*, p.16.

14. नवीनास्तु शुङ्गार-वीर-हास्याद्भुतसंज्ञाश्चत्वार एव रसाः । करुणादीनां यथा न रसत्वं तथा वक्ष्यते ।
—*Ibid*, p.16.
15. यत्तु शोकादयोऽपि रत्यादिवत् स्वप्रकाशज्ञानसुखात्मका इति तदुन्मत्तप्रलपितम् ।
—*Kāvya prakāśakhaṇḍana*, p. 21.
16. वस्तुतस्तु कविभिः स्वशक्तिप्रदर्शनार्थमेव पद्यबन्धादिनिर्माणवत् तत्र तत्र प्रवर्त्यते इति । —*Ibid.*, p. 22.
17. *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni* (GOS. No. xxxvi), Vol., I, 1956 edn. Baroda, Preface to the First Edition, p. 63.
18. *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1961 edn., pp. 288-89.
19. *Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol.I, p. 203.
20. Journal, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. xiv, No. 2, December 1964.
21. Journal, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. xx No. 3, March, 1971.
22. Roma, Institute Italiano per Il, Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1962.
23. Pub. in my *Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya-Śāstra* (pp. 123-129), B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan (N. Gujarat).
24. *A History of Indian Literature* by M. Winternitz, Vol. II University of Calcutta, 1933 (pp. 546-548).
25. Pub. by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1983.



THE JAIN VIEW OF AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE

It is indeed absurd to speak of a Science such as Aesthetics as Hindu or Buddhist or Jain. A careful examination of the views of different writers about *rasa*, however, reveals that they are influenced by their own schools of thought or *darśanas*. The view of Bhaṭṭa Lollata, which is classed as one of the production (*utpatti*) of *rasa*, is regarded as that of the Mīmāṃsā school; and the view of Śrīsaṅkuka which interprets the manifestation of *rasa* as a process of inference (*anumiti*) is regarded as that of the Naiyāyika school. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's view of *rasa*, termed as *bhuktivāda* shows influence both of the Sāṅkhya and the Mīmāṃsā *darśanas*. Finally, Abhinavagupta's exposition of the theory of *rasa* is deeply influenced by the Vedānta school of thought as well as Kashmir Śaivism (*Pratyabhijñādarśana*):

In view of these facts it would be interesting to examine the Jain authors' writings on *rasa* and see whether they reveal any influence of Jain school of thought.

The Jain text, the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*¹, which claims to be old (before third century A. D. ?) contains a Prakrit passage on nine *kāvya rasas*. It is not easy to decide whether this passage is taken from an early independent Prakrit text on *Alaṅkārasāstra* or whether it is composed by the author himself keeping in view Sanskrit texts on dramaturgy or poetics. No such early Prakrit work on poetics is so far known. It is not unlikely that the author himself added this passage. It is, however, noteworthy that the usual order of *rasas* is not followed here. The list notes the *rasas* in the following order :

1. *vīra*, 2. *śṛṅgāra*, 3. *adbhuta*, 4. *raudra*, 5. *vṛīḍanaka*, 6. *bībhatsa*, 7. *hāsa*, 8. *karuṇa* and, 9. *praśānta*. The definitions and the verses illustrating these nine *rasas* are such as are not to be met with in the treatises on the science of dramaturgy or poetics. It deserves notice that *bhayānaka* is not included in the list. In its place we have *vṛīḍanaka* (with *vṛīḍā* or *lajjā* as its *sthāyībhāva*). The commentator informs us that *bhayānaka* is included under *raudra*. Further, it is

vīra and not *śṛṅgāra* that is given the pride of place, This change appears significant.

As the author belongs to Jain monastic order we can well appreciate this change of emphasis. The inclusion of *praśānta rasa* in the list tends to suggest a much later date for this text, at least for this portion of the text, Again, it is to be noted that this passage does not indicate at all whether the author considered some of these *rasas* as pleasurable and some others painful or whether all *rasas* are pleasurable.

From amongst the Jain writers on *Alamkārasāstra* proper Vāgbhaṭa I, Ācārya Hemacandra, Maladhāri Narendraprabha, Vāgbhaṭa (II) and Vijayavarni, who wrote *Vāgbhaṭālamkāra* (1st half of 12th century A. D.), *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (1st half of 12th century A. D.), *Alamkāramahodadhi*, (1st half of 13th century A. D.), *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, (14th century A. D.) and *Śṛṅgārārṇavacandrikā* (last quarter of the 13th century A. D. ?) respectively, have nothing new to say about *rasa*. They follow, as a rule, the standard works on poetics. Ācārya Hemacandra expressly states that he bases his view of *rasa* upon that of Abhinavagupta². The credit of presenting graphically and vigorously the view that all *rasas* are not pleasurable but some alone are pleasurable and some painful, goes to Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, the joint Jain authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (latter half of the 12th century A. D.) They were pupils of Ācārya Hemacandra, the author of *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*. They however, do not agree with their master, for whom they have great reverence, as to the nature of *rasa* and set forth cogently their own view which may be termed as *sukhaduḥkhātmavāda* as opposed to *Kevalānandavāda* according to which all *rasas* are always pleasurable. According to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*³ 1. *śṛṅgāra*, 2. *hāsya*, 3. *vīra*, 4. *adbhuta and*, 5. *sānta* are pleasurable whereas 1. *karuṇa*, 2. *raudra*, 3. *bībhatsa and*, 4. *bhayānaka* are painful. They say : the view that all *rasas* are pleasurable goes against experience. The *karuṇa*, *raudra*, etc. when presented on the stage or in poetry cause indescribable pain to the spectators or sensitive readers. They experience *camatkāra*, only at the end of *rasāsvāda* due to the poet's *pratibhā* and actors' skill of presentation. Persons (like Abhinavagupta) duped-carried away—by this *camatkāra*, regard the *karuṇa*, *raudra*, etc. as pleasurable although in reality they are painful. Attracted by this aesthetic experience of grief etc., spectators feel like going to plays in which *karuṇa* is present. Poets and playwrights compose poems and plays which consist in pleasure and pain in accordance with this worldly life itself which consists in both pleasure and pain. Witnessing of tragic events on the stage never produces pleasure, If the representation of tragic events be pleasurable then the representation itself will

have to be called misrepresentation.

The *Nātyadarpaṇa* holds that the *sthāyibhāva* itself, when developed by *vibhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*, and manifested by *anubhāvas* is to be called *rasa*. This view of the nature of *rasa* is identical with the *utpattivāda* or *puṣṭivāda* of Lollaṭa (and Daṇḍin), and most probably with Bharata's own view of *rasa* as found in the *Nātyaśāstra*. For Bharata explicitly says :

Sthāyībhāvānśca rasatvam upaneṣyāmaḥ |

—NŚ, Vol. I, Ch. VI, p. 299

and *sthāyyeva tu raso bhavet*

—NŚ, Vol. I, Ch. VI, p. 379

Further Bharata's description of a sensitive spectator corroborates this above statement : "A true spectator at a drama is he who, when the character is happy becomes himself happy, when the character is in sorrow is himself in sorrow, and when the character is depressed becomes himself depressed."⁴

Thus it would seem that the authors of the ND, in contrast to their own revered Ācārya Hemacandra who follows Abhinavagupta, word for word, as regards the nature of *rasa* regard, following Bharata, Lollaṭa, Daṇḍin etc., *rasa* as *laukika* and therefore, *sukhaduḥkhātma*. Here we may note, in passing, that the authors of the ND do not subscribe to the *miśrānanda-vāda*⁵ of *rasa* alluded to in their work by Dhanika and Jagannātha, when they speak of its being *sukha-duḥkhātma* ! They clearly state that five *rasas* are *sukhātma* and four, *dukḥātma*. Regarding the location of *rasa* they differ with Lollaṭa. They hold that *rasa* is present in the hero (say, Rāma, Duṣyanta, etc.), in the spectator, and some times in the actor also.

From amongst the Jaina commentators on poetics a few deserve notice here. Namisādhū (1069 A. D.), the able commentator of Rudraṭa's *Kāvya-lamkāra* looks upon *rasas* as innate *guṇas*, like *saundarya*, of *kāvya*; and asserts that there is not a single state of mind which when intensified or fully developed does not become *rasa*. Bharata speaks of eight or nine *rasas* only as they appeal to the sensitive spectators and are abundantly found in literature⁶.

Māṅkiyacandra's *Samketa* (1160 A. D.), *Kāvya-prakāśakhaṇḍana* of Siddhicandraṅṅi (1587-1666 A. D.) *Sāradīpikā* of Guṇaratnagaṅṅi (17th century A. D.) are the commentaries on Mammata's famous *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Of these commentators, Siddhicandraṅṅi deserves special mention here. He very probably gives his own view under the guise of "iti navīnāḥ" or "navīnās tu".

According to him, the aesthetic pleasure or rapture is just like ordinary pleasures of sense, that arise, for instance, from pressing plump breasts of a beautiful young lady or from applying cool sandal paste to our bodies. *Rasa* is thus *laukika* and not *alaukika*. *Rasa*, by its very nature, being pleasurable he holds that there are only four *rasas* : 1. *śṛṅgāra* 2. *vīra* 3. *hāsya* and 4. *adbhuta*. He rejects the claim of *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *bībhatsa*, and *bhayānaka* to the title of *rasa*⁷. The whole discussion of this topic is marked by originality, logical reasoning and freshness of outlook and deserves to be read in the original⁸. Siddhicandraṅgaṇi goes a step, and a very big step indeed, further than Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in holding that there are four *rasas* only. The description of *Aja-vilāpa*, or of *śānta* or of *bhayātīśaya* is aimed at showing the intensity of love towards Indumatī, his beloved wife, or complete detachment or world-weariness of *mumuṅṣus* or the tenderness or softness of a particular individual, respectively. In fact, however, poets undertake to describe such incidents, events or situations only to demonstrate their own descriptive power or the richness of their own imaginative faculty.

This survey would show that there is nothing peculiarly Jain about their view of the nature of *rasa*. Along with other writers on poetics they take *rasas* to be *laukika* or *alaukika*, *sukha-duḥkhātma* or *sukhātma* only. A "Modern" like Siddhicandraṅgaṇi disregards tradition and holds that there are four *rasas* only. It is, however, very surprising, if not shocking, that none of these Jain authors and commentators takes cognizance of the "*nava-kavva-rasā pannaṭṭā*" passage found in their sacred text, viz., the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*.

Notes and References :

1. Nandīsuttarṅgaṇi and the Aṅuogaddārāim, Jaina-Āgama series No. 1. Śhrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1968. pp. 121-124.
2. ...साधारणीभावना च विभावादिभिरिति श्रीमानभिनवगुप्ताचार्यः । एतन्मतमेव चास्माभिरुपजीवितमिति ।
—*Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (p. 103)
(Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya,
Bombay 2nd revised edition, Bombay, 1964.)
3. तत्रेष्टविभावादिप्रथितस्वरूपसंपत्तयः शृङ्गार-हास्य-वीरानन्द-शान्ताः पञ्च सुखात्मानोऽपरे पुनरनिष्टविभावाद्युप-
नीतात्मानः करुणरौद्र-बीभत्स-भयानकाश्चत्वारो दुःखात्मानः । यत् पुनः सर्वरसानां सुखात्मकत्वमुच्यते, तत् प्रतीत (?
ति) बाधितम् । —p. 141 (GOS, Baroda, 1959 edition)
4. यस्तुष्टे तुष्टिमायाति शोके शोकमुपैति च ।
दैन्ये दीनत्वमभ्येति स नाट्ये प्रेक्षकः स्मृतः ॥
—*Nāṭyaśāstra* (Ch. XXVII)
—किन्तु तादृश एवासावानन्दः सुखदुःखात्मको यथा प्रहरणादिषु संभोगावस्थायां कुट्टमिते स्त्रीणाम् । अन्यश्च

लौकिकात् करुणात् काव्यकरुणः ।

—*Avaloka* commentary on the *Daśarūpaka* (Ch. IV. p. 98) NS edition Bombay (1941)

5. अथ यद्याह्लाद इव दुःखमपि प्रमाणसिद्धं तदा प्रतिबन्धकत्वे न कल्पनीयम् ।

स्वस्वकारणवशाच्चोभयमपि भविष्यति । अथ तत्र कवीनां कर्तुं सहृदयानां च श्रोतुं कथं प्रवृत्तिः ।

अनिष्टसाधनत्वेन निवृत्तेरुचितत्वाद् इति चेत् ।

इष्टस्याधिक्यादनिष्टस्य च न्यूनत्वाच्चन्दनद्रवलेपनादाविव प्रवृत्तेरुपपत्तेः ।

—*Rasaṅgādhara* (p. 31,) *Kāvyaṃālā* edition, (1939)

According to Lollaṭa *rasa* is primarily present in the hero and only secondarily in the actor who imitates or represents him.

6. अयमाशयो ग्रन्थकारस्य—यदुत नास्ति सा कापि चित्तवृत्तिर्या परिपोषं गता न रसीभवति ।

भरतेन सहृदयावर्जकत्वात् प्राचुर्यात् संज्ञां चाश्रित्याष्टौ नव वा रसा उक्ता इति ।

—*Tippanī* on *Kāvyaṃālā*, *Kāvyaṃālā* edition (1909)

7. Abhinavagupta explicitly says that some of the '*sthāyībhāva*'s are '*sukha-svabhāva*' (of the nature of happiness, i.e. pleasurable) while some others are '*duḥkha-svarūpa*' (of the nature of unhappiness, i.e. painful) :

रतिहासोत्साहविस्मयानां सुखस्वभावत्वम् ।.... क्रोधभयशोकजुगुप्सानां तु दुःखरूपता ।-

—*Abhinavabhāratī* on NŚ I. 119, pp. 43-44

Siddhicandragāṇi holds that *rasa* is simply '*laukika*.' Naturally, he recognises the four '*rasa*'s based on '*rati*', '*hāsa*' '*utsāha*' and '*vismaya*' and rejects the claim of '*raudra*,' '*bhayānaka*' etc. to the title of '*rasa*'. Abhinavagupta, who firmly subscribes to the view that '*rasas*' are '*alaukika*,' regards even '*raudra*,' '*bhayānaka*,' etc. as '*sukhasvabhāva*' or '*sukhapradhāna*.'

8. *Kāvyaṃprakāśakhaṇḍana* (p. 16 and pp. 21-22), Singhi Jaina Series, Vol. 40, Bombay, 1953.

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON RASA

Says Bharata : The great Brahmā has declared that in a drama there are the following eight *rasas* : (1) *śṛṅgāra* (erotic), (2) *hāsyā* (comic), (3) *karuṇa* (pathetic, compassionate), (4) *raudra* (furious), (5) *vīra* (heroic). (6) *bhayānaka* (terrifying), (7) *bībhatsa* (disgusting) and (8) *adbhuta* (awesome or wondrous or marvellous).

The permanent emotions (on which the above-mentioned eight *rasas* are based) have been declared to be (1) *rati* (love) (2) *hāsa* (mirth, amusement, laughter), (3) *śoka* (sorrow), (4) *krodha* (anger). (5) *utsāha* (energy), (6) *bhaya* (fear, terror), (7) *jugupsā* (disgust) and (8) *vismaya* (astonishment, wonder)¹.

Of these eight permanent or dominant emotions, the following four are pleasant or pleasurable : *rati*, *hāsa*, *utsāha* and *vismaya*; the remaining four, viz. *śoka*, *krodha*, *bhaya* and *jugupsā*, unpleasant. Incidentally, it may be noted that Bharata nowhere speaks of the ninth *rasa* called *sānta* (the sentiment of calm).

Now, the question arises : Whether the four *rasas*, based on unpleasant emotions, are painful or whether they are also pleasurable like the other four *rasas*, based on pleasant emotions ? Bharata does not specifically answer this question. He, using a simile, explains how *rasa* is relished : “As connoisseurs of table delicacies are able to relish the flavour of food prepared with many spices and attain pleasure, etc., so sensitive and sympathetic spectators relish the dominant or permanent emotions suggested by the acting out of the various *bhāvas* and presented with the threefold *abhinaya* called *vācika* (of speech), *āṅgika* (of body, gestures) and *sāttvika* (of *sāttvika bhāvas*—the involuntary states—like *stambha*—paralysis, *sveda*—perspiration, etc.) and attain pleasure, etc. (*harṣādīrṣ cādhiḡacchanti*).”

Regarding this phrase ‘*harṣādīrṣ*’, Abhinavagupta notes the view of an earlier writer : “Others however think that the word etc. [in the compound *harṣādīrṣ cādhiḡacchanti*] includes pain and the like. But this is not correct. For drama produces only joy in the spectator, and not such feelings as sorrow...these

authors read 'harṣāmścādhigacchanti' (they attain pleasure)...while this is not given as Abhinava's position, we can be fairly certain that he would agree with the view that the sole purpose of drama is *harṣa* (or *prīti*) and that it never creates sorrow."²

Abhinavagupta in his commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and his commentary *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* declares, on a number of occasions, that *rasa* is always pleasurable³. Dhanañjaya in his *Daśarūpaka* and Dhamka in his commentary *Avaloka* on it also declare that *rasa* is pleasurable (*ānandātmaka*)⁴. Jagannātha too declares that things like sorrow, although unwelcome in themselves, when portrayed in creative literature produce extraordinary joy or delight⁵. Among the four commentators of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* we have already noted the view of Abhinavagupta. Bhaṭṭanāyaka, like Abhinavagupta, holds that *rasa* is always pleasurable since he compares *rasāsvāda* to *brahmāsvāda*⁶. Regarding Śaṅkuka, though he does not touch this aspect in the course of his exposition of the *rasa-sūtra*, we come across a passage in *Abhinavabhāratī* which unmistakably shows that Abhinavagupta has in mind Śaṅkuka who held the view that *rasa* is of the nature of imitation of emotions like *rati* and that *śoka* (sorrow), when portrayed in a play, assumes an altogether different nature and causes joy⁷. About the view of Lollaṭa and the ancients, whom he approvingly quotes, there is no indication to know if they held the view that all *rasas* are pleasurable or some are pleasurable and some painful. But we may not be wrong if we say that the generally accepted and traditional and dominant view is that all *rasas* are pleasurable⁸.

Keeping in mind this background we now deal with some less known and unconventional views on *rasa*.

The *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, one of the sacred texts of the Śvetāmbara Jains, composed between A. D. 300 and 500, according to Weber, and according to the editors of its critical edition (*Nandisuttam and Anuyogaddārāim*, Jaina Āgama Series No.1 Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1968) not later than 300 A. D., deals with the nine *kāvya-rasas* : 1. *vīra* 2. *śṛṅgāra* 3. *adbhuta*, 4. *raudra*, 5. *vṛīdanaka*, 6. *bībhatsa*, 7. *hāsya*, 8. *karuṇa*, and 9. *praśānta* (i.e. *śānta*).

This list of *rasas* differs from the well-known list of eight *rasas* given by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* in three noteworthy respects : (1) It breaks the usual order in enumerating the *rasas*. It opens with *vīra* instead of opening with *śṛṅgāra* (ii) It does not include Bharata's *bhayānaka* but gives in its place *vṛīdanaka*. (iii) It adds for the first time to Bharata's list of eight *rasas* *praśānta*, the same as *śānta*, as the ninth *rasa*.

(i) Maladhāri Hemacandrasūri's Sanskrit Commentary on this *sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti edition, Bombay, 1924.) says that the *vīra* (heroic) is the first and best of the *rasas*. It has two sublime varieties called *tyāga-vīra* (the heroic relating to magnanimity) and *tapo-vīra* (the heroic relating to asceticism). Both of these are superior to the third variety called *yuddha-vīra* (the heroic relating to battle). It further says that *yuddhavīra* is vitiated by the sin or flaw of injury to others (*paropaghāta*). The commentary says that *vīra* is mentioned first—is given the pride of place—because it is the noblest and foremost of *rasas*⁹. The primacy of *vīra* may be regarded an early contribution to aesthetics by the Jain tradition. *Tapovīra* is a new view in aesthetics as far as we know.

(ii) The *vrīḍanka rasa* : As said earlier the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* omits the *bhayānaka* and in its place gives a new *rasa* called *vrīḍanaka*. The *sthāyī* of this new *rasa* is *vrīḍā*, or *lajjā* (shyness, modesty, bashfulness, shame). The traditional *bhayānaka* is, according to the commentator, included under *raudra rasa*, and hence not mentioned separately. The illustration of this new *rasa* is very interesting, the reference in it is to a peculiar provincial marriage custom, According to this custom “elderly men and women including the father-in-law and the mother-in-law pay their respects to the *sārī* and the person of the bride after the nuptial night. The bride is taken round and elders revere her for her chastity. The thought of the elders revering her produces a sense of shyness in the bride's heart.”¹⁰

(iii) If the passage dealing with nine *kāvya-rasas* be as old as claimed by Weber or the editors of the critical edition brought out by Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, then it is perhaps the earliest text defining and illustrating, for the first time, the *śānta rasa*. It is thus defined : “That *rasa*, which is characterised by *śama* (tranquillity), which arises from composure of the mind divested of all *vikāras* (passions), is to be known as *praśānta-* (the same as *śānta*) *rasa*.” The following is its example : “Oh, (look) how the lotus-like face of the sage shines ! It is full of great beauty (arising from tranquillity), truly devoid of any *vikāras* (passions)—the face with its eyes calm and gentle unperturbed by passions like anger, love and the like.”

Even if these passages were older than Abhinavagupta, it is very unlikely that he would have seen them. His treatment of the *śāntarasa* shows absolutely no signs of his having seen them. If he had seen them, he would have certainly dealt with them in a critical manner.

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (1100-1175 A. D.) : They were disciples of the famous Hemacandra who wrote *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, a

noteworthy work on poetics and dramatics. Hemacandra reproduces the whole section of *Abhinavabhāratī* on *rasasūtra* and acknowledges his indebtedness to Abhinavagupta. Now, these disciples who wrote *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* have freely and copiously drawn on *Abhinavabhāratī*. They, however, have criticised Abhinavagupta's theory that *rasas*, one and all, without exception, are pleasurable by nature. Indirectly they have criticised their own *guru* who has literally followed Abhinavagupta in the exposition of the nature of *rasa*. They nowhere in their work have given any indication as to whether they had discussed this topic of the nature of *rasa* with their *guru* and whether he had approved of their presentation of the view that *rasa* is *sukha-duḥkhātma*—both pleasurable and painful. They support their theory with the following arguments : “To say that all *rasas* are pleasurable is against experience. *Karuṇa*, *raudra*, *bībhatsa* and *bhayaṇaka*—these four *rasas* cause indescribable pain to the *sahṛdayas*. They simply shudder when they witness plays depicting these *rasas*. If these *rasas* were pleasurable they would not shudder. The *camatkāra* (thrill of pleasure, peculiar delight) experienced by the *sahṛdayas* at the end of the performance of tragic scenes, etc., is however simply due to the display of the creative imagination (*pratibhā*, *śakti*) of the poet and the great skill of the actors. The literary critics (like Abhinavagupta) who hold that these *rasas* also are pleasurable are perhaps deceived—misled by this *camatkāra*. It is through excessive desire to experience this *camatkāra* that people go to the theatre to see plays depicting these *rasas* also. Poets present the subject-matter keeping in mind the pleasant and unpleasant nature of the emotions of the hero *Rāma* etc. : these four *rasas* resemble the pungent taste that adds to the sweetness of a beverage. For they heighten the pleasure yielded by pleasurable *rasas*. Tragic events, for example, the abduction of *Sītā*, *Duśśāsana* dragging *Draupadī* by her hair and attempting to disrobe her, *Hariścandra*'s serving a *cāṇḍāla* as a slave, the death of *Rohitāśva*, *Lakṣmaṇa*'s being hit by a missile, *Aghoraghaṇṭa*'s attempt to kill *Mālatī*, when represented on the stage can never cause delight in the hearts of *sahṛdayas*. If through imitation by actors the unpleasant or painful feelings and emotions are said to become pleasurable, it is obvious that the actor's art of acting is very deficient or defective—it represents things falsely—in their perverted form”.

It is for the first time in the history of aesthetics we find that this unconventional view on *rasa* is presented so vigorously and eloquently by the authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*.

Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Rasakalikā* agrees with the above view that some *rasas* are pleasurable and some others painful. It attributes our interest in witnessing

plays depicting them to our mental absorption in the acting going on in front of us. "So the *rasa* of *karuṇa* is of a peculiar kind and is particularly due, not to the nature of the emotion itself, but to our contemplation of the art with which an actor presents it."¹¹

*Kāvyaṣakhaṇḍana*¹² of Siddhicandra : Finally, we have this commentary which presents altogether new and novel ideas regarding the nature and number of *rasas*. These may briefly be stated as follows : As compared with the supreme joy (or rather delight) of *rasa* of the Vedāntins, a peculiar pleasure which arises on watching a dramatic performance or hearing the recitation of poetry is similar to the pleasure of anointing one's body with sandal-paste or of pressing the breasts of a young beautiful woman and is itself *rasa*—this is the view of the moderns (*navīnāḥ*) who belong to the 17th century A. D. In other words, the *navīnas* (including the author himself) regard the aesthetic pleasure as *on a par* with ordinary pleasures of the senses—as only worldly (*laukika*). As a natural consequence of this view they hold that there are only four *rasas* : the erotic, the heroic, the comic and the marvellous, and they reject the claim of the pathetic (or compassionate), the furious, the terrifying and the disgusting to the title of *rasa*. The pathetic and others, arising from sorrow, etc., although are revealed with *cit* (= *caitanya*)—consciousness consisting of delight, they cannot be called *rasa* since the *sthāyī-amśa* (part) is opposed to the state of *rasa*. Again, if you argue that they, being revealed by *alaukika vibhāvas* etc., deserve to be called *rasa* like the pleasurable bites inflicted in the course of love game, our reply is : "No". For following this line of argument you will have to call mental distress, caused by hunger, thirst, etc., as new or different *rasas*. The bites in the course of sexual enjoyment remove the pain caused by overpowering passion and give a sense of relief as when a burden is taken off one's shoulders. But to say that sorrow, etc., like love etc., consist of or lead to light, knowledge and joy is simply a madman's prattle. Further in *Aja-vilāpa* (Aja's Lament), etc., because of *varṇanīyatanmayībhavana* (identifying one's self with the event or situation or mental mood portrayed), how could there arise the aesthetic joy similar to *Brahmānanda* [the supreme delight arising out of the direct vision of the Highest Reality (the Absolute)—*brahmasāksātkāra*] ? In the disgusting *rasa* which arises out of vivid description of flesh, pus, etc., the reader or spectator does not vomit or spit is itself a matter of surprise; how could it produce *rasa* consisting of supreme delight ? It may be granted that the *śānta* somehow deserves the title *rasa* with reference to persons who have given up completely all *vāsanās* (various instincts) but certainly not with reference to sensualists as it (the *śānta*) involves abstention from all

pleasures of the senses. The heroic and the furious do not differ as their *vibhāvas* bear resemblance. Regarding *dāna-vīra* etc., the poet's chief intention is to describe the supreme generosity, greatness, etc., of the hero. The poet (Kālidāsa) describes 'The Lament of Aja' for pointing out the profound love of Aja for Indumatī, his beloved queen. So too the *sānta* is portrayed to demonstrate the intense sense of world-weariness of *mumukṣus* (persons desirous of liberation). So too the terrifying in order to illustrate the tenderness of heart of the heroes concerned. To tell the truth, poets depict these various situations to exhibit the richness of their *pratibhā* (creative imagination) in the same way as they write *padma-bandha* (artificial composition in which the words are arranged in the form of a lotus flower), etc.

This point of view that "rasa is *laukika* (worldly), that it is '*sukha-duḥkhātma*', and that it in no way differs from other pleasures of the senses", however, did not find able advocates among the *ālanikārikas* and was thrown into background, if not completely eclipsed, by the writings of Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha, Jagannātha and the like.

Notes and References :

1. *Nāṭyaśāstra* VI. 15-17.
2. अन्ये त्वादिशब्देन शोकादीनामत्र संग्रहः । स च न युक्तः । सामाजिकानां हि हर्षैकफलं नाट्यं न शोकादिफलम् । ..हर्षांश्चाधिगच्छतीति पठन्ति । —*Abhinavabhārati* (A. Bh) I, p. 289 and *Aesthetic Rapture, Vol. II. Notes*, p. 68, fn, no. 385, by Masson and Patwardhan, Deccan College, Poona, 1970
3. i) तत्र सर्वेऽमी सुखप्रधानाः । स्वसंविच्चर्वणरूपस्थैकघनस्य प्रकाशस्यानन्दसारत्वात् ।
...इति आनन्दरूपता सर्वरसानाम् । —A. Bh., Vol. I. p. 284
- ii) तेनालौकिकचमत्कारात्मा रसास्वादः स्मृत्यनुमानलौकिकसंवेदनविलक्षण एव । —A. Bh., Vol. I, p. 234
- iii) चतुर्वर्गव्युत्पत्तेरपि चानन्द एव पार्यन्तिकं मुख्यं फलम् । —*Locana, Bālapriyā* edn., p. 41
- iv) प्रीत्यात्मा च रसस्तदेव नाट्यं नाट्यमेव वेद इत्यस्मदुपाध्यायः । —*Ibid.*, p. 336
4. i) आनन्दनिष्पन्दिषु रूपकेषु...
...स्वसंवेद्यः परमानन्दरूपो रसास्वादो दशरूपाणां फलम्...*Daśarūpakāvaloka* I.6, N.S. edn., p. 2
- ii) तादृश एवासावानन्दः सुखदुःखात्मको यथा प्रहरणादिषु संभोगावस्थायां कुट्टमिते, स्त्रीणाम्, अन्यश्च लौकिकात् करुणात् काव्यकरुणः । ..तस्माद् रसान्तरवत् करुणस्याप्यानन्दात्मकत्वमेव । —*Ibid.*, p. 98
5. अयं हि लोकोत्तरस्य काव्यव्यापारस्य महिमा, यत्प्रयोज्या अरमणीया अपि शोकादयः पदार्थाः
आह्लादमलौकिकं जनयन्ति । विलक्षणो हि कमनीयः काव्यव्यापारज आस्वादः प्रमाणान्तरजादनुभवात् । —*Rasagaṅgādhara, Ānana* I (under *rasasvarūpa*)
6. भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानो रसः...सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशनन्दमयनिजसंविद्विश्रान्तिलक्षणेन परब्रह्मास्वादसविधेन भोगेन परं भुज्यत इति । —A. Bh., Vol. I, p. 277

7. ये तु त्याद्यनुकरणरूपं रसमाहुः अथ चोदयन्ति शोकः कथं शोकहेतुरिति । परिहरन्ति च अस्ति कोऽपि नाट्यगतानां विशेष इति ।.. —*A.Bh.*, Vol I, p. 291
8. Abhinavagupta after refuting Śaṅkuka's view very briefly refers to and refutes the view of the Sāṅkhya that *rasa* is of the nature of pleasure and pain. We have no more information about this view. The view of the authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* soon to be discussed below, bears close affinity to the Sāṅkhya view in its essence.
9. Cf : अत्र तु त्यागतपोगुणो बीरसे वर्तते । त्यागतपसी च 'त्यागो गुणो गुणशतादधिको मतो मे', 'परं लोकातिगं धाम तपः श्रुतमिति द्वयम्' इत्यादिवचनात् समस्तगुणप्रधान(ने)इत्यनया विवक्षया बीरसस्य आदाबुपन्यासः । —p. 135

10. Raghavan, V., *The Number of Rasas*, Adyar, Madras, 1975, p. 161.

11. This information is based on V. Raghavan's work : *Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśa*, 1963 edn. p. 484, fn.

12. Parikh, R. C. Ed., *Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan* publication, Bombay, 1953, p. 16.



SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT MAHĀKĀVYAS

Writers on poetics define and describe the salient features of an epic—*mahākāvya* : Daṇḍin, one of the earliest *ālamkārikas*, lays down in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* the following characteristics :

The subject should be taken from old narratives or traditions (*itihāsa-Kathodbhūtam*), not therefore invented; the hero should be noble and clever (*caturodātta nāyakam*); there should be descriptions of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons, the rising (and setting) of the Sun and the Moon, sport in parks or water sport, drinking (*madhupāna*), love feasts, (*ratotsavā*), separations, marriages, the birth of a son, meeting of councils, (*mantra*), envoys, campaigns, battles and the victory of the hero although his rival's merits may be exalted. It should not be too short or compressed (*asamkṣipta*) and it should flow with sentiments and emotions (*rasa-bhāva-nirantaram*). It should be marked with effective *samdhis*. The metres should be charming (*śravya-vṛttaiḥ upetam*); and each canto, which should not be too long, should end with a change of metre (*sarvatra bhinna - vṛttāntaiḥ upetam*). The poem should open with a prayer (benediction), paying homage or invoking a blessing or an indication of the subject-matter (*āsīrnamaskriyā vastu-nirdeśo vāpi tanmukham*). It should promote the four ends of human existence : *dharma*—Duty or Conduct, *artha*—Worldly success or Wealth or successful practical life, *kāma* love and *mokṣa*—final release.

The famous Sanskrit *mahākāvya*s—Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (the life of the Buddha), *Saundarananda* (The Handsome Nanda—the Gautama Buddha's half-brother); The *Kumārasambhava* (The Birth of Kumāra Kārtikeya) and the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*, Māgha's *Śīsupālavadha* (slaying of Śīsupāla), Śrīharsa's *Naiṣadhacarita* or *Naiṣadhīya* (Life of Nala), etc., satisfy more or less, generally speaking, the above requirements.

Aśvaghoṣa is almost ignored by Sanskrit *ālamkārikas* (literary critics or writers on poetics). We say almost because Rājaśekhara quotes one verse from

Buddhacarita for an example of a *nāmākhyātakavi* (a grammatical poet) :

हतत्विषोऽन्धाः शिथिलांसबाहवः, स्त्रियो विषादेन विचेतना इव ।
न चुक्रुशुर्नो रुरुदुर्न सस्वनुर्न चेलुगसुर्लिखिता इव क्षणम् ॥

“Other women, their splendour destroyed, their shoulders and arms loose, were as if senseless with despair; They did not cry, they shed no tears, they did not sigh, They did not move, they stayed as if they were painted’.”

Johnston in his Introduction to his translation of the Life of the Buddha has collected a number of examples where *Aśvaghoṣa*’s influence seems visible. “The *kavis* affected include among others *Bhāsa*, *Kālidāsa* and *Bāṇa*. This suggests that his influence was considerable upto the 7th century, after which perhaps he was rarely read by *kavis*, who devoted their time to other models.”

Kālidāsa’s two poems, the *Kumārasambhava* and the *Raghuvaṃśa* rank among the famous five *mahākāvya*s. The traditional list mentions the following five : *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Kirātārjunīya*, *Śīsupālavadhā* and *Naiṣadhacarita*. According to the old gloss on *Svayambhū*’s *Apabhraṃśa* poem, *Paumacariu* (1.3.7.) the five poems are :

1. *Kumārasambhava*, 2. *Raghuvaṃśa*, 3. *Meghadūta*, 4. *Kirātārjunīya* and 5. *Śīsupālavadhā*. According to Handique, this enumeration is wrong. He would like to read ‘*Setubandha*’ of *Pravarasena* in place of *Meghadūta* (see Introduction to *Pravarasena*’s *Setubandha*, pp. 50-51). This suggestion is, on the very face of it, unacceptable for the simple reason that the tradition wants to enumerate five famous *mahākāvya*s in Sanskrit whereas *Pravarasena*’s *Setubandha* is in Prakrit.

Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*² observes : “Though inferior in some slight degree to the *Kumārasambhava*, the *Raghuvaṃśa* may rightly be ranked as the finest Indian specimen of the *Mahākāvya* as defined by writers on poetics.”

H. D. Velankar in his Introduction to *Raghuvaṃśa*³ however says : “The Technical definitions of these varieties (*Mahā* and *Khaṇḍa kāvya*) given in the later works on the *Sāhityaśāstra* are primarily based on the works of *Kālidāsa*.” This is very plausible, nay probable. So no wonder if *Kālidāsa*’s *mahākāvya*s are true to the type.

Kumārasambhava, canto VIII describes, according to the principle of *Kāmaśāstra*, the joys of the wedded pair.

Ānandavardhana tells us in his *Dhvanyāloka* that there were critics who deemed it wrong to depict the amour of two deities. But *Kālidāsa* wants to

suggest that the wedding of Śiva and Umā and their love are depicted as the prototype for human marriage and human love. Aesthetically, this canto is perhaps the best and I would like to suggest in all seriousness that it should be brought out separately with translation in modern Indian languages like Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, etc., and its copies presented to the newly wed pair who are about to proceed on their journey for honeymoon.

The early epics of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa deserve all praise for their simple and lucid style—the *Vaidarbha mārṅa* or *Vaidarbhī rīti*. Kālidāsa, much more than Aśvaghoṣa, makes appeal to the heart and imagination of the hearer, but rarely to his intellect. His poetry therefore as one reads delights and teaches also but in the manner of a loving wife. Moral advice is so conveyed that the *sahṛdaya* spectator or hearer is hardly conscious of it.

Another distinguishing characteristic of Kālidāsa's *mahākāvya*s is : he maintains judicious balance between the subjectmatter and descriptions and his poetic descriptions do not hamper the steady progress of his subjectmatter or narrative.

In *Kumārasambhava* Kālidāsa expressly claims the divine precedent of Śiva and Umā as sanction for the most passionate married love; and throughout his *Raghuvamśa* we are reminded of the duties of kings; and he portrays in Rāma an ideal ruler. If our present day rulers read *Raghuvamśa* and seriously and meticulously try to follow it, there would descend on earth real *Rāmarājya*.

Bhāravi's power of description is no doubt remarkable : 'His style at its best has a calm dignity which is certainly attractive' : 'He excels also in the observation and record of the beauties of nature and of maidens.' He, however, 'is guilty of errors of taste.' In Canto XV he sets himself to try 'feats of skill' of the most foolish kind. Thus in Canto XV one verse has all four lines identical ! He 'sets a bad example in his fondness for showing his skill in grammar.'

Māgha in his *Śiśupālavadha* sets himself to vie with his predecessor Bhāravi. If Māgha "lacks the consciousness, the calm serenity and dignity of Bhāravi at his best, he possesses much luxuriance of expression and imagination and in the many love passages of his epic sweetness and prettiness abound." Māgha's exhibition of his power of twisting language is indeed deplorable (Canto XIX). The effort for achieving *double entendres* "leads to constant ransacking of the poetical lexicons extant and turns the pursuit of poetry into an intellectual exercise of no high value to the utter ruin of emotion and thought".

Indian tradition names Śrīharṣa *mahākāvi*, as the successor of Kālidāsa,

Bhāravī and Māgha. His poem, though long, “carries us only to a description of the married bliss of Nala and Damayanti leaving off with a description of the moon carried out in a dialogue between the amorous pair.”

“The *Naiṣadhīya* unquestionably has a definite interest in the history of Sanskrit literature, for it exhibits the application to the charming episode of Nala of the full resource of a master of diction and metre, possessed of a high degree of skill in the difficult art of playing on words and capable of both delicate observation of nature and of effective expression of the impressions thence derived.”

The three works of Bhāravi, Māgha and Śrīharṣa are tough. Poetry to them was essentially a learned pursuit, the product of much cultivation. A poet, according to Mammaṭa, must supplement his natural genius—*pratibhā* by a careful study of the *Śāstras* as also of the worldly topics of knowledge. He must even practise extensively under the watchful guidance of a *Kāvya*-critic. In short, after Kālidāsa, *Kāvya* became a preserve of men of learning and scholarship. Scholarship displaced genuine poetry. The *Kāvya* ultimately became an object of study for *Paṇḍita-sahṛdayas* rather than a delightful thing of beauty.

Now, a *mahākāvya* is expected to promote the four aims of human life : *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* Abhinavagupta’s perceptive remarks on *rasas* in relation to the four *puruṣārthas* in the context of drama are : “Thus *vīra*, *raudra*, *śṛṅgāra* are used there respectively, occurring in these works by being engendered by (the aims of the characters portrayed) *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, while *śānta* and *bībhatsa* occur in connection with *mokṣa*. But not every character can carry the main role in this latter case, only the occasional saint. Although in the *nāṭaka*, *śānta* or *bībhatsa* may be the principal *rasa* when *mokṣa* is the principal goal, this is not a common practice, so they although engendered by the best of human aims (the character’s pursuit of *mokṣa*) are considered subordinate to the other *rasas*—*vīra*, *raudra* and *śṛṅgāra*. Thus the main *rasa* of a drama is really governed by the *puruṣārtha* if it portrays, but other *rasas* occur in support of it as a result of the variety of subjectmatter in hand⁵.” A. Bh. Vol. II, p. 451.

Prakrit Mahākāvya

“Mahārāṣṭrī, the language of Mahārāṣṭra, is called the best of Prākritis in which the works like the *Setubandha* are written”, tells us Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaḍarśa*⁶. Hemacandra specifically refers, following Bhoja, to the three Prakrit poems : *Rāvaṇavijaya*, *Harivijaya* and *Setubandha*, as composed in a single metre, i. e., the *skandhaka* from the beginning to the end⁷. There are two

more poems in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. *Madhumathavijaya* and *Gaṇḍavadha* which are mentioned by literary critics. These five may be regarded as the famous *pañca mahākāvyas* in Prakrit. Of these, three poems are lost *Rāvaṇavijaya*, *Harivijaya* and *Madhumathavijaya*. Only a single quotation from *Rāvaṇavijaya*, cited by Bhoja and after him by Hemacandra, is preserved to us; and a couple of quotations from Vākpati or Vākpatirāja's *Madhumathavijaya*. And till recently only four quotations from *Harivijaya* (HV) of Sarvasena were identified by Raghavan and A. K. Warder. In my monograph, *Bhoja and the Harivijaya of Sarvasena*, I have identified about forty quotations as *definitely from Harivijaya* and over 100 quotations as probably from *Harivijaya*.

Sarvasena composed, it is surmised by Handique, his HV about a hundred years earlier than Pravarasena's *Setubhandha* (SB) (first-half of the 5th century A. D.). Eminent Sanskrit *ālamkarikas*, viz., Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Bhoja and Hemacandra speak appreciatively of Sarvasena's HV :

(i) Ānandavardhana observes⁸ :

इतिवृत्तवशायातां कथंचिद् रसानुगुणां स्थितिं त्यक्त्वा पुनरुत्प्रेक्ष्याप्यन्तरभीष्टरसोचितकथोन्नयो विधेयः ।
यथा कालिदासप्रबन्धेषु । यथा च सर्वसेनविरचिते हरिविजये ।

"If in a plot adopted from a well known source, the poet is faced with situations conflicting with the intended *rasa*, he should be prepared to leave out such incidents inventing in their place even imaginary ones in conformity with the intended *rasa*. Kālidāsa's works provide us illustrations and so does the *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena." Abhinavagupta thus explains in his *Locana* : "In *Raghuvamśa* we find the description of Aja's wedding, etc., although there is no basis for such events in the source books like *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc. So too Sarvasena has described the event of *Pārjātaharaṇa* etc. as part of pacifying or appeasing the anger of his beloved Satyabhāmā."

The accounts of the Pārjāta story as they occur in *Itihāsa* works (*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*) do not suggest much regarding the emotive motivation of Hari in forcibly bringing the tree down to his terrestrial garden. Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta admire the significant change that Sarvasena has worked out, viz., the jealousy of the two wives—Satyabhāmā and Rukmiṇī—of Hari that has been aroused by the *Pārjātamañjarī* which to both the women is the measure of Hari's love for them. Sarvasena takes a cue from the earlier motivation found in the *itihāsa* works and elaborates it. He centres the entire story round the rivalry of the two wives of Hari. This human element that he has introduced in his version has not only earned him the praise of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta but of every succeeding generation of

audiences and readers. The change in the emphasis is poetically rich.

In his *Vakroktijivita*⁹ Kuntaka ranks Sarvasena along with Kālidāsa for his graceful style of composition :

एवं सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र सुकुमारस्वरूपं चर्चणीयम् ।

That Bhoja cites a large number of verses from *HV* to illustrate various points of poetics is indicative of his high appreciation of this work of Sarvasena. In the course of his exposition of the definition of a *mahākāvya* Bhoja¹⁰ mentions *HV* along with great Sanskrit and Prakrit epics several times :

तेषु अभिप्रायाङ्कता यथा...उत्साह...सर्वसेनस्य । नगरवर्णनं यथा हरिविजय-रावणविजय-शिशुपालवध-कुमारसंभवादौ । शैलवर्णनं यथा...हरिविजयादौ । शरद्-वसन्त-ग्रीष्म-वर्षादि-वर्णनानि सेतुबन्ध-हरिविजय-रघुवंश-हरिविजयादौ । [अर्कास्तमयवर्णनं कुमारसंभव-हरिविजय...सेतुबन्धादौ ।] नायकवर्णनं यथा हरिविजय...रघुवंशादौ । वाहनवर्णनं यथा...हरिविजय रावणविजयादौ । दूतस्त्रिधा...निसृष्टार्थः । तत्र निसृष्टार्थो हरिविजये वा सत्यकः (सात्यकः, सात्यकिः ?) । प्रयाणं त्रिधा...अभिमतार्थसिद्धये यथा विष्णोः पारिजितहरणाय हरिविजये । तत्रारिविजयो द्विधा शत्रूच्छेदेन तदुपरत्या (? तदुपनत्या) च । द्वितीयो यथा हरिविजयादौ । मधुपानं द्विधा गोष्ठीगृहे वासभवने च । तत्राद्यं यथा हरिविजये । मानापगमो [द्विधा प्रायत्निकः नैमित्तिकश्च । प्रायत्निको हरिविजये सत्यभामायाः ।]

From Bhoja and Hemacandra we get the following information about *HV* :

It was *āśvāsabandha* [composed (not in *sargas* but) in *āśvāsakas*]. Its prevalent metre was *skandhaka*. It contained some *galitakas* which, according to some critics, were interpolations, but according to Hemacandra, were genuine parts of Sarvasena's own original work. It was marked by the word *utsāha* in the concluding verse of each *āśvāsaka*. It contained descriptions of *nagara* (city), *śaila* (mountain), seasons—*śarad* - *vasanta* - *grīṣma* - *varṣā*, etc.), the sunset, the hero, his vehicle, Garutmat, his *dūta*, Satyaka (? Sātyaki), Hari's march against Indra for securing the Pārijāta tree, the rise of the hero, in the form of the conquest of the enemy who himself surrenders, drink-party and the removal of Satyabhāmā's jealous anger by effort (by Hari, by winning the Pārijāta tree from Indra and planting it in front of Satyabhāmā's mansion.)

Now, Vākpati's *Gauḍavaho* (Sk. *Gauḍavadha*) and Pravarasena's *Setubandha* are completely available and have been thoroughly studied by eminent scholars.

Gauḍavadha of Vākpati or Vākpatirāja is a unique historical poem. It is no doubt a *mahākāvya* having a wide variety of topics. Its prototypes in Sanskrit and Prakrit are *Raghuvamśa* and *Setubandha* but it is not divided into Cantos-

sargas or *āśvāsakas* to indicate its division into different topics. It is just one long continuous composition. It is written to celebrate the defeat of a Gāūḍa prince by the poet's patron, King Yaśovarman of Kanauj, who himself, however, was overthrown and killed not much later (c. 740) by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. There is hardly any history in it. Even the name of the Gāūḍa prince is not mentioned. The subject-matter or story is slender whereas descriptions of various topics in the wonted *kāvya* manner occur one after another throughout the epic. There is no division of the poem into cantos yet there is division in *kulakas*. It is written uniformly in one metre called *gāthā*. If Kālidāsa excels in *Upamā*, Vākpati excels in *Utprekṣā*. His *Gauḍavadha* is an ocean of *Utprekṣās* (*Utprekṣā-sāgara*). Vākpati delights in two figures *Utprekṣā* and *Upamā*. His *kāvya* is much more for a man of learning and scholarship rather than for a *sahrdaya*—a man of taste, a sensitive, sympathetic and responsive reader. His style may best be described as characterised by *nārīkelapāka*. For it is very tough; its hard, external shell, like that of a coconut must first be broken to get at the sweet juice of its inside. It deserves special mention that the poet devotes 61 *gāthās* to *maṅgalācaraṇa*, 37 to *kavi-praśamsā* (praise of poets) and 150 to ways of the world. This last one is the longest of *kulakas*. Partiality for long compounds is responsible for rendering his poem tough. It is, however, to be remembered that Ānandavardhana, the celebrated author of *Dhvanyāloka* is considerably influenced for his several cherished ideas to Vākpati. In this connection I would like to draw your pointed attention to the excellent paper of J. L. Masson and M. V. Patwardhan entitled : "The Dhvanyāloka and the Gāūḍavaho¹¹." Ānandavardhana quotes the verse :

गणं च मत्तमेहं धारालुलिअञ्जुणाई अ वणाई ।
 गिरहंकार-मिअंका हरति णीलाओ अ णिसाओ ॥
 (गगनं च मत्तमेघं धारालुलितार्जुनानि च वनानि ।
 निरहङ्कारमृगाङ्गा हरन्ति नीलाश्च निशाः ॥) —*Gāūḍavaho* v. no. 406

For its brilliant exposition and appreciation I refer you to the *Locana* commentary of Abhinavagupta.

Under *Uddyota* 4. 16 Ānandavardhana says :

"Because in the case of a poet who is intent upon suggesting *rasas* and who has imaginative genius even figures of speech which may appear difficult to create, clamour to present themselves to him." This thought is similar enough to *Gāūḍavaho* v. no. 86 : The *gāthā* in translation means :

"The minds of ordinary poets wander about frantically searching for subjectmatter. But in the case of great poets the themes themselves rush to their

hearts, without any effort on their part.”

For some of the ideas on *ānantya*, the endlessness of poetic themes Ānandavardhana is indebted to Vākpati.

The *Setubandha* (*SB*) of Pravarasena is extolled by Daṇḍin and Bāṇa as the best of the *mahākāvyas* written in Prakrit. (c. 1st half of the 5th century). It relates the tale of Rāma from the advance against Rāvaṇa and the building of the bridge to Laṅkā down to Rāvaṇa's death in conformity with, generally speaking, the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*—Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (*RV*) written probably half a century earlier, has exercised its influence on the *Setubandha*. But the two works are different in some respects. *RV* recounts the careers of many kings of a dynasty including the entire story of Rāma whereas *SB* deals only with a portion of the early career of Rāma. The descriptions in *RV* are strictly subordinated to the narrative. In *SB* they are more extensive and dominate the narrative unlike in Kālidāsa. In *SB* (Canto 10) Pravarasena introduces elaborate pictures of the evening scenery and the moonlit landscape and the joys of wine and love with the *abhisārikās* playing their customary role. Nothing like this sequence of descriptions is found in Kālidāsa; portrayal of the amorous activities of the *nāyikās* aided by their maiden messengers—this theme is introduced by Pravarasena, *probably for the first time*, in the structure of a *mahākāvya*. Handique has observed well when he says¹² : “The *Raghuvamśa* treats a very wide subject within a relatively narrow compass (nineteen Cantos). The *Setubandha*, though much more limited in scope, has as many as fifteen; while the *mahākāvyas* of Bhāravi and Māgha, in spite of the greater brevity of their themes, have eighteen and twenty Cantos respectively. *In the evolution of the mahākāvya the Setubandha thus marks the stage at which the descriptions begin to preponderate at the expense of the narrative, and illustrates the transition from Kālidāsa to the poems of Bhāravi and Māgha.*”

“The topics introduced by Pravarasena into the tenth Canto of his poem appear *in toto* in Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (Canto 9) in the same sequence as in the *Setubandha*. They were taken over by Māgha from Bhāravi, and expanded into two Cantos of the *Śiśupālavadhā* (9-10), and soon became stereotyped in the Sanskrit *mahākāvya*.... The affinity of the *Setubandha* to the Sanskrit *mahākāvyas* is no doubt one of the causes of its popularity through the centuries.” And further more :

“The *Setubandha* contains a considerable number of verses of ethical import; but we miss in it the many pithy sayings found in the Sanskrit *mahākāvyas*, usually at the end of a verse that are formally called

arthāntaranyāsa. Likewise the absence of any reference to philosophical or other tenets relating to the different branches of learning is another feature that differentiates the poem from the Sanskrit *mahākāvya*.”

Finally, A. K. Warder treats of Vimala's *Paūmacariya* (Sk. *Padmacarita*, Padma is another name of Rāma, so it means *Rāmacarita*) in his *Indian Kāvya Literature*¹³. The term *kāvya* could be used, with reference to Vimala's work, in its widest sense, 'what is opposed or distinct from *śāstra*?' But Sanskrit literary thinkers use it in a fixed, definite sense : it is different from authoritative works like the Veda and other *śāstras* which are *śabda pradhāna* and which are like a master and from *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* in which *artha* (sense) is *pradhāna*; in *kāvya* both *śabda* and *artha* are *a-pradhāna* and they contribute to the creation or manifestation of *rasa*. The term *kāvya* in this special sense cannot be applied to Vimala's work. It would be a misnomer and totally misleading. It belongs to the second category of *purāṇa-itihāsa*. So it has not been taken note of in this lecture.

Notes and References :

1. As translated by A. K. Warder.
2. A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 92.
3. N. Sagar edn, 1948, p. 5.
4. A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 127.
5. As translated by Professor Wright, B.S.O.S, Vol. 26, 1963, p. 115.
6. महाराष्ट्रश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।
सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥ १.३४
7. See *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Mysore edn., Vol. II, 1963, p. 475.
And, *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964, p. 461.
8. *Dhvanyāloka* with the *Locana* and *Bālapriyā* Commentaries, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series edn., 1940, pp. 335-336.
9. *Vakroktijīvita* of Kuntaka, ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, Dharwad, 1977, p. 66.
10. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Mysore edn., Vol II, 1963, p. 475.
11. See Professor D. D. Kosambi Commemoration Volume.
12. *Pravarasena's Setubandha*, translation by K. K. Handique, Introduction, pp. 53, 56, 59 pub. Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad, 1976.
13. See Vol. II, Ch.XVI : "Māhārāṣṭrī Kāvya In The + 2..."

HARIVIJAYA OF SARVASENA

INTRODUCTION

In his works *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (ŚP) and *Sarasvatikaṅṭhābharṇa* (SK) Bhoja quotes from a number of Prakrit works, some of which are now lost. In his ŚP he mentions in one breath three Prakrit *mahākāvya*s : *Rāvanavijaya* (RV), *Harivijaya* (HV) and *Setubandha* (SB), composed in *āśvāsakas*. The prevailing metre of a Prakrit *mahākāvya* is *skandhaka*. So these three Prakrit *mahākāvya*s were composed in the *skandhaka* metre. Of these the first two, RV and HV, appear to be irretrievably lost. It is indeed a pity we have only one *skandhaka* verse from RV preserved to us in the form of a quotation in ŚP. We are, however, somewhat fortunate to have at least a quarter of century of *skandhaka* verses which we can definitely ascribe to HV on the strength of their contents and (or) on the basis of clear reference by Ānandavardhana and Bhoja. There are nearly a century of verses cited by Bhoja in his ŚP and SK which are in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and are composed in the *skandhaka* metre. As they are not found in SB, they may have been drawn from RV or HV as no other Prakrit *mahākāvya* in the *skandhaka* metre is known to have been composed. Most probably they are drawn from HV since Bhoja has copiously drawn on HV for his illustrations whereas he has cited only a solitary *skandhaka* verse from RV¹.

Sarvasena composed, it is surmised,² his HV³ about a hundred years earlier than Pravarasena's SB (first half of the fifth century A. D.). Eminent Sanskrit *ālamkārikas*, viz. Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka and Bhoja speak appreciatively of Sarvasena's HV.

(i) Ānandavardhana observes in his *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 335-336) :

इतिवृत्तवशायातां कथञ्चिद्रसाननुगुणां स्थितिं त्यक्त्वा पुनरुत्प्रेक्ष्याप्यन्तरभीष्टरसोचितकथोन्नयो विधेयः यथा कालिदासप्रबन्धेषु । यथा च सर्वसेनविरचिते हरिविजये ।

Abhinavagupta, his commentator, thus explains in his *Locana* (p. 335) :

...कालिदासेति । रघुवंशेऽजादीनां राज्ञां विवाहादिवर्णनं नेतिहासेषु निरूपितम् । हरिविजये

कान्तानुनयनाङ्गत्वेन पारिजातहरणादिनिरूपितमिहासेष्वदृष्टमपि ।

Regarding the episode of *Pārijātaharāṇa* vide Appendix I at the end.

(ii) In his *Vakroktijīvita*⁴ Kuntaka ranks Sarvasena along with Kālidāsa for his graceful style of composition :

एवं सहज-सौकुमार्य-सुभगानि कालिदास-सर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र सुकुमारस्वरूपं चर्चणीयम् ।

(iii) The very fact Bhoja cites a number of verses from Sarvasena's *HV* to illustrate various points in poetics is eloquent of his high appreciation of Sarvasena's work. In the course of his exposition of the definition of a *mahākāvya* he mentions it along with great Sanskrit and Prakrit epics several times :

तेषु अभिप्रायाङ्कता यथा...उत्साहः सर्वसेनस्य...। नगरवर्णनं यथा हरिविजय-रावणविजय-शिशुपालवध-कुमारसंभवादौ । शैलवर्णनं यथा...हरिविजयादौ ।...शरद्-वसन्त-ग्रीष्म-वर्षादिवर्णनानि सेतुबन्ध-हरिविजयरघुवंशहरिवंशादौ । [अर्कास्तमयवर्णनं कुमारसंभव-हरिविजय...सेतुबन्धादौ ।] नायकवर्णनं यथा हरिविजय... रघुवंशादौ । वाहनवर्णनं यथा...हरिविजयरवणविजयादौ । दूतस्त्रिधा-निसृष्टार्थः...। तत्र निसृष्टार्थो यथा...हरिविजये वा सत्यकः (सात्यकिः ?) । प्रयाणं त्रिधा...अभिमतार्थसिद्धये यथा विष्णोः पारिजातहरणाय हरिविजये... । तत्रारिविजयो द्विधा-शत्रूच्छेदेन तदुपरत्या (तदुपनत्या ?) च ।... द्वितीयो यथा हरिविजयादौ । ...मधुपानं द्विधा-गोष्ठीगृहे वासभवने च । तत्राद्यं यथा हरिविजये...। मानापगमो [द्विधा-प्रायत्निकः, नैमित्तिकश्च । प्रायत्निको हरिविजये सत्यभाषायाः ।]

(iv) Hemacandra, following Bhoja, repeats almost word for word, the above exposition in his *Kāvyaṇūsāsa*⁵. So he too, with Bhoja, regards *Harivijaya* as a great *mahākāvya*. On one occasion, however, he finds fault with Sarvasena in the course of his treatment of the eight *rasa-dosās* :

अङ्गस्याप्रधानस्यातिविस्तरेण वर्णनं (रसस्य दोषः)...तथा हि हरिविजये-ईर्ष्याकुपितसत्यभाषानु-नयनप्रवृत्तस्य हरेः पारिजातहरणव्यापारेणोपक्रान्तविप्रलम्भस्य वर्णनप्रस्तावे गलितकनिबन्धनरसिकतया कविना समुद्रवर्णनमन्तरा गडुस्थानीयं विस्तृतम् ।

Hemacandra criticises Sarvasena for introducing in his *mahākāvya* a lengthy description of the ocean, 'a superfluous excrescence', (*gaḍu-sthānam*) as he calls it. Bhoja while discussing the *galitakas* in *HV* mentions the view of some critics that they are interpolations [as they violate the principle that *āśvāsaka-bandhas* are to be in a single metre (called *skandhaka*) from beginning to end]. V. Raghavan observes⁶ : "If the view of the interpolation-theorists is true, Sarvasena would be saved from the criticism of Hemacandra".

In his Introduction to Pravarasena's *Setubandha* K. K. Handiqui remarks⁷ : "Of these Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* appears to have been the best

known;... But nothing seems to be known about the extent and structure of the poem. Hemacandra refers to it in connection with the various descriptions found in the different *mahākāvyas*, and mentions several topics described in Sarvasena's work; but he criticizes the author for inserting in his poem an irrelevant description of the ocean, 'a superfluous excrescence', as he calls it. The subject of the poem is the forcible removal of the Pārijāta tree from heaven by Kṛṣṇa. Ānandavardhana praises Sarvasena for introducing an element of *rasa* into the insipid mythological theme by representing Kṛṣṇa's action as motivated by a desire to appease his wife Satyabhāmā. But, in the absence of the text, it is difficult to determine how far Kṛṣṇa's action in going to war with Indra for the purpose of placating his wife's jealousy lent dignity to the subject or contributed to the success of the poem as a work of art. Sarvasena is also praised by Kuntaka for following the *sukumāramārga* corresponding to the old Vaidarbhī style; but to judge from Hemacandra's criticism, it may be doubted if the *Harivijaya* was a mature effort in the field of the Mahākāvya, comparable to the *Setubandha*. In any case it failed to maintain its popularity as a major work of the early Kāvya literature."

In view of Sarvasena's appreciation by top ranking *ālamkārikas* like Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka and Bhoja it would seem Handiqui's criticism : "it may be doubted if the *Harivijaya* was a mature effort..." is rather harsh and unfair to Sarvasena. As Kālidāsa's plays eclipsed Bhāsa's plays, Pravarasena's *Setubandha* might have eclipsed Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*. But it does not necessarily follow that Sarvasena's work was not 'a mature effort'. We get the following information about the contents of the *Harivijaya* from Bhoja's *ŚP* and Hemacandra's *KĀŚ* :

It was *āśvāsabandha*' (composed in *āśvāsakas* and not in *sargas-cantos*). Its prevailing metre was *skandhaka*. It contained some *galitakas* which according to some critics were interpolations, but according to Hemacandra were genuine parts of Sarvasena's own original work. It was marked by the word *utsāha* in the concluding verse of each *āśvāsaka*. It contained descriptions of city (*nagara*), mountain (*śaila*), seasons (*śarad-vasanta-grīṣma varṣādi*), the sunset (*arkāstamayavarṇanam*—mentioned by Hemacandra but through oversight dropped in the printed Mysore edition of *SP*), the hero (*tatra nāyaka-varṇanam yathā Harivijaya...*) his vehicle—Garutmat, his *dūta*, *dūtaḥ nis* [*rṣṭārthah...* *Harivijaye va Sātyakaḥ* (*Sātyakiḥ*) his (*nāyaka*'s-Hari's) march against Indra with a view to securing the desired object—the Pārijāta tree, the rise of the hero in the form of the conquest of the enemy who himself surrenders, drink-party and the removal of Satyabhāmā's jealous anger by effort (by Hari by

winning the Pārijāta tree from Indra and planting it in front of Satyabhāmā's mansion).

From the statements of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta in *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana* respectively—which are cited above—it is evident that *Pārijāta-haraṇa* (The Carrying off of the celestial Pārijāta tree) and similar incidents in the *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena are pure inventions by the poet and that they have no basis in the *Itihāsa* works. They are introduced with a view to developing the desired *rasa*—the sentiment of love (both in union and separation)—omitting incidents from the original narrative which were not favourable to depict the desired *rasa*.

The verses from *Harivijaya*, cited by Bhoja, deal with Hari, his two beloveds, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā, the latter's sulky wrath (*māna*) and her appeasement by Hari by winning the heavenly Pārijāta tree for her. Bhoja refers to this epic in connection with the various descriptions found in the various *mahākāvya*s and mentions, as already pointed out above, several topics described in *Harivijaya*.

Regarding the extent and structure of *Harivijaya* we know very little. As mentioned above, *Harivijaya* was *āśvāsaka-bandha* (which is composed in a single metre, called *skandhaka* from beginning to end). According to one view the *galitakas* in *Harivijaya* (as well as *Rāvaṇa-vijaya* and *Setubandha*) were later interpolations. Hemacandra, however, takes them as the genuine parts of the poet's own original work. Its language was Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit. Its principal theme was *Pārijāta-haraṇa* and it was replete with descriptions of the various topics mentioned above. We may not be far wrong if we were to remark that it was descriptive rather than narrative in character. As regards its extent we might further hazard a guess that it contained as many *āśvāsakas* as are found in *Setubandha* which is modelled on it.

From the citations we find that *Harivijaya* was composed in a graceful style. Its language and style were, compared to *Setubandha*, more easy and less involved. Like Pravarasena, Sarvasena too shows the use of long compounds and poetic figures of speech. Kuntaka's praise for his graceful style and Ānandavardhana's compliment for his imaginative handling of the theme of *Pārijāta-haraṇa* and Bhoja's appreciation of his work by profusely quoting from it and ranking it with Sanskrit and Prakrit masterpieces like *Raghuvamśa Kumārasambhava*, *Kirātārjunīya*, *Śiśupālavadha*, *Rāvaṇavijaya*, *Setubandha* etc. while illustrating the salient features of a *mahākāvya*—Sarvasena very well deserves.

Rāvaṇavijaya and *Harivijaya* were both composed in the *skandhaka* metre; and Vākpati's *Madhumathavijaya* was composed in the *gāthā* metre⁸. This series of epics of conquest is no longer extant. It is indeed an irreparable loss to the students of Māhārāṣṭrī language and literature.*

Now we turn to the verses drawn by Bhoja from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*. In Part I, we reproduce the verses which we can definitely ascribe to *Harivijaya* on the strength of external or internal evidence and in Part II those verses which, we feel, are *probably* drawn from *Harivijaya*. In the body we present the text as restored by us and in the footnotes the text as printed in the Mysore edition of *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and / or the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa* (N. S. edn. 1934). This method of presentation will help readers in judging how far we have succeeded in restoring the original text of the verses. It would also help them in suggesting better or improved readings.

For the convenience of the readers who are not adequately acquainted with either Prakrit or Sanskrit, translation of the text is given towards the end as an appendix.

Notes and References :

1. प्रति (कवि ?) प्रशंसा यथा रावणविजये-

सअलं चेअ णिबंभं दोहिं पएहिं कलुसं पसण्णं च ठिअं ।

जाणंति कईण कई सुद्ध-सहावेहि लोअणेहि व (पा. भे. च) हिअअं ॥

[सकलमेव निबन्धं द्वाभ्यां पदाभ्यां कलुषं प्रसन्नञ्च स्थितम् ।

जानन्ति कवीनां कवयः शुद्ध-स्वभावाभ्यां लोचनाभ्याम् इव(पा. भे. च) हृदयम् ॥] पृ. ४५६

—शुद्धार पृ. ४७३; हेमचन्द्र : काव्यानुशासन

2. "Daṇḍin mentions the *Harivijaya* in a mutilated verse at the beginning of his *Avantisundari*, and refers to Sarvasena as a king probably identical with Sarvasena, the founder of the younger branch of the Vākātakas. If so, the *Harivijaya* was composed in the first half of the fourth century A. D. about a hundred years earlier than the *Setubandha*."—Pravarasena's *Setubandha*, Tr. By Handiqui, Prakrit Text Series No. 20. Ahmedabad-380 009. p.50.

3. No other work is known to have been composed by Sarvasena. Pītāmbara and Bhuvanapāla, two of the commentators of Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī* also known as *Gāthakośa*, however, ascribe four *gāthās* to one Sarvasena; this Sarvasena is probably identical with the author of *Harivijaya*. The four *gāthās* are :

(१) पत्तिअ ण पत्तिअंती, जइ तुज्ज इमे ण मज्ज रुइरीए ।

पुट्टीअ वाहविदू पुलउब्भेएण भिज्जंता ॥

["प्रतीहि" न प्रतीयन्ती (प्रतीयां) यदि तवेमे न मम येदनशीलायाः (रुदत्याः) ।

पृष्ठे बाष्प-बिन्दवः पुलकोद्धेदेन भिद्यमानाः (भिद्येरन्) ॥]

—GSS-III-16

- (२) जस्स जहिं चिअ पढमं तिस्सा अंगम्मि णिवडिआ दिट्ठी ।
तस्स तर्हिं चेअ ठिआ सक्कंगं केण वि ण दिट्ठं ॥
[यस्य यत्रैव प्रथमं तस्या अङ्गे निपतिता दृष्टिः ।
तस्य तत्रैव स्थिता सर्वाङ्गं केनापि न दृष्टम् ॥] —GSS-III-34
- (३) अज्जं पि ताव एकं मा मं वरोहि पिअसहि रुअंतिं ।
कळं पुण तम्मि गए जइ ण मुआ ता ण रोइस्सं ॥
[अद्यापि तावदेकं मा मां वारय प्रियसखि रुदतीम् ।
कल्यं पुनस्तस्मिन् गते यदि न मृता तर्हि न रोदिष्यामि ॥] —GSS-VI-2
- (४) एहिं ति वाहरंतम्मि पिअअमे उअह ओणअमुहीए ।
विउणावेट्ठिअजहणत्थलाइ लज्जोणअं हसिअं ॥
[“एहि” “इति व्याहरति प्रियतमे पश्यतावनतमुच्छ्रा ।
द्विगुणावेष्टितजघनस्थलया लज्जावनतं हसितम् ॥] —GSS-VI-3

4. *Vakroktijīvita* of Kuntaka ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, Karnatak University Dharwad, 1977, p. 66.
5. Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1964, pp. 457-459.
6. *Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśa* by V. Raghavan, Madras, 14, 1963, p. 803.
7. Pravarasena's *Setubandha* (Translation) Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad-9, 1976, pp. 56-57.
8. Vākpati himself has referred to this work in his *Gaṇḍavaho*. He suggests that it was composed in robust or flowery language. Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 346, Banaras edn. 1940) cites a verse from this work. For its correct text vide Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (Māhāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay. 1964 edn. p. 79). It is in the Gāthā metre. From Vākpati's statement we learn he considered his earlier work (*Madhumathavijaya*) as superior to *Gaṇḍavaho* :

महुमह-विअअ-पउत्ता वाआ कह णाम मउलउ इमम्मि ।
पढम-कुसुमाहि तळिणं पच्छा-कुसुमं वणलआण ॥
[मधुमथ-विजय-प्रयुक्ता वाक् कथं नाम मुकुलयत्वस्मिन् ।
प्रथम-कुसुमात्तलिनं पश्चात्-कुसुमं वनलतानाम् ॥ —v.69]

- ★ I gratefully acknowledge my thanks to Prof. M. V. Patwardhan and Dr. H. C. Bhayani for going through the restored verses and for suggesting improved readings in some cases.



TEXT : Part I

- १) चूर्णकुरावअंसं छण-पसर-महग्घ-मणहर-सुरामोअं ।
अपणामिअं पि गहिअं कुसुमसरेण महुमास-लच्छीएँ मुहं* ॥
[चूताङ्कुरावतंसं क्षण प्रसरमहार्षमनोहरसुरामोदम् ।
असमापितमपि गृहीतं कुसुमशरेण मधुमासलक्ष्म्या मुखम् ॥]
- ध्वन्यालोक, पृ. २९८
- २) तीए दंसण-सुहए, पणअ-क्खलणजणिओ मुहम्मि मणहरे ।
रोसो वि हरइ हिअअं, मअपंको व्व मअ-लंछणम्मि णिसण्णो ॥
[तस्या दर्शनसुभगे प्रणयस्खलनजनितो मुखे मनोहरे ।
रोषोऽपि हरति हृदयं मदपङ्क इव मृगलाञ्छने निषण्णः ॥]
- शृङ्गार, पृ. ४५८
- ३) बहुमण्णसि हरि-पणअं, संदाणेसि तिअसेस पाअव-रअणं ।
ओँजहसु मुद्ध-सहावं, संभावेसु सुरणाह जाअव-लोअं ॥
[बहुमन्यसे हरिप्रणयं संदानयसि त्रिदशेश पादपरत्नम् ।
अपजहिहि मुग्धस्वभावं संभावय सुरनाथ यादवलोकम्]
- शृङ्गार, पृ. ७२५
- ४) कुविआ अ सच्चभामा (हामा) समे वि बहुआण णवर माणक्खलणे ।
पाअडिअ-हिअअ-सारो पेम्मासंघसरिसो पअट्टइ मण्णू ॥
[कुपिता च सत्यभामा समेऽपि वधूनां केवलं मानस्खलने ।
प्रकटितहृदयसारः प्रेमविश्वाससदृशः प्रवर्तते मन्युः ॥]
- शृङ्गार, पृ. ५८५
- ५) तं तिअस-कुसुम-दामं हरिणा णिम्महिअ-सुरहि-गंधामोअं ।
अप्पणइअं पि दूमिअ-पणइणि-हिअएण रुपिणीअ विइण्णं ॥
[तत् त्रिदशकुसुमदामं हरिणा निर्गत(प्रसृत) सुरभिगन्धामोदम् ।
अप्रणयितमपि दून(=संतापित-) प्रणयिनी-हृदयेन रुक्मिण्यै वितीर्णम् ॥]
- शृङ्गार, पृ. ७४८
- ६) सुर-कुसुमेहिँ कलुसिअं जइ तेहिँ चिअ पुणो पसाएमि तुमं ।
तो पेम्मस्स किसोअरि अवराहस्स अ ण मे खमं होइ कअं ॥
[सुरकुसुमैः कलुषितां यदि तैरेव पुनः प्रसादयामि त्वाम् ।
तदा प्रेम्णः कृशोदरि अपराधस्य च न मे क्षमं भवति कृतम् ॥]
- शृङ्गार, पृ. ६०२
- ७) अइरा आणेमि तुहं अमआसव-लोल-भमर-लंघिअ-कुसुमं ।
तिअस-गअ-दाण-सीहर-तुसार-तण्णाअ-पल्लवं सग-दुमं ॥

- [अचिरदानयामि तवामृतास्वादलोलाभ्रमरलङ्घितकुसुमम् ।
त्रिदश-गज-दान-शीकर-तुषाराद्रित-पल्लवं स्वर्गदुमम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७४८
- ८) आणित-पुलउब्धेओ सवति-पणअ-परिधूसरम्मि वि गरुए (? हिआए)
पिअ-दंसणे पवङ्गइ मण्णुड्डणे वि रुप्पिणीअ पहरिसो ॥
[आनीतपुलकोद्भेदः सपत्नीप्रणयपरिधूसरेऽपि गुरुके (? हृदये) ।
प्रियदर्शने प्रवर्धते मन्युस्थानेऽपि रुक्मिण्याः प्रहर्षः॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७७३
- ९) दिट्ठा कुविआणुणआ (? कुविआणुणिआ) पिआ सहस्स-थण-पेळ्ळणं पि विसहिअं ।
जस्स णिसण्णाइ उरे सिरीएँ पेम्मेण लहुइओ अप्पाणो ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७४८
[दृष्टा कुपितानुनया (? कुपितानुनीता प्रिया सहस्रस्तनप्रेरण (पीडन) मपि विसोढम् ।
यस्य निषण्णयोरसि श्रिया प्रेम्णा लघुकृत आत्मा ॥]
- १०) तो से रुब्भंत च्चिअ-विअंभंत-हरिस-वेउच्छलिआ ।
पाअपडिअस्स हरिणो पडिआ पुट्टीए बाह-सलिल-त्थेवा ॥
[ततस्तस्या रुध्यमाना एव हृदयविजृम्भमाणहर्षवेगोच्छलिताः ।
पाद-पतितस्य हरेः पतिता पृष्ठे बाष्पसलिलबिन्दवः ॥]
- ११) सा कुसुमेहिं गरुइआ मह वि कओ सुहअ दंसणेण पसाओ ।
कह अ ण पसाअ-सद्धे लग्गउ पिआ-हिअअस्स अ इमस्स तुह ॥
[सा कुसुमैर्गुरूकृता ममापि कृतस्सुभग दर्शनेन प्रसादः ।
कथञ्च न प्रसादशब्दो लगतु प्रियाहृदयस्य चास्य तव ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९९०
- १२) परिवङ्गते णिसि-समए मंडलिअ-कुसुमाउहं व अणंगं ।
विरहम्मि मण्णइ हरी जहे अणत्थ-पडिउट्टिअं व मिअंकं ॥
[परिवर्धमाने निशासमये मण्डलितकुसुमायुधमिवानङ्गम् ।
विरहे मन्यते हरिर्नभसि अनर्थप्रत्युत्थितमिव मृगाङ्गम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १००५
- १३) संवङ्गिअ-संतोसा फुरंत-कोत्थुहमणि-प्पहा-संवलिआ ।
विउणिअ-मण-संतावा जाआ सविसेस-दूसहा ससि-किरणा ॥
[संवर्धितसंतोषाः स्फुरत्कौस्तुभमणिप्रभासंवलिताः ।
द्विगुणितमनस्संतापा जाता सविशेषदुःसहाः शशिकिरणाः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १००६
- १४) तो इअ सुरअरुकारण-मउलिअ-हिआआए सावसेस-लहुओ ।
संभाविअ च्चिअ हिओ हरिणा पाअ-पडणम्मि तीएँ अमरिसो ॥
[तत इति सुरतरुकारणमुकुलितहृदयायाः सावशेषलघुकः ।
संभावित एव हतो हरिणा पादपतने तस्या अमर्षः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १००९
- १५) थोओसरंतरोसं थोअत्थोअ-परिवङ्गमाण-पहरिसं ।
होइ अदूर-पआसं (? पसाओ) उहअ-रसाअत्त-विब्भमं तीअ मुहं ॥
[स्तोकापसरद्रोषं स्तोकपरिवर्धमानप्रहर्षम् ।
भवति अदूरप्रकाश (? प्रसाद)मुभयरसायत्तविभ्रमं तस्या मुखम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४०

- १६) अह आगओ ति णवरिअ अच्चासण्णो वि सच्चभामाए हरी ।
परिअण-मुह-च्चिअ सुओ वाहजलंतरिअ-लोअणाए ण दिट्ठो ॥
[अथागत (? एष आगत) इति सहसात्यासन्नोऽपि सत्वभामया हरिः ।
परिजनमुखादेव श्रुतो बाष्पजलान्तरितलोचनया न दृष्टः ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४०
- १७) तीएँ सविसेस-दूमिअ-सवत्ति हिअआएँ णिव्वलंतसिणेहं ।
पिअगरुइआएँ णिमिअं सोहग्गुणाण अग्गभूमिएँ पअं ॥
[तया सविशेषदून (=संतापित)सपत्नीहृदयया स्पष्टीभूतस्नेहम् ।
प्रियगुरुकृतया (=गौरवितया) न्यस्तं सौभाग्यगुणानामग्रभूम्यां पदम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४६
- १८) दार-द्वविअ-सुर-दुमं तं चिअ सग्ग-कुसुमोआर (कुसुमोवहार)ग्घविअं ।
अण्णं व सच्चविज्जइ परिओस-परित्त-परिअणं तीएँ घरं ॥
[द्वारस्थापितसुरद्रुमं तदेव स्वर्गकुसुमोपचारा(कुसुमोपहारा) र्धितम् ।
अन्यदिव दृश्यते परितोषपरीतपरिजनं तस्या गृहम् ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४७
- १९) अह दिट्ठ-विक्कमम्मि वि सिणेह-सच्चवि [अ]-गरुअ-विणिवाअ-हआ ।
चित्तेइ सच्चभामा सुरअरुलंभट्टिए गअम्मि महुमहे ॥
[अथ दृष्टविक्रमेऽपि स्नेहदर्शितगुरुकविनिपातभया ।
चिन्तयति सत्यभामा सुरतरुलाभार्थिनि (=लाभार्थी) गते मधुमथे (=मथने) ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०५८ (अ)
- २०) तीए हिअआणुचित्तिअ-मणोरहम्भहिअ-संगम-सुहाएँ हरी ।
हसिरो वि दोहि करेहि पडिरुम्भंत-मउडो गओ च्चिअ चलणे ॥
[तस्या हृदयानुचिन्तितमनोरथाभ्यधिकसङ्गमसुखाय हरिः ।
हसनशीलोऽपि द्वाभ्यां कराभ्यां प्रतिरुध्यमानमुकुटो गत एव चरणयोः ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १२०९
- २१) उअ जाव सा किलम्मइ अप्पकअ-विरह-वित्थरंताणुसआ ।
ता पत्तो जह इच्छा तह णिव्वत्तिअ-मणोरहो महु-महणो ॥
[पश्य यावत् सा क्लाम्यति आत्मकृतविरहविस्तीर्यमाणानुशया ।
तावत् प्राप्तो यथा इच्छा तथा निर्वातितमनोरथो मधुमथनः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२०
- २२) अस्सिअ सोहाइसओ सच्चाए वि भोइ(? होइ) देव-दंसण-जणिओ ।
जह हिअअस्स पहरिसो तह हरिस-विसंतुलाण अच्छीण सुहं ॥
[आश्रितशोभातिशयः सत्याया अपि भोगि (? भवति) देवदर्शनजनितः ।
यथा हृदयस्य प्रहर्षस्तथा हर्षविसंभ्रुलयोरक्षणोः सुखम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२०
- २३) णिम्महिअ-कुसुम-परिमल-हिअ-हिअआए वि महुअरावलि-चडुला ।
पढमं पिअम्मि दिट्ठी पच्छ तीए सुरपाअवम्मि णिसण्णा ॥
[निर्गत-प्रसृत-) कुसुमपरिमलहृतहृदयाया अपि मधुकरावलिचटुला ।
प्रथमं प्रिये दृष्टिः पश्चात्तस्याः सुरपादपे निषण्णा ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२२
- २४) तो से पिअम्मि रसिआ ता दुम-रअणम्मि च्चिअ उप्पल-सुहआ ।
परिओस-रसुब्बेह्ला अणुराअ-अंदोलिआ णिसम्मइ दिट्ठी ॥

[ततस्तस्याः प्रिये रसिता ततो दुमरत्न एवोत्पलसुभगा ।
परितोषरसोच्छलितानुरागान्दोलिता निर्षीदति दृष्टिः ॥]

—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२३

- २५) उअ णिअ-पाअव-रअणं (?-रअणं) इअ अणुराअ-पिसुणं षिअम्मि भणंते ।
सविसेस-लद्ध-पसरो आढतो तीएँ पसरिउं परिओसो ॥
[यश्य निजपादप-रत्ने (?-रत्नम्) इत्यनुरागपिशुनं प्रिये भणति ।
सविशेषलब्धप्रसर आरब्धस्तस्याः प्रसर्तुं परितोषः ॥]

—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२४

पादटीप :

* Ānandavardhana cites this stanza with the express mention of its source (yathā *Harivijaye*) in his *Dhvanyāloka*. It is therefore proper to include it in this monograph. There are two more verses in the *skandhaka* metre that have been quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* which are probably drawn from *Harivijaya* :

- (i) सज्जेइ सुरहिमासो ण ता पणामेइ (घा.भे.ण दाव अप्पेइ) जुअइ-जण-लक्ख-सहे ।
अहिणव-सहआर-मुहे णव-पल्लव-पत्तले अणंगस्स सेरे ॥
[सज्जयति सुरभि-मासो न तावदर्पयति युवति-जन-लक्ष्य-सहान् ।
अभिनव-सहकार-मुखान् नव-पल्लव-पत्रलाननङ्गस्य शरान् ॥]

—ध्वन्यालोक, पृ. २५५; काव्यानुशासन, पृ. ७२
कल्पलताविवेक, पृ. १४४

- (ii) चंद-मउहेहिँ षिसा, णलिणी कमलेहिँ कुसुमगुच्छेहिँ लआ ।
हंसैहिँ सरअ-सोहा, कक्कहा सज्जणेहि कीइ गुरुई ॥
[चन्द्रमयूखैर्निशा नलिनी कमलैः कुसुमगुच्छैर्लता ।
हंसैः शरच्छौभा काव्यकथा सज्जनैः क्रियते गुरुकी ॥]

—ध्वन्यालोक, पृ. २५९-२६०

The verse “*sajjei surahi-māso*” etc., forms part of a description of the advent of the season of spring. The second verse “*Canda-mauhehim̐ nisā*”, etc. forms part of a description of the nature of *sujana* (or *sajjana*). For comments on and translation of these two verses *vide notes*.

2. (i) तीए दंसणसुहए पणअ-क्खलण-जणिओ मुहम्मि मणहरे ।
रोसो वि हरइ हिअअं मअपंको व्व मअलंछणम्मि णिसण्णो ॥
[तस्या दर्शनसुभगे प्रणयस्खलनजनितो मुखे मनोहरे ।
रोषोऽपि हरति हृदयं मदपङ्क इव मृगलाञ्छने निषण्णः]॥

—शृङ्गार. पृ. ४५८

- (ii) तीएदं सवणअंहखलणजणिओ मह० मि मणहदे ।
देसो विहरइ हिअअ गअप०कोव्व मअलंचणंमिणसिण्णो ॥

—शृङ्गार. पृ. १००७

- (iii) तीए दंसणसुहए पणअक्खलणजणिओ मुहम्मि मणहरे ।
रोसो वि हरइ हिअअं मअपंको व्व मिअलंछणम्मि णिसण्णो ॥
[तस्या दर्शनसुभगे प्रणयस्खलनजनितो मुखे मनोहरे ।
रोषोऽपि हरति हृदयं मदपङ्क इव मृगलाञ्छने निषण्णः]॥

—सरस्वती. पृ. ७२४

3. (i) बहुमर्णसिहरिपणअंसं ० दाणेसित्तिअसेसुपाअअनं ।
ओजहमुंधसभाव ० स ० भावेसि सरणाहजावअवलोअं ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७२५
- (ii) मंतेसि महुमहपणअं संदाणेसि तिअसेसपाअवरअणम् ।
ओजसु मुद्धसुहावं संभावेसु सुरणाह जाअवलोअम् ॥
[मनुष्ये मधुमथप्रणयं संदानयसि त्रिदशेशपादपरत्नम् ।
अपजहि मुग्धस्वभावं संभावय सुसनाथ यादवलोकम् ॥] —सरस्वती. पृ. ५५०
4. (i) कुविआ अ सच्चहामा समेवि बहुआणं णवरमाणक्खलणे ।
पाअडिअहिअअसारो पेमसद्धरिसो पअट्टई मणू ॥
[कुपिता च सत्याभामा समेऽपि वधूनां केवलमानक्षरणे ।
प्रकटितहृदयसारः प्रेमसङ्घर्षः प्रवर्तते मन्युः ॥]— —शृङ्गार. पृ. ५८५
- (ii) कुविआअसं चभामा समेपिवहुआणणवरमाणं खलणे ।
पाअडिअअहिअसारो पेमासंघसरिसो पवण्ठइ मणू ॥
[कुपिता च सत्यभामा समेऽपि वधूनां केवलं मानस्खलने ॥
प्रकटितहृदयसारः प्रेमाश्वाससदृशः प्रवर्तते मन्युः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७७३
- (iii) कुविआ अ सच्चहामा समेवि बहुईण णवरमाणक्खलणे ॥
पाअडिअहिअअसारो पेम्म संवसरिसो वअट्टइ मंतु ॥
[कुपिता च सत्यभामा समेपि वधूनां केवलमानस्खलने ।
प्रकटितहृदयसारः प्रेम...प्रवर्तते मन्तु ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. ८१२
- (iv) कुविआ अ सच्चभामा समे वि बहुईण णवर माणक्खलणे ।
पाअडिअहिअअसारो पेमा संघसरिसा ? पट्टइ मंतु ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. ८६०
- (v) कुविआ अ सच्चहामा समे वि बहुआण णवर माणक्खलणे ।
पाअडिअहिअअसारो पेम्पासंघसरिसो पअट्टइ मणू ॥
[कुपिता च सत्यभामा समेऽपि बन्धूनां केवलं मानस्खलने ।
प्रकटितहृदयसारः प्रेमाश्वाससदृशः प्रवर्तते मन्युः ॥) —सरस्वती. पृ. ६४७
5. (i) तीतिअस-कुसुम-दामं हरिणा णिम्महिमहुपोमायअंअं पणइ ।
अंपिदूमिअवणइणिहिअएण रुंविणीएविइणं ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. ६०२
- (ii) तं तिअस कुसुमदामं हरिणा णिंमहिअसुरहि गंदामोअं ।
अंपणइअ ० पिदूमिअपणणिहिअएण रुप्पिणीअ विइणं ॥
[तत् त्रिदशकुसुमदामं हरिणा निर्गच्छत्सुरभगन्धामोदम् ।
आत्मनातीतमपि दूनितप्रणयिहृदयेन रुक्मिण्यै विकीर्णम् ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७४८
- (iii) तं तिअसकुसुमदामं हरिणा णिंमहिअसुरभगंधामोअं ।
अप्पणइअं वि दूमिअ पणइणि हीअएण रुप्पिणीए विइणं ॥
[तत् त्रिदशकुसुमदामं हरिणा निर्मथितं सुरभगन्धामोदम् ।
...दुःखितप्रणयिनी हृदयेन रुक्मिण्या वितोर्णं ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. ८१२
- (iv) तं तिअसकुसुमदामं हरिणाणिं महिअसुरहिगंसामोअं ।
अं पणइअं पिदूमिपणइणि हिअएणरुं पिणिएविअ ० णं ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०२४

Note : SK (p. 678) presents the Prakrit text and its Sanskrit *chāyā* almost correctly; it renders णिम्महिअ into Sanskrit as निर्गच्छत्, अप्पणइअं as आत्मनानीतम् and दूमिअ as दूनित —

these renderings need to be corrected.

6. (i) सिरकुसुमेहि कलुसिअं जइतेहिचिअ पुणोपसाएमि तुमं ।
तो वे० म...सकिसोअरिअवरह०सअणमेखमंभोइकअं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. ६०३
- (ii) सुरकुसुमेहि कलुसिअं जइ तेहि चिअ पुणो पसाएमि तुमं ।
तो पेम्मस्स किसोअरि अवरहस्सं अ ण मे कअं अणुरुअं ॥
[सुरकुसुमैः कलुषितां यदि तैरेव पुनः प्रसादयामि त्वाम् ।
ततः प्रेम्णः कुशोदरि अपराधस्य च न मे कृतमनुरूपम् ॥] —सरस्वती. पृ. ६५५
7. (i) अइशाणेमि तुह० अमआसरलोलअभमरलंधिकुसुमं ।
किअसगअदाणसीरुसारातणाअपंलपंसंडहुमं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. ७४८
- (ii) ...जन...णमितुहंअमआवयलोलभमरलंधिअकुसुमं ति ।
असगअदाणसीहरतुसारातणाअपंलवं स०गदुमं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १००९
8. (i) आणिअपुलउब्बेओसवतिपणअपरिधूसरम्मि वि गुरुए ।
अधंसणे पवड्डइ मणुदुण्णे विरुप्पिणू अपहरिसो ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. ७७३
- (ii) आणिअपुलउब्बेओ सवत्तिपणअपडिपूर्णमि वि गरुए ।
पिअदसणे पवट्टइ मंतुदुण्णे वि रुप्पिणीए पहरिसो ॥
[आनीतपुलकोद्भेदस्सपत्नीप्रणयप्रतिपूर्णेपि गुरुणि ।
प्रियदर्शने प्रवर्तते म(न्तु)न्मुस्थानेऽपि रुक्मिण्याः प्रहर्षः॥] —शुङ्गार. पृ. ७८७
- (iii) आणिअवलउब्बेओ सअत्तिअणअपडिपूर्णमि वि गरुए ।
पिअदंसणे पवड्डइ मंतुदुण्णे विएव्वहरिसो ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १२२०

Note : The Prakrit text of this *skandhaka* and its Sanskrit *chāyā* are correctly presented in SK.(p. 673 v. 330). It reads 'gurue' in place of 'garue' at the end of the first half of the verse. It reads 'garue' as a.v.l. in the foot-notes.

9. (i) दिट्ठ कुइआणुणआ पिआ सहस्स-धणपेक्खणं वि सहिअं ।
जस्स णिसण्णाए उरे सिरीए पेम्मेण लहइओ अप्पाणो ॥
[दृष्टा...तानुनया प्रिया सहस्रस्तनप्रेरणमपि सोढं ।
यस्य निषण्णाया उरसि श्रियः प्रेम्णा लघूकृत आत्मा ॥] —शुङ्गार. पृ. ७९४
- (ii) दिट्ठ कुविआणुणआ पिआ सहस्सजणपेक्खणं पि विसहिअं ।
जस्स णिसण्णाइ उरे सिरीए पेम्मेण लहुइओ अप्पाणो ॥
[दृष्टा कुपितानुनया प्रिया सहस्रजनप्रेरणमपि विसोढम् ।
यस्य निषण्णयोरसि श्रिया प्रेम्णा लघूकृत आत्मा ॥] —सरस्वती. पृ. ६७१
10. (i) तो से रुभंतच्चिअ हिअअविअभंतहरिसवेउच्चलिआ ।
पाअपडिअस्स हरिणो पडिआ पुट्टीए वाहसलिलकखेवा ॥
[तत...हृदयविजृम्भमाणहर्षवेगोच्चलिता ।
पादपतितस्य हरेः पतिताः पृष्ठे बाष्पसलिलोत्क्षेपाः ॥] —शुङ्गार. पृ. ८४०
- (ii) तोसे कु० भंत० च्छिअहिअविअ० भंतहरिसवेउ०चलिआ ।
पाअपडिअ०सहरिणो पडिआ पु०ठीएवाहसलिल०धेवा ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १०४१
- (iii) तोसेरुभंतच्चिअहिअअविअंजंतहसिसदेउच्चलिआ ।
पाअपडिआअहरिणो पडिआअट्टुएवाहसलिलच्छेवा ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १२०९

11. (i) साकुसुमेहि गुरुइआ महविकओसुह अदंसणेण पसाओ ।
कहअण पिसाअसद्वो लंगइ णसहि अअसंलंसतुह ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १९०
- (ii) सा कुसुमेहि गुरु...महरि...सुहअदंसणेण पसाओ ।
कहअण हिआअसद्वो लग्गउ एआहिआइमिस्स तुहं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १२१२
12. (i) परिअंठंतीवणिसं सइरंडलिअकुसुमाउहं व अणंगं ।
विअरंमि पेच्छतु हरिण्णहो अणद्धाअउंठिअं व मिअं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १००५
- (ii) परिवट्टंतिव णिसंस(म)इ मंडलिअकुसुमाउहं व अणंगं ।
विरहम्मि मण्णइ हरीणहे अणत्थपडिउट्टिअं व मिअंकम् ॥ —सरस्वती. पृ. ६१६
13. संवट्ठिअ संतोसे पुरंतकोंधुहमणिंषहासंवल्लिआ ।
विउणिअमणिसंतावा जाआसविसेस दूससरिस्सिकिरणा ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १००६
14. (i) तोइअपिआणुवंतण मजलिअहिअआए एवसेसवहूओ ।
संभाविअच्छिहिओ हरिणा पादपडणंमितीएअमरिसो ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १००९
- (ii) लोलअसुरअरुकारणमउलिअहिअआएसावसेसवल्लहए ।
संभाविअं चिअहिओ हरिणा पाअपअंमि तीएअमरिसो ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १०४१
- (iii) तोइअसुरअरुकारणसउइअहिआए सावसेअअहलहुओ ।
संभाविअच्छिअहिअओ हरिणा पाअपडणम्मि तीए अमरिसो ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १२०९
15. (i) धोओसरंतरोसं धोअंधोअपरिवंढमाणपहरीसं ।
होइ अदूरवसाअं उअरसाअंतविभंमं तीए मुहं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १०४०
15. (ii) धोवोसरंतरोसं धोअमुहधोअपरिवट्टमाणवरिसं ।
होलअदूसपसाअं तुहपरसाअं विक्षमंती एमुहं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १२११
- (iii) धोओसरंतरोसं धोअत्थोअपरिवट्टमाणपहरिसम् ।
होइ अ दूरपआसं उअरसाअंतविभंमं तीअ मुखम् ।
[स्तोकापसरद्वेषं स्तोकस्तोकपरिवर्धमानप्रहर्षम् ।
भवति च दूरप्रकाशमुभयरसायत्तविभ्रमं तस्या मुखम् ॥] —सरस्वती. पृ. ७२७
16. (i) अह आगणो ० तिणपरिअ अ ० चास ० णोपिस ० चभामाए ।
हरिपरिअण ० चिअसुरो ओहजिल ० तरिअणोअणाएण दि ० ठो ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १०४०
- (ii) अहआगओ तिणवरिअ अच्चासण्णोवि सच्चभामाए हरी ।
परिअणमुह च्चिअ सुओवाहजलंतारिअलोअणाएणइट्ठो ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १२१९
17. (i) ...सदूमिअसवत्तिभिअएणि...तसिणेहं पिअ ।
गरुआअ णिमिउं सोहग्गुणाण अग्गभूमीएवअं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १०४६
- (ii) तीए सविसेसदूमिअसवत्तिहिअआए णि*वद्धंतसिणेहं ।
पिअगुरुइआएणिमिअं सोहग्गुणाण अंगभूमीएवअं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १२२४
18. (i) दारंठविअसुरदुमंतंचिअकुसुमोपह्वर...गपिअं ।
अंणं च संचविज्जईपरिओघपरितपरिअणंतीए घरं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १०४७
- (ii) दाट्टुविअ...रमुमंतंचिअ संगमकुसुमोपआरस्सविअं ।
अण्णं वि सच्चविज्जइ परिओसपरित्तघणंतीए घरं ॥ —शुङ्गार. पृ. १२२१

19. अह दिट्टु विक्कमस्मि विसिणेहसच्चविगरुअविणिवाअहआ ।
चित्तेइ सच्चभामा सुरअरुलंमहिए गअम्मिमहुमहे ॥
—शुद्धार. १०५८ (अ)
20. तीए ह्निअआणुचित्तिअमणोरहन्महिअंसंगमसुहाए ।
हरिवहसिखेतिकरअइवडिकुब्भत्तमउडो गओ च्चिअ चलणे ॥
—शुद्धार. पृ. १२०९
21. उअ जावसा किलम्मइ अप्पक्खअविरह वित्थरंतानुसआ ।
तापत्ते जहलच्छ तहमिच्चत्तिअमणोरहो महुमअणो ॥
—शुद्धार. पृ. १२२०
22. अस्सिअसोहाइसओ सच्चा अविभोइदेअदंसणदणिओ ।
जहहिअस्सपहरिसो तहहरिसविसंदुलाण अच्छीणमुहं ॥
—शुद्धार. पृ. १२२०
23. निम्महिअकुसुमपरिमलाहिअहिअआएविमहुअरवलिचडुला ।
पडमं पिअम्मि दिट्ठी पच्छ तीए विसुपाअवम्मि णिसण्णा ॥
—शुद्धार. पृ. १२२२
24. तोसेपिअम्मिरसिआ तादुमरअणम्मि विअसुठप्पलसुहआ ।
परिओसरसुव्वेलअणुरअंदोलिआ णिसम्मइ दिट्ठी ॥
—शुद्धार. पृ. १२२३
25. उअ णिअपाअवरअणेइअ अणुरअपिसुणं पिअम्मि भणंते ।
सविसेसलद्धवसय आढत्तो तीए परिउप्परिओसो ॥
—शुद्धार. पृ. १२२४



TEXT : Part II

- १) अवऊहिअ-पुव्वदिसे समअं जोण्हाएँ सेविअ-पओस-मुहे ।
 मा इर झिज्जउ रअणी अवरदिसाहुत्त-पत्थिअम्मि मिअंके ॥
 [अवगूहित-पूर्व-दिशे समकं (=समं) ज्योत्सना सेवित-प्रदोष-मुखे ।
 मा किल क्षीयतां रजनी अपरदिशाभिमुख-प्रस्थिते मृगाङ्के ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. २३०
- २) एंतो वि ण सच्चविओ गोसे पसरंत-पल्लवारुण-च्छओ ।
 मज्जण-तंबेसु मओ तह मअतंबेसु लोअणेसु अमरिसो ॥
 [आयन्नपि (=आगच्छन्नपि) न दृष्टः प्रभाते प्रसरत्पल्लवारुण-च्छयः ।
 मज्जन-ताम्रयोर्मदस्तथा मद-ताम्रयोर्लोचनयोरमर्षः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ४०१
- ३) वण-रइ-केस-हत्था कुसुमाउह-सुरहि-संचरंत-धअ-वडा ।
 ससिअर-मुहुत्त-मेहा तम-पडिहत्था विणेति धूमुप्पीडा ॥
 [वन-राजि-केश-हस्ताः कुसुमायुध-सुरभि-संचरद्-ध्वज-पटाः ।
 शशि-कर-मुहूर्त-मेघास्तमःप्रतिहस्ता विनिर्यन्ति धूमोत्पीडाः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ४१४
- ४) दीहो दिअह-भुअंगो रइ-बिंब-फणा-मणि-प्पहं-विअसंतो ।
 अवरसमुद्दमुवगओ मुंचंतो कंचुअं व घम्मअ-णिवहं ॥
 [दीर्घो दिवस-भुजङ्गो रवि-बिम्ब-फणा-मणि-प्रभां विकसमानः (? विकासयन्) ।
 अपरसमुद्दमुपगतो मुञ्चन् कञ्चुकमिव घर्मनिवहम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ४१५
- ५) देहो०व पडइ दिअहो कंठच्छेओ ०व लोहिओ होइ रई ।
 गलइ रुहिरं व संझा घोलइ केस-कसणं सिरं मिव तिमिरं ॥
 [देह इव पतति दिवसः कण्ठच्छेद इव लोहितो भवति रविः ।
 गलति रुधिरमिव सन्ध्या घूर्णते केश-कृष्णं शिर इव तिमिरम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ४१७
- ६) जं च अलिओवआरं जणस्स दक्खिण्णआए घेप्पइ हिअअं ।
 जइ सो वि सिणेहो च्चिअ ण गाम सब्भाव-केअवाण विसेसो ॥
 [यच्चात्तीकोपचारं जनस्य दक्षिणतया (=दाक्षिण्येन) गृह्यते हृदयम् ।
 यदि सोऽपि स्नेह एव न नाम सद्भावकैतवयोर्विशेषः॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ६०३
- ७) तं णत्थि जं सहिअणो भणेज्ज पच्चक्ख-मंतु-दूमिअ-हिअअं ।
 अणुणेज्जा जंपंतो जइ णवरं वम्महो मिअंकोवविओ ॥

- [तत्रास्ति यत् सखीजनो भणेत् प्रत्यक्ष-मन्तु-(मन्यु)दून-हृदयाम् ।
अनुनयेत् जल्पन् यदि केवलं मन्मथो मृगाङ्गोपेतः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७२९
- ८) अणुणअ-सुहं ण पत्तं पिआहि दइएसु खिज्जिओ वि ण चलणो ।
ओसारिअम्मि पढमं दूईएँ व्व दोसिणाए माणग्गहणे ॥
[अनुनय-सुखं न प्राप्तं प्रियाभिर्दयितेषु खेदितोऽपि न चरणः ।
अपसारिते प्रथमं दूत्येव ज्योत्स्नया मानग्रहणे ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७९८
- ९) णिम्मविअ-संधिअम्मा ताव अ दूर-पडिबद्ध-वम्मह-पसरा ।
गरुअं सुरउच्चअहं दाऊण सहिव्व जामिणी तीएँ गआ ॥
[निर्मापित-सन्धिकर्मा तावच्च दूर-प्रतिबद्ध-मन्मथ-प्रसर ।
गुरुकं सुरतोत्साहं दत्त्वा सखीव यामिनी तस्या गता ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७९९
- १०) ओलोअणम्मि/ओलोइअम्मि तुत्ति[अं]पिआहि गहिअम्मि संभमेण वलइअं ।
पडिचक्खिअम्मि कअं च पए (? पि ए सु) संधिअ-सरं अणंगेण धणुं ॥
[अवलोकने/अवलोकिते तुलितं प्रियाभिर्गृहीते संभ्रमेण वलयितम् ।
आस्वादिते कृतं च प्रियेषु संधित-शरमनङ्गेन धनुः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ७९९
- ११) दिण्ण-तणु-अंजणाइं जुअइ-जणस्स दर-रत्त-तंबोट्टाइं ।
आसण्ण-रइ-सुहाइं अहिवासिज्जंति वम्महेण मुहाइं ॥
[दत्ततन्वज्जनानि युवतिजनस्य ईषद्रक्तताम्रौष्ठानि ।
आसन्नरतिसुखानि अधिवास्यन्ते मन्मथेन मुखानि ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ८०३
- १२) ण कओ वि राअ(वाअ ?) मोक्खो माण-क्खलणे वि ण पडिओ च्चिअ बाहो ।
तीएँ णवरं पिअअमो गओ त्ति अत्तित्त-लोअणं (?अल्लिअ-लोअणं) णीससिअं ॥
[न कृतोऽपि राग(? वाग्) मोक्षो मानस्खलनेऽपि न पतित एव बाष्पः ।
तया केवलं प्रियतमो गत इति अतृप्त (?आद्रित-लोचनं निःश्वसितम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ८३९
- Note : The earlier part of the first half of this *skandhaka* is not satisfactory. This very *skandhaka* undoubtedly is cited again on p. 986 where the earlier part of the first half reads : “धरिओ अमरिस-पसरो” (धृतोऽमर्ष-प्रसरः). This quarter eminently suits the context.
- १३) धीरेण माणभंगो माणक्खलणेण गरुअ-धीरारंभो ।
तुल्लइ तुल्लिज्जंते एगम्मि वि से थिरं ण लग्गइ हिअअं ॥
[धैर्येण मानभङ्गो मान-स्खलनेन गुरुक-धैर्यारम्भः ।
तोलयते तोल्यमाने एकस्मिन्नप्यस्याः स्थिरं न लगति हृदयम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ८४०
- १४) पढम-पहाए पुहक्किओ पओस-पडिसिद्ध-धीरारंभो ।
पेच्छइ गमणद्धपहे चंद-कर-समप्पिए पिए जुअइ-जणो ॥
[प्रथमप्रभया पृथक्-कृतः प्रदोषकालप्रतिषिद्धधैर्यारम्भः ।
प्रेक्षते गमनार्धपथे चन्द्रकरसमर्पितान् प्रियान् युवतिजनः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९६९

- १५) थोआरूढमहु[म] आ खण-पहद्वावराहदिण्णुल्लावा ।
हसिऊण संठविज्जइ पिण्ण संभरिअ-लज्जिआ कावि पिआ ॥
[स्तोकारूढमधुमदा क्षणविस्मृतापराधदत्तोल्लापा ।
हसित्वा संस्थाप्यते प्रियेण संस्मृत-लज्जिता कापि प्रिया ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९८९
- १६) दूमेइ अ मे हिअअं पुणो पुणो वि रह-संग-जुत्ताणुणअं ।
रोस-पराहुत्त-ठिअं वलंत-णिव्वोस्तिआहरं तीए मुहं ॥
[दुनोति च मे हृदयं पुनः पुनरपि रहस्सङ्गयुक्तानुनयम् ।
दोषपराड्मुखस्थितं वलन्मन्युमलिनिताधरं तस्या मुखम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९८९
- १७) पत्थंति मअण-पसर-प्पसाअ समुहा विलासिणि-समुल्लावा ।
तीएँ उण तस्स दीरइ रोस-पराहुत्त-जंपिएहि वि हिअअं ॥
[प्रार्थ्यन्ते मदन-प्रसर-प्रसाद-संमुखा विलासिनी-समुल्लापाः ।
तया पुनः तस्य दीर्यते रोषपराड्मुखजल्पितैरपि हृदयम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९९०
- १८) कीरइ गुणो वि दोसो सेवंतम्मि वि दिणे ण दिज्जइ दिट्ठी ।
अजसस्स ण बीहिज्जइ जह गहिअं तह पहुत्तणं रमणिज्जं ॥
[क्रियते गुणोऽपि दोषः सेवमानेऽपि दीने न दीयते दृष्टिः ।
अयशसो न भीयते यथा गृहीतं तथा प्रभुत्वं रमणीयम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९९०
- १९) तह बंधण-अणुराए तह संमोह-विअलंत-विसमालावे ।
ते च्चिअ तीएँ मअ-गुणा रोस ति ठिआ पसाअविमुहम्मि मुहे ॥
[तथा बन्धनानुरागान् तथा संमोहविगलद्-विषमालापान् ।
त एव तस्या मदगुणा रोष इति स्थिताः प्रसादविमुखे मुखे ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९९०
- २०) णअण-पहोलिर-बाह-प्फुरिआहरमेत्त-णीसहं च अणीसं ।
दूमेइ घरगआए तीसे रोस-विरमालण-परं हिअअं ॥
[नयनप्रभूर्णनशीलबाष्पस्फुरिताधरमात्रनिःसहञ्जानीशम् ।
दुनोति गृहगतायास्तस्या रोष-गोपन-परं हृदयम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९९०
- २१) साहसु विलासिणि-अणं चिअ हीलंति सरसावराहा पिअआ ।
किं हअ-दक्खिण्ण-गुणाणं पहवंताण सुहअ एस सहावो ॥
[कथय विलासिनीजनमेव हेलन्ते सरसापराधाः प्रियाः ।
किं हतदाक्षिण्यगुणानां प्रभवतां सुभग एष स्वभावः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९९२
- २२) ण अ सहि अणुणअ-भणिआण देसि पसरं ण होसि मुक्कामरिसा ।
कह आ एक्करसं चिअ दूर-विसंवइअ-णिदुरं तुह हिअअं ॥
[न च सखि अनुनयभणितानां न ददासि प्रसरं न भवसि मुक्कामर्षा ।
कथम् आः (कथं वा) एकरसमेव दूरविसंवदितनिष्ठुरं तव हृदयम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ९९३
- २३) तक्खण-जणिअ-पहरिसं संभरिअवराहसंगलताणुसअं ।
तीए गरुएँ णिसम्मइ ओणिअत्तं पि अमरिसे च्चिअ हिअअं ॥

- [तत्क्षणजनितप्रहर्षं संस्मृतापराधसंघटमानानुशयम् ।
तस्या गुरुके निषीदति, अपनिवृत्तमपि अमर्ष एव हृदयम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १९४
- २४) अवरञ्जसु एताहे वीसद्धं च्चिअ जणम्मि णिष्फल-मउए ।
काउं णिष्किव दुक्खं पत्तिअ सहउ अ एकस्स च्चिअ हिअअं ॥
[अपराधेदानीं विश्रब्धमेव जने निष्फलमृदुके ।
कृत्वा निष्कृप दुःखं प्रतीहि सहतु चैकस्यैव हृदयम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १९५
- २५) दुक्खंतरिअ-मणसुहं पिएण विमण-विलिओणएण पुलइअं ।
रोसागम-पडिपेळ्ळिअ-विसम-विरज्जंत-लोअणं तीएँ मुहं ॥
[दुःखान्तरितमनस्सुखं प्रियेण विमनोव्रीडितावनतेन प्रलोकितम् ।
रोषागमपरिप्रेरितविषमविरज्यमानलोचनं तस्या मुखम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १९८
- २६) हत्थ-सलिलाहआए अवहीरंतीएँ दिण्ण-सहि-संलावं ।
कलहंतरिआएँ पिअं अणाहणंतीएँ दूमिओ पडिक्खो ॥
[हस्तसलिलाहतया अवधीर्यन्त्या दत्तसखीसंलापम् ।
कलहान्तरितया प्रियमघ्नत्या दूनः प्रतिपक्षः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १००२
- २७) णिम्मविअ-मंडणाण वि सोहा वासअ-विमाणिआण विमलिआ ।
मोहं णेवच्छमिणं परिओसो च्चिअ पसाहणं जुअईणं ॥
[निर्मापितमण्डनानामपि शोभा वासकविमानितानां विमर्दिता ।
मोघं नेपथ्यमेतत् परितोष एव प्रसाधनं युवतीनाम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १००२
- २८) उग्गाहिअ-पम्हट्ठा दर-जंपण-मुक्क-बहल-[उण्ह-]णीसासा ।
साहंति विरह-दुक्खं असमत्त-पडिक्खरा वि से उल्लावा ॥
[उद्ग्राहितप्रस्मृता ईषज्जल्पनमुक्तबहलोष्पनिःश्वासाः ।
कथयन्ति विरहदुःखमसमाप्तप्रतिकूला अपि तस्या उल्लापाः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १००६
- २९) असमत्तो वि समप्पइ अपरिग्गहिअ-लहुओ परगुणालावो ।
तरस पिआ-पडिबद्धा ण समप्पइ रइसुहासमत्ता वि कहा ॥
[असमाप्तोऽपि समाप्यतेऽपरिगृहीतलघुकः परगुणालापः ।
तस्य प्रियाप्रतिबद्धा न समाप्यते रतिसुखासमाप्ताऽपि कथा ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १००६
- ३०) जह जह तीए भवणं पावइ कअ-दूसहावराह-विलक्खो ।
तह तह से अहिअअरं हिअअं गरुअम्मि संसअम्मि णिसण्णं ॥
[यथा यथा तस्या भवनं प्राप्नोति कृतदुःसहापराधविलक्षः ।
तथा तथा तस्याधिकतरं हृदयं गुरुके संशये निषण्णम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १००६
- ३१) कीस अ इमेसु बहुसो विसम-प्यंत(?प्यत्त)-तलिणंजण-च्छवि-कलुसा ।
दीहावंगेसु तुहं परिवड्ढंति/परिघोलांति णअणेसु बाहुप्पीडा ॥
[कस्माच्चानर्योर्बहुशो विषमप्राप्त(?) तलिनाञ्जनच्छविकलुषाः ।
दीर्घापाङ्गयोस्तव परिवर्धन्ते/परिघूर्णन्ति नयनयोर्बाष्पोत्पीडाः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०११

- ३२) कीस मलिआवअंसं वअण्णणीसास-पंडुराहर-राअं ।
वअणं वहसि किसोअरि कर-संकामिअ-कओल-पत्तालेक्खं ॥
[कस्मान्मलिनावंतंसं वदन-निःश्वास-पाण्डुराधर-रागम् ।
वदनं वहसि कृशोदरि कर-संक्रामित-कपोल-पत्रालेख्यम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०११
- ३३) तणुअं पि अणिव्वडिअं पुणो पुणो वेविराहरोट्टु-पिसुणिअं ।
वअणब्भंतर-भरिअं हिअअठिअं किं तुहं पसम्मइ वअणं ॥
[तनुकमप्यस्पृष्टीभूतं पुनःपुनर्वेपनशीलाधरोष्ठपिशुनितम् ।
वदनाभ्यन्तरभृतं हृदय-स्थितं किं तव प्रशाम्यति वचनम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१२
- ३४) अक्खंडिए वि पणए अकअम्मि वि विप्पिए अकज्जे वि महं ।
जाअं चिअ वअणिज्जं, तुह रोसम्मि दइए णिमित्तं पि पिअं (? पिए) ॥
[अखण्डितेऽपि प्रणयेऽकृतेऽपि विप्रियेऽकार्येऽपि मम ।
जातमेव वचनीयं तव शेषे दयिते निमित्तमपि प्रियम् (? प्रिये) ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१३
- ३५) अपरिक्खिअ अदोस-गुणं अवमण्णिअ चिरपरूढ-वीसंभ-रसं ।
अवहीरिआणुराअं तुमे वि मह रूसिअं जणेण व खिण्णं ॥
[अपरीक्ष्य दोषगुणम् अवमत्य चिरपरूढविश्रम्भरसम् ।
अवधीर्यानुरागं त्वयापि मम रुष्ट्वा जनेनेव खिन्नम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१३
- ३६) अवहारेऊण चिरं भणसु तुमं चिअ अमुक्करोसा वि फुडं ।
किं अगणेऊण इमं होज्जा तुमम्मि मज्झ प्पमाअ-खलणं ॥
[अवधार्य चिरं भण त्वमेवामुक्तरौषापि स्फुटम् ।
किमगणयित्वेदं भवेत्त्वयि मम प्रमादस्खलनम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१३
- ३७) दूरगअं पि णिअत्तइ दूर-णिअत्तं पुणो पअत्तइ पेम्मं ।
कह होइ परीणामो माणस्स इमो मह त्ति विमुहिज्जंति ॥
[दूरगतमपि निवर्तते दूरनिवृत्तं पुनः प्रवर्तते प्रेम ।
कथं भवति परिणामो मानस्य अयम् अस्माकमिति विमुह्यन्ति ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१५
- ३८) पडिवक्खे दूमिज्जइ जीए ण वीसवइ गरुअ-मंतु-पडिहआ ।
तीसे कहवि सहि-अणे खंडिअ-पेम्मलहिआ णिसम्मइ दिट्ठी ॥
[प्रतिपक्षे दूयते यस्या न विश्राम्यति गुरुकमन्तु(मन्यु)प्रतिहता ।
तस्याः कथमपि सखीजने खण्डितप्रेमलब्धा निषीदति दृष्टिः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१६
- ३९) सहिअं माण-क्खलणं णाओ पडिवक्ख-विप्पिअत्थाण रसो ।
सहिओ अ तुह विओओ मा लज्जसु सुहअ लज्जिअव्वम्मि (? लज्जिअव्वं पि) मए ॥
[सोढं मानस्वलनं ज्ञातः प्रतिपक्षविप्रियार्थानां रसः ।
सोढश्च तव वियोगो मा लज्जस्व सुभग लज्जितव्यम् अपि मया ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१७
- ४०) दूसह-कआवरहे अवरहे वि गरुए पसाआहिमुहं ।
अप्पच्छंद-पअत्तं पिअं च पेम्मं च दोणिण वि जुगुच्छंति ॥

- [दुःसहकृतापराधमपराधेऽपि गुरुके प्रसादाभिमुखम् ।
आत्मच्छन्दप्रवृत्तं प्रियं च प्रेम च द्वे अपि जुगुप्सन्ते ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०२४
- ४१) अगधइ गोत्त-क्खलणे पच्चक्ख-णिगलिअ-संगलंत-विसाओ ।
एंत्त-णिअत्तिअ-बाहो-णेत्त-णिअत्तदइउत्तरो जुअइ-जणो ॥
[राजते गोत्रस्खलने प्रत्यक्षनिगडितसंघटमानविषादः ।
आयद्निवर्तितबाष्पो नेत्रनिवृत्तदयितोत्तरो युवतिजनः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०२५
- ४२) दूसह-मंतु-पअत्तो, मुहुत्त-संगालिअ-धीर-पडिणिव्वत्तो ।
तेण अ णेत्त-परिक्खलिओ ण पइइ तीएँ मउअव्व होइ बाहो ॥
[दुःसहमन्तुप्रवृत्तो मुहूर्तसंघटितधैर्यप्रतिनिवृत्तः ।
तेन च नेत्र-परिस्खलितो न पतति तस्या मृदुक इव भवति बाष्पः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०२७
- ४३) धीर-क्खलिअ-णिअत्ता (? पउत्ता) दूर-विअंभंत-रोस-पडिबज्झंता ।
पसरंति खेअ-गरुआ वीसमिऊणं पिअम्मि से णीसासा ॥
[धैर्यस्खलितनिवृत्ता (? प्रवृत्ता) दूरविजृम्भमाणरोषप्रतिबध्यमानाः ।
प्रसरन्ति खेदगुरुका विश्रम्य प्रिये तस्या निःश्वासाः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०२७
- ४४) सरिस-पडिक्ख-पुरओ हिअअम्मि अउव्व-माण-भंग-कलुसिए ।
सम-सुह-दुक्खम्मि जणे विरिक्क-सेसो वि से ण माइ अमरिसो ॥
[सदृशप्रतिपक्षपुरतो हृदयेऽपूर्वमानभङ्गकलुषिते ।
समसुखदुःखे जने विभक्तशेषोऽपि तस्या न मात्यमर्षः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०२८
- ४५) गोत्त-क्खलिअम्मि पिए मण्णे पाअडिअँ सहि-णिवेसिअ-णअणं ।
आऊरमाण-बाहं क्रीएँ वि णि०वोलिआहरं णीससिअं ॥
[गोत्रस्खलिते प्रिये मन्ये प्रकटं सखीनिवेशितनयनम् ।
आपूर्यमाणबाष्पं कयापि मलिनाधरं निःश्वसितम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०२८
- ४६) धेप्पंति अप्पण च्चिअ कआवराहा वि कामिणीहि पिअअमा ।
किं इअ सिक्खावेत्तो अवरज्झई(वि)पिअं करेइ महुमओ ॥
[गृह्यन्ते आत्मनैव कृतापराधा अपि कामिनीभिः प्रियतमाः ।
किमिति शिक्षयन्नपराध्यति(अपि)प्रियं करोति मधु-मदः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०३८
- ४७) जा अणुणअं ण गेण्हइ माण-क्खलणम्मि सहिअणेण वि भणिआ ।
पाअपडणेहि णेंत्तं स च्चिअ कआवि पिअं णिवारेइ पिआ ॥
[यानुनयं न गृह्णाति मानस्खलने सखीजनेनापि भणिता ।
पादपतनैर्निर्यन्तं(निर्गच्छन्तं)सैव कदापि प्रियं निवारयति प्रिया ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०३९
- ४८) अवलंबिओवआरं अभग्ग-माण-पसरं पअत्त-पहरिसं ।
एक्कं च एक्कराअं[जाअं]से दइअ-दंसणे च्चिअ हिअअं ॥
[अवलम्बितोपचारम् अभग्नमानप्रसरं प्रवृत्तप्रहर्षम् ।
एकं चैकरागं [जातं] तस्या दयितदर्शन एव हृदयम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४०

- ४९) तीर्णं विअलंत-धीरं अब्भुट्टंतीर्णं खण-पहोलि-वाहं ।
दूशेसरंत-सरणं दूरअर-वलग-वेअणं णीससिअं ॥
[तथा विगलद्धैर्यमभ्युत्तिष्ठन्त्या क्षण-प्रघूर्णनशील-बाष्पम् ।
दूरापसरत्स्मरणं दूरतरारूढवेदनं निःश्वसितम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४१
- ५०) दइआलोअ-पअत्ता अंतोच्छीण पसरंत-वाह-विअलिआ ।
भउलिअ-अंबुअ-पसरा तीसे दंसण-सुहं ण पावइ दिट्ठी ॥
[दयितालोक-प्रवृत्ता अन्तोऽक्ष्णोःप्रसरद्-बाष्प-विकलिता ।
मुकुलिताम्बुज-प्रसरा तस्या दर्शन-सुखं न प्राप्नोति दृष्टिः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४१
- ५१) आलोइए च्विअ पिए ठविओ तीर्णं मअण्णेण मोहण-सुहओ ।
कुसुम-धणुम्मि वि बाणो वलइअ-विब्भम-गुणे मुहम्मि पहरिसो ॥
[आलोकित एव प्रिये स्थापितस्तस्या मदनेन मोहन-सुभगः ।
कुसुमधनुष्यपि बाणो वलयित-विभ्रम-गुणे मुखे प्रहर्षः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४१
- ५२) अगहिअ-दइआणुणओ पच्छ अणुणेइ अणुसअविसंवलिओ ।
कइअव-णिरुविअ-मओ णिकइअव-मअण-लहुइओ जुअइ-जणो ॥
[अगृहीत-दयितानुनयः पश्चादनुनयति अनुशयविसंवलितः ।
कैतव-निरूपित-मदोऽपि निष्कैतव-मदन-लघूकृतो युवति-जनः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४२
- ५३) पणअ-परिपूरणेण विअअ-भूरिअ-पिअअमागमेण अ गरुओ ।
पसरइ लद्ध-त्थामो अण्णण्ण-रसंतरेहिं तीर्णं पहरिसो ॥
[प्रणय-परिपूरणेन विजय-भूषित-प्रियतमागमेन च गुरुकः ।
प्रसरति लब्धस्थामाऽन्योन्य-रसान्तरैस्तस्याः प्रहर्षः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०४७
- ५४) पूरेउ पणअ-भंगे[ण]गआ वि मणोरहा सवत्तीण महं ।
अणहो णाम णिअत्तउ अकअत्थो वि बहूणं पुण्णेहि पिओ ॥
[पूरयतु प्रणय-भङ्गेन गतानपि मनोरथान् सपत्नीनां मम ।
अनघो नाम निवर्तताम्, अकृतार्थोऽपि बह्वीनां पुण्यैः प्रियः॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०५२
- ५५) विअसंतेण मुणिज्जइ सिस्सिरो हि गओ अगण वउद्(?)णिअच्छओ ।
कमलमुहेण सुरभिणा आहिउ महुमास-संगो त्ति कमलिणीण ॥
[विकसता ज्ञायते शिशिरो हि गतो...(?) निजच्छायः ।
कमलमुखेन सुरभिणा आहितो मधुमाससङ्ग इति कमलिनीनाम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११७४
- ५६) दूर-पडिबद्ध-राए अवऊहंतम्मि दिणअरे अवर-दिसं ।
असहंतं ०व किलिम्मइ पिअअम-पच्चक्ख-दूसणं दिणलच्छी ॥
[दूर-प्रतिबद्धरागेऽवगूहमाने दिनकरेऽपरदिशम् ।
असहमानेव क्लाम्यति प्रियतमप्रत्यक्षदूषणं दिनलक्ष्मीः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११७४
- ५७) ओरत्त-पंकअ-मुहिं वम्मह-णडिअं व सलिल-सअण-णिसण्णं ।
अल्लिअइ तीर-णलिणिं वाआएँ गमेइ सहअरिं चक्काओ ॥

- [अप/उपरक्तपङ्कजमुखी मन्मथपरिवञ्चिता (खेदिता) मिव सलिलशयननिषण्णाम् ।
आलिङ्गति/उपसर्पति तीरनलिनीं वाचा गमयति सहचरीं चक्रवाकः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११७५
- ५८) ताव अ सुवेल-धराहर-कड-तडंतरिअ-ससि-अर-परिगगहिआ ।
दीसइ थोअ-थिआ अंसमारुहंति ँव णहअलं पुव्वदिसा ॥
[तावच्च सुवेलधराधरकटतटान्तरितशशिकरपरिगृहीता ।
दृश्यते स्तोकस्थिता अंसं समारोहन्तीव नभस्तलं पूर्वदिशा ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८६
- ५९) विद्दुम-वलअद्ध-णिहार-हिरोगगआ अवर णु दाढा सुहआ ।
सोहइ असोअ-णिम्मिअ-वम्मह-चाव-तणुई-मिअंकस्स कला ॥
[विद्दुमवलयार्धनीहारहीरोद्गतापरा नु दंष्ट्रा सुभगा ।
शोभतेऽशोकनिर्मितमन्मथचापतन्वी मृगाङ्कस्य कला ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८६
- ६०) जोणहा-रस-चुण्णइअं कर-विच्छूढ-तिमिराइअ-परिक्खेवं ।
इअ-मअ-पत्तलेहं मुहं व रअणोएँ दाविअं ससि-विबं ॥
[ज्योत्स्नारसचूर्णितं (= धवलितं) करविक्षिप्ततिमिरायितपरिक्षेपम् ।
रचितमदपत्रलेखं मुखमिव रजन्या दर्शितं शशिविम्बम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११७६
- ६१) पढमं विद्दुम-अप्पो पच्छा होइ सविसेस-धवल-च्छाओ ।
मअ-पल्लविअविलासिणि-मुह-पडिमा मुक्क-दप्पणो व्व मिअंको ॥
[प्रथमं विद्दुमकल्पः पश्चाद् भवति सविशेषधवलच्छायः ।
मदपल्लवितविलासिनीमुखप्रतिमामुक्कदर्पण इव मृगाङ्कः ॥ ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८६
- ६२) चंदाअवम्मि जाअइ मारुअ-विहुअ-विडवंतर समोवइअं ।
कुमुउप्पलवावीण व रूवं(रूअं)धवल-कसिण-दुदुम-च्छाआणं ॥
[चन्द्रातपे जायते मारुतविधूतविटपान्तरसमवपतितम् ।
कुमुदोत्पलवापीनामिव रूपं धवलकृष्णद्रुमच्छायानाम् ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८६
- ६३) दीपाअव-पिंजरिआ कामिणि-हसिअ-प्पहा परिगगह-सुहआ ।
होति गवक्खोवगआ कालाअनु[-दद्ध]धूसरा ससि-किरणा ॥
[दीपातपपिञ्जरिताः कामिनीहसितप्रभाः परिग्रहसुखदाः ।
भवन्ति गवाक्षोपगताः कालागरु[-दाध-]धूसरः शशिकिरणाः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८६
- ६४) सज्जिज्जइ उवआरो अहो रइअं पि पुणो रइज्जइ सअणं ।
संभरिअ वाणि-अत्था अप्पाहिअ-पत्थिआ वि रुव्वइ दूई ॥
[सज्जीक्रियते उपचारः, अहो रचितमपि पुना रच्यते शयनम् ।
संस्मृत्य वाण्यर्थान्, संदिष्टप्रस्थितापि रुध्यते दूती ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८६
- ६५) पिज्जइ पीअं पि महं दीसइ दिट्ठो वि दप्पणे अप्पाणो ।
अणुआण राग-पसरा पुच्छिज्जइ पुच्छिआ पुणो वि पिअ-कहा ॥
[पीयते पीतमपि मधु दृश्यते दृष्टोऽपि दर्पण आत्मा ।
अनुगानां रागप्रसरा पृच्छ्यते पृष्टा पुनरपि प्रियकथा ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८६

- ६६) अंजेइ लोअणाइं बंधइ रसणं रएइ तिलआलेक्खं ।
जाओ होंत-समागम-सुहेक्क-रसिओ वि वाउलो जुअइ-जणो ॥
[अनक्ति लोचने बध्नाति रशनां रचयति तिलकालेख्यम् ॥
जातो भविष्यत्समागमसुखैकरसिकोऽपि व्याकुलो युवतिजनः ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८७
- ६७) ताव अ रअणि-वहूए परिअत्तंतीएँ मलिअ-तारा-कुसुमो ।
जाओ परिमल-पिसुणो अणद्धंतो(०व?) पाअडो पच्चूसो ॥
[तावच्च रजनीवध्वां परिवर्तमानायां मृदितताराकुसुमः ।
जातः परिमल-पिशुनः.....? प्रकटः प्रत्यूषः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८७
- ६८) भूमिणिमिएक्कचलणं पिअअम-हुत्त-परिअत्तिआणण-कमलं ।
सोहइ पेम्म-णिअलिअं सअणद्धत-दर-पत्थिअं जुअईणं ॥
[भूमिन्यस्तैकचरणं प्रियतमाभिमुखपरिवर्तिताननकमलम् ।
शोभते प्रेमनिगडितं शयनपर्यन्तेषत्प्रस्थितं युवतीनाम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११८८
- ६९) रइअं पि ता ण सोहइ रइजोगं कामिणीण छण-णेवच्छं ।
कण्णे जा ण रइज्जइ कओल-घोलंत-पल्लवं सहआरं ॥
[रचितमपि तावन्न शोभते रतियोग्यं कामिनीनां क्षणनेपथ्यम् ।
कर्णे यावन्न रच्यते कपोल-घूर्णत्पल्लवं सहकारम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११९६
- ७०) परिउंबणेण अहरो अग्घइ-हिअअ-हरिसेण णअण-च्छआ ।
सोहं कुणइ पिओ च्चिअ विरएइ मुहा पसाहणं जुअइ-अणो ॥
[परिचुम्बनेनाधरो राजते हृदयहर्षेण नयनच्छाया ।
शोभां करोति प्रिय एव विरचयति मुधा प्रसाधनं युवतिजनः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११९८
- ७१) दर-मत-पत्तलेहो महग्घविअ-पिअअमोवरुहण-सुहिओ ।
पई(?)मुह-ट्टिअ-हिअओ जाअइ पज्जत्त-मंडणो जुअइ-जणो ॥
[ईषन्मात्रपत्रलेखो महर्घितप्रियतमोपगूहनसुखितः ।
पति(?)मुखस्थितहृदयो जायते पर्याप्तमण्डनो युवति-जनः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११९८
- ७२) णेवच्छ-दिण्ण-हिअओ ओसरिअ-सहिअणो अंतट्टिओँ णिहुअं ।
पेच्छइ आईत-पहं पिअ-पडिवत्ति-रसिओ विलासिणि-सत्थो ॥
[नेपथ्यदत्तहृदयोऽपसृतसखीजनोऽन्तःस्थितो निभृतम् ।
प्रेक्षते आयत्पथं प्रियप्रतिपत्तिरसिको विलासिनीसार्थः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११९९
- ७३) आलिहइ पिअअमा आसण्ण-विओअं वम्मह-आउर-हिअअं ।
पुलउग्गमेण पिसुणिअ-केअव-माण-विमुहं विलासिणि-सत्थं ॥
[आलिखति प्रियतमा आसन्नवियोगं मन्मथतुरहृदयम् ।
पुलकोद्गमेन पिशुनितकैतवमानविमुखं विलासिनीसार्थम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. ११९९
- ७४) अप्पेइ अ जुवइ-जणो ताविअ-दइआण समुह-दंसण-दिण्णं ।
हिअअ-प्पहुत्त-महिअं मअण-पहुप्पंत-लोअणो परिओसं ॥

- [अर्पयति च युवतिजनः तापितदयितानां संमुखदर्शनदत्तम् ।
हृदयप्रभूतमहितं मदनप्रभवमानलोचनः परितोषम् ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. ११९९
- ७५) अहिसारणट्ठ-पत्थिर्णे चिर-गमणुच्चाअ-णीसहाण समअणं ।
वीसमिउं पढम-गअं ण देइ जुवईण सुरअ-तुरिअं हिअअं ॥
[अभिसारणार्थप्रस्थिते चिरगमनखित्रनिःसहानां समदनम् ।
विश्रमितुं प्रथमगतं न ददाति युवतीनां सुरतत्वरितं हृदयम् ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. ११९९
- ७६) विच्छिदिज्जइ धीरं दारगआ पडिवहं ण णिज्जइ दिट्ठी ।
गम्मइ हिअअम्मि गए पिआण गअ-दूइ-मग्गउ च्चिअ वसहिं ॥
[विच्छिद्यते धैर्यं द्वारगता प्रतिपथं न नीयते दृष्टिः ।
गम्यते हृदये गते प्रियाणां गतदूतीमार्गत एव (? पश्चादेव) वसतिम् ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. १२००
- ७७) पढम-प्पहा-पुहक्किओ पओस-काल-पडिसिद्ध-धीरारंभो ।
पेच्छइ गमणद्ध-पहे चंदकरअड्डिए पिए जुअइ-जणो ॥
[प्रथमप्रभापृथक्कृतः प्रदोषकालप्रतिषिद्धधैर्यारम्भः ।
प्रेक्षते गमनार्धपथे चन्द्रकराकृष्टान् प्रियान् युवतिजनः ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. १६९. १२००
- ७८) जणिअ-हरिसाण तक्खण-हिअआपडिअं पि पिअअमब्भुट्ठणं ।
अंगेहिं कामिणीणं संभावेउं मआलसेहिं ण चअइ ॥
[जनितहर्षाणां तत्क्षणहृदयापतितामपि प्रियतमाभ्युत्थानम् ।
अङ्गैः कामिनीनां संभावयितुं मदालसैर्न शक्यते ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. १२००
- ७९) कामिणि-जणस्स सहसा पिअ-दंसण-वित्थरंत-हरिस-विमुहिआ ।
दिअस-गुणिआ वि हिअए ण होंति पडिवत्ति-भर-सहा उल्लावा ॥
[कामिनीजनस्य सहसा प्रियदर्शनविस्तृण्वदहर्षविमुखिताः ।
दिवसगुणिता अपि हृदये न भवन्ति प्रतिपत्तिभरसहा उल्लापाः ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. १२०१
- ८०) तामरस-कोमलाओ पिअकंठालिगणे समुक्खिताओ ।
परिअम्मावेलमओ (?) जुअईण धरेइ वम्महो वाहाओ ॥
[तामरसकोमलान् प्रियकण्ठालिङ्गने समुत्क्षिप्तान् ।
परिकर्मापीडमयो(?) युवतीनां धारयति मन्मथो बाहून् ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. १२०१
- ८१) तीर्णे अणुरअ-पसरिअ-सुह-पडिबज्जंत-बहल-पुलउब्भेओ ।
उब्वासिअ-हरिसुग्गारे संदूरोणमिअ-सवत्ति-हिआए ॥
[तस्या अनुरागप्रसृतसुखप्रतिवध्यमानबहलपुलकोद्भेदः ।
उद्वासितहर्षोद्गारः संदूरावनमित-सपत्नी-हृदयात् ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. १२०९
- ८२) उग्गाहिअ-पम्हट्टं खण-संभरिआवराह-तंभिअ-लज्जं ।
खलंत-महु-मअ-सुहअं अपरिप्फुड-जंपिअं विलासवईणं ॥
[उद्ग्राहितप्रस्मृतं क्षणसंस्मृतापराधलब्धलज्जम् ।
स्खलन्मधुमदसुभगम् अपरिस्फुटजल्पितं विलासवतीनाम् ॥] —शृङ्गारः पृ. १२१०

- ८३) माणंसिणीएँ अहिणव-मइराभोअ-पडिबद्ध-(? परिवद्ध)-वम्मह-पसरं ।
दइअ-जण-दिण्ण-णअणं विअलिअ-धीर-लहुअं चिरं णीससिअं ॥
[मनस्विन्या अभिनवमदिरामोदप्रतिबद्ध (? परिवद्ध)मन्मथप्रसरम् ।
दयितजनदत्तनयनं विगलितधैर्यलघुकं चिरं निःश्वसितम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१०
- ८४) णवरि अ करावलंबण-सुह पडिबद्धत-सेअ पुलउ [ब्भेआ] ।
(सच्चा) ताव च्चेअ अकिअ-उव्वरिअं पि पिअअमं अल्लीणा ॥
[अनन्तरं च करावलम्बनसुखप्रतिबध्यमानस्वेदपुलकोद्भेदा ।
सत्या तावदेव अकृतोर्वरितमपि प्रियतममालीना ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१०
- ८५) हरिस-विअसंत-वअणं कलोअ-अल-संगलंत-पुलउब्भेअं ।
अपसाहिअं पि जाअं पसाहिअब्भहिअ-मणहरं तीएँ मुहं ॥
[हर्षविकसद्वदनं कपोलतलसंघटमानपुलकोद्भेदम् ।
अप्रसाधितमपि ज्ञातं प्रसाधिताभ्यधिकमनोहरं तस्या मुखम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१२
- ८६) उग्गाहिअं ण भणिअं हिअए चिर-चित्तिअं पि रोस-परिणअं ।
माणंसिणीएँ पिअअम-सरहस-कअ-ग्गाहिअम्मि माणगहणे ॥
[उद्ग्राहितं न भणितं हृदये चिरचिन्तितमपि रोषपरिणतम् ।
मनस्विन्या प्रियतमसरभसकचगृहीते मानग्रहणे ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१३
- ८७) रोस-पुसिआहराओ रहसालिगण-विइण्ण-वम्मह-पसरो ।
होइ रमिअव्व-जोग्गो दइअ-वलाभोडि-चुंबिओ जुअइ-जणो ॥
[रोषप्रोच्छिन्नाधरो रभसालिङ्गनवितीर्णमन्मथप्रसरः ।
भवति रन्तव्ययोग्यो दयितबलात्कारचुम्बितो युवतिजनः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१४
- ८८) अग्घइ गलंत-धीरं दइअ-हदालिगिआण णअणच्चुंबिअं ।
विसम-परिअत्तिअ-मुहं समुह-वलंत-हिअअं विलासवईणं ॥
[राजते गलद्धैर्यं दयितहठालिङ्गितानां नयनचुम्बितम् ।
विषमपरिवर्तितमुखं संमुखवलदहृदयं विलासवतीनाम् ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१४
- ८९) वास-ट्ठिअम्मि सोहा-परिओस-पसाहिआणणाएँ मणहरो ।
अप्पुट्टसोअ-विमलो सहि-सत्थो तीएँ दप्पणम्मि वि दिट्ठो ॥
[वासस्थिते शोभापरितोषप्रसाधिताननया मनोहरः ।
अस्पृष्टशोकविमलः सखीसार्थस्तया दर्पणेऽपि दृष्टः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२१
- ९०) दूर-विअंभिअ-पसरो कअ-कज्ज-णिअत्त-दइअ-दंसण-जणिओ ।
हिअए ण माइ लक्खिअ-रेइअ-सोअ-विअडे वि से परिओसो ॥
[दूरविजृम्भितप्रसरः कृतकार्यनिवृत्तदयितदर्शनजनितः ।
हृदये न माति लक्षितरेचितशोकविकटेऽपि तस्याः परितोषः ॥]
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२१
- ९१) रतुप्पलदलसोहा तीअ वि चसअम्मि सुरहिवारुणिभरिए ।
मअतंबेहि मणहरा पडिमा-पडिएहि लोअणेहि लहुइआ ॥
[रक्तोत्पलदलशोभा तस्या अपि चषके सुरभिवारुणीभृते ।
मदताभ्राभ्यां मनोहरा प्रतिमापतिताभ्यां लोचनाभ्यां लध्वीकृता ॥]
—सरस्वती. पृ. ४३८

- ९२) धीरं हरइ विसाओ विणअं जोव्वण-मओ अणंगो लज्जं ।
एकंत-गहिअ-वक्खो किं सेसउ जं ठवेइ वअ-परिणामो ॥
[धैर्यं हरति विषादो विनयं यौवनमदोऽनङ्गो लज्जाम् ।
एकान्तगृहीतपक्षः किं शिष्यतां यं स्थापयति वयःपरिणामः ॥] —सरस्वती. पृ. ५०९
- ९३) विअडे गअण-समुद्रे दिअसे सुरेण मंदरेण व महिए ।
णीइ मइरव्व संझा तिस्सा मग्गेण अमअ-कलसो ०व ससी ॥
[विकटे गगनसमुद्रे दिवसे सूर्येण मन्दरेणेव मथिते ।
निर्याति मदिरेव सन्ध्या तस्या मार्गेणामृत (? पश्चादमृत-) कलश इव शशी ॥]—सरस्वती. पृ. ५२१
- ९४) रइअ-मुणालाहरणो णलिण-दल-त्थइअ-पीवर-त्थण-अलसो ।
वहइ पिअसंगमम्मि वि मअणाअप्पप्साहणं जुअइ-जणो ॥
[रचितमृणालाभरणो नलिनदलस्थगितपीवरस्तनकलशः ।
वहति प्रियसङ्गमेऽपि मदनाकल्पप्रसाधनं युवति-जनः ॥] —सरस्वती. पृ. ५२१
- ९५) अविभाविअ-रअणि-मुहं तस्स अ सच्चरिअ-विमल-चंदुज्जोअं ।
जाअं पिआ-विरोहे वडुंताणुसअमूढ-लक्खं हिअअं ॥
[अविभावितरजनीमुखं तस्य च सच्चरितविमलचन्द्रोद्योतम् ।
जातं प्रियाविरोधे वर्धमानानुशयमूढलक्ष्यं हृदयम् ॥] —सरस्वती. पृ. ६३०

Text as presented in the Mysore edition of Śp and the 'Nirnaya Sagar' edition of SK.

१. अवऊहिअपुब्बदिसैमअं जेह्वाएसे विअ पओसमुहे ।
माइरइज्जिन्तउ रअणीअपरदिसाभुत्तपत्थिअम्मि मिअंके ॥
अवऊहिअपुब्बदिसे समअं जोण्हाए सेविअपओ समुहे ।
माइ ण झिज्जउ रअणी वरदि साइत पच्छिअम्मि मिअंके ॥
[अवगूहितपूर्वदिशे समकं ज्योत्स्नया सेवितप्रदोषमुखे ।
मातर्न क्षीयते रजनी अपरदिशाभिमुखप्रस्थिते मृगाङ्के ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ४१७
- अवऊहिअपुब्बदीसे समअं जुण्हाइ से पिअपओसमुहे ।
माइर इज्जिउ रअणी अवरदिसाहुत्तपत्थिअम्मि मिअंके ॥
अवऊहिअपुब्बदिसे समअं जोण्हाए सेविअपओसमुहे ।
माइ ण झिज्जउ रअणी वरदिसाइतपच्छिअम्मि मिअंके ॥
[अवगूहितपूर्वदिशे समकं ज्योत्स्नया सेवितप्रदोषमुखे ।
मातर्न क्षीयते रजनी अपरदिशाभिमुखप्रस्थिते मृगाङ्के ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ११७४
- सरस्वती. पृ. ६७९
२. एत्तो वि ण सच्चविओ गोसे पसरत्तपल्लवारुणच्छाओ ।
मज्जणतंभेसु मओ तह मअतंभेसु लोअणेसु अमरिसो ॥
[आगच्छन्नपि न दृष्टः प्रातः प्रसरत्पल्लवारुणच्छायः ।
मज्जनताम्रयोर्मदस्तथा मदताग्रयोर्लोचनयोरमर्षः ॥] —शृङ्गार. पृ. ४०१
- सरस्वती. पृ. ३७२

एतोपिणस ंचविओ जहमे विजसंतपंलवारुण राओ ।

मं जगतं वेसमओ कलरामअलोअणे सअसरिसो ॥

—शृङ्गार पृ. ९९८

३. ŚP (p.414) reads in the second half of the *skandhaka* विणेत्ति (?विणेत्ति) and renders it into Sanskrit as विज्ञायन्ते. SK (p. 425) reads विणेत्ति (? विणेत्ति) and renders it into Sanskrit as विज्ञायन्ते.
४. ŚP (p. 415) and SK (p. 427) read the text and its Sanskrit *chāyā* as given above.
५. ŚP (p. 417) and SK (p. 456) read रुहिरं च्च and सिरम्मिअ in the second half of the *skandhaka*. These are rendered into Sanskrit as रुधिरमिव and शिर इव respectively.
६. जंच अलिओवआरं जणंसदंखिंणआए धेंपहिअअं ।
जह सोविसिणेहोंचिअणणामसंभावकै अवाणविसेसो ॥
जंवि अलिओवआरं परं सदं खिंणआइ धें पइहिअअं ।
जइ से वि सिणेहों लिअणणामसंभाव कैअवबिसेसो ॥
जंपि अलिओपआरं वरस्सदक्खिणपाए खेप्पइहिअअं ।
जइ सो वि सिणेहो च्चिअणणामसंभावकइअवाण विसेसो ॥
- शृङ्गार पृ. ६०३
- शृङ्गार पृ. १०१०
- शृङ्गार पृ. १२०८
७. तं नं धिजसहिअणोभणे जपेच्छंखमंतु दूमिअ हिअअं ।
अणुणेजअजं पंतो जइणवरंवमहोमिअंकोवचिअं ॥
तंणंस जंसहिअणो भणेजपंचे खमंतु दूमिअहिअअं ।
अणुणंजअजंपंतो जइणपरवमहोचिअंको वचिअं ॥
- शृङ्गार पृ. ७२९
- शृङ्गार पृ. ९९९
८. अणुणअसुहं ण पत्तं पिआहि दइएसु खिज्जइ ंवि ण चलअं ।
ओसारिअंमि पडमं दूईए वदोसिआए...गहणे ॥
[अनुनयसुखं न प्राप्तं प्रियाभिर्दयितेषु... ।
अपसारिते प्रथमं दूत्या... ॥]
- शृङ्गार पृ. ७९८
- अणुणअसुहं णप ंतं पिआहि हीएसुविंभिउंपिणचलओ ।
ओसारिअंमिपडमं रुंणवदोसिणाएमाणंगहणे ॥
- शृङ्गार पृ. १०३९
९. णिम्मरिअसंधिअंमा तावअ दूरपडिबद्धवंमहपसर ।
गरुअं सुरउच्छाहं दाऊण सहि ंव जामिणी तिए गआ ॥
[निर्म...मा तावच्च दूर-प्रतिबद्धमन्मथप्रसर ।
गुरुकं सुरतोत्साहं दस्वा सखीव यामिनी तस्या गता ॥]
- शृङ्गार पृ. ७९९
- णिम्मरिअसंधिअम्मा तावअदूरपडिबद्धवम्महपसर ।
गरुअं सुरउच्छाअं दाऊणसहिंवज्जामिणी तीए गआ ॥
- शृङ्गार पृ. १२१२
१०. ओलोतअंमि तुलि...पिआहि गहिअंमि संभमेण वलइअं ।
पडिचक्खिअं पि अ कअं चपए संधिअसरं अणमेण धणुं ॥
[अवलोकिते...गृहीते संभमेण वलयितं ।
प्रत्याख्यातमपि च कृतं...संहितशरं अनङ्गेन धनुः ॥]
- शृङ्गार पृ. ७९९
११. दिण्णतणुअंजणाइं जुअइजणस्स (दई ?) तंबोड्डाइं ।
आसण्णरइसुहाइं अहिवासज्जंति वम्महेण मुहाइं ॥
[दत्ततन्वञ्जनानि युवतिजनस्य...ताम्रोष्ठानि ।
आसन्नरतिसुखानि अधिवास्यन्ते मन्मथेन मुखानि ॥]
- शृङ्गार पृ. ८०३

- दिण्णतणूअंजणाई जुअईअणस्सदररततवोग्गाइ ।
आसण्णरइसुहाई अहिवासिज्जंति वम्महेण मुहाई ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. ११९८
१२. ण कओ वि र(रअ)मोब०खो माणक्खलणे वि ण पडिओ च्चिअ बाहो ।
तीए णवरं पिअअमो गओ त्तिअत्तितलोअणं ? णीससिअं ॥
[न कृतोऽपि(रग)मोक्षो, मानस्खलनेऽपि पतित एव बाष्पः ॥
तस्याः केवलं प्रियतमो गत इति लोचनं निश्चसितम् ॥]
धरिओ अमरिसपसरो माण० खलणेविणपडिओ० चिअ वाहो ।
तीएण वरं पिअअमे गहिओ णिअ०त० लोअणं णीससिअं ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. १८६
१३. धीराण माणभंगे माणक्खलणेण गरुअधीरारंभे ।
उल्लइ तुलिज्जंते एकं पि वि से धिरं ण लंघइ हिअअं ॥
[धीराणां मानभङ्गे मानस्खलनेन गुरुधैरारंभे ।
उल्लति तोल्यमाने एकमपि...न लङ्घयति हृदयं ॥]
धैरिण माणभंगो माण०खलणेण गरुअधीरारंभे ।
उल्लइ...कम० पिसे धिर ०णल ०गइहिअअं ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. ८४०
- धैरिण माणभंगो माणक्खलणेण गरुअ धीरारम्भो ।
उल्लइ तुलिज्जंते एकम्मि वि से धिरंण लगइ हिअअं ॥
—सरस्वती. पृ. ७२७
- Note : The text and its Sanskrit *chāyā* are the same as given above.
१४. ...पहाइअओसकालपडिसिद्धधीरं ।
भे पे०चइमण०ध चंदअहाअधिएजुअइजणो ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. ९६९
- पढमपहा...पुहिज्जओपओसआलवपीडसिद्धवीरभे ।
पेच्छइ गमणंधवहे चंदकरअप्पिए पिए जुअइजणो ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. १२००
१५. धोआरूढमहुआखण०पहु०धोवरहदि०णलाव ।
हसिऊण स०णवि०जइ पिएण स०भरिपुल०जआ कावि ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. ९८९
- धोआरूढमहुमआ खणप०भ०ठावरहदि०णुलावा ।
हसिऊणस०णवि०जइ पिएण स०भरिअ ल०जिआ कावि पिआ ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. १०४४
- थोआरूढमहुमआ खणपहाट्टावरहदिणुल्लावा ।
हसिऊण सण्णविज्जइ चिएणसंभरिअलज्जिआकाविपिआ ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. १२१५
- The text and its Sanskrit *chāyā* in (SK) (pp 670-71) are the same as given above—in the main body, except the incorrect *chāyā* : क्षणविस्मृतिरपराध०
१६. दूमेइअमेहिअं पुणोपुणोविरहसंगजु०ताणुणअं ।
दो सपरपु०तठिअं वळ०तणि०वोलिअहर०तिएमुहं ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. ९८९
१७. प०ठंति मअणपसर०पसाअसमुहा विलासिणीसमु ०लवं ।
तीए उण त०सदीरइरोसपरपु०तज०पिएहिहिअअं ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. ९९०
१८. कीरइगुणोविदोसो सेवत०मिविदिणे ण दि०जइ दि०ठि ।
अजस०सणभीभि०जइ जह गाहिअंतह पहु०तणं रमणि०जं ॥
—शुङ्गार. पृ. ९९०
- कीरइगुणोविदोसो णि०ज
—शुङ्गार. पृ. १०१८

१९. तहंबंधणअणुराए त हसंमोहविअलंतविसामा ।
लावेते-ंचिअ तीए मअगुणा रोसंतिंठिआ पसाअविमुहंमि मुहे ।
—शुङ्गार पृ. ९९०
२०. णयणपहोलिरबाहंपुरिआहर मेंतणीसहंविअणीसा ।
संदूमेइधरगओअंतीसे रोसविरिमालणंमहिअअं ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. ९९०
२१. साहसु विलासिअणिंजे हिलं तिसरसावरहपिअआकि ।
अरहंखंणगुणाओ पहवंताण सुखअए ससहाओ ॥
साह सुविलासिणिअणं जे अहिलंति सरसावराहा पिआ ।
किअहदंखिणे गुणओ पहवंताणए सहसाओ ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. ९९२, पृ. १०१८
२२. णसहिअणुणअभणिअं ण देसि पसरं ठहोस मुंकामरिसं ।
कहआएकरचिअदूरवि सं वइअंणिदुरंतुह हिअअं ॥
णअणणअभणिअंणदेसिपसरंणहोसिमुंकामरिसकहआ ।
एंकरसं चिअ दूरविसंवइअणिंजुरं तुह हिअअं ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. ९९३
२३. तंखणजणि अपरिपसभरिअ विरोधसंगजुंताणुसअंतीए ।
गरु...ओलिअंतं पिअमरिसेंचिअहिअअं ॥
तवखणजणिअपहस्सि संभरिअवरोहसंगलत्ताणं सअंतीए ।
गरुअं णिसंमलगओ अतंपिअमरिसिच्चिअहिअअं ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. ९९४
२४. अपरंझसुअताहे वीसं धंचिअजणंमिणिंफलमउए ।
काउंणिंखिवदुंखंपंतिअसहिअंउंच एंकसंचिअहिअअं ॥
अपरंझसु एं ताहे वीसं धोंचिअजणं मिणफलगुरुए ।
काउंणिं किवगुरुअं पं तीअसहिउं पि एं कसिंजि ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. ९९५
२५. दुंखंतरिअमणसुहंघिएण विमणविलिओणएणपुलइअं ।
रोसागमपडिवेंलएविसमविरंजंतलोअणंतिमुहंअ ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. ९९८
२६. हंधसलिलाहाआए अवहरंतिएदिंणसहिसंलावं ।
कलहंतरिआएविअंअणाहणंतीए दूमिओपडिवक्खो ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. १००२
२७. णिंमविअमंडणाणविसोहावासअमाणिआणविभलिआ ।
मोहंणेवंचलणो परिओसोंचिअ पसाहणं जुवईणं ॥
णिंमविअमंडणाणविसोहावासअंमिमाणिआणविलिआ ।
मोहंणवेवच्छइणे परिओसो च्चिअ पसाहणं अंअईण ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. १००२
२८. उंगाहिअपंहुंठा दरजंपअमुंकबहुलणीसासा ।
साहंतिविरहिदुंखं असमंतपइंखिरविसेउंलावा ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. १००६
२९. असमंतो विसमंपइ अपरिंगहिअलहओ परगुणालाओ ।
तंस पिआपडिबंधाण समपइसुहा... ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. १००६
- SK (pp. 675-676) agrees with the text and *chāyā* given above except at one place. It reads पडिवङ्गा in place of पडिबद्धा but renders it into Sanskrit as प्रतिबद्धा !
३०. जहजहतीएधवणं पावइ कहधूसहावराहविलं खो ।
तहतह सेअहिअअहरहिअअंरुंमि संसअंमिणिसंणं ॥
—शुङ्गार पृ. १००६

३१. कीस इमेसुबहुसो विसमं वुंतंतणं जणं च विकलुसा ।
देहावंगेसुतुहं परिवंघंतु(ती)णभणेषु बाहुंपीडा ॥
कीसअइमे सुबहुसो विसमप्यंततलिणं जणच्छविकलसा ।
दीहावंगेसु तुमं परिगोलंतिणअणे सुबाहुप्पीडा ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०११
३२. कीसमलिआवअंसं वअणणीसासपणुआहरराअं ।
वअणं वहणिकसोअरिअरसंकामिअकओलपंतालेखं ॥
कीसमिआपअंसंवअं लणीसासपउणिआहरताअं ।
वअणंवहसि किसोअरिअर संकामिअकपोलपंताले खं ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०११
३३. तणुअंपिअणिव्वडअं पुणो पुणोवेविराहरोंधए सुणिअं ।
वअणंभंतरभरिअं हिअअंछिअकिंतुहंपसंमइवअणं ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०११
३४. अंखंडिएवि पणए अकअंमिअं विअं अकं जेपिमहं जाअं ।
चिअवअणलिं जं तुहरोसंमिहिअएणिअंतेमि पिअं ॥
अकखंडिए वि अणए अकअंमि विविअं अकज्जे वि महं ।
जाअं चिअणिरअणिज्जं तुहरोसंमिअं गिमिअं पअं ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१३
३५. अपरिअंखिअदोसगुणं अवमणिअचिरपंरूढवीसंहरसं ।
अवभरिआनुराअं तुमेविम...रूसिउंजण खिअं ॥
अपरिअंखिअदोसगुणं अवम...परूढवीसंभरसं ।
अपहिरिआणुदूअं तुमे विमहरूसि उज्जणेण वितिहणं ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१३
३६. अवराहेण ऊणचिरं भणसु तुमं हिअअउं करोसावि ।
पुडकं अगएऊणइमं तुहोअंजइतुहंमिपसाअं खलिअं ॥
अवहारे उणचिरं भणसु तुमं चिअ अमुक्करोसावि ।
पुडकिं चित्तेऊणइमं ओहज्जलमंमिमहपमाअकखलण ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१३
३७. दूरगअं पिअं अंतै दूरणिअंतं पुणोपउंतइपेअं ।
कह होइ परिणामो माणंसइमो हंतिमुहिअंजंति ॥
दूरगअंमि अणित्तलदूरणिअंतं पुणा पअत्तइमं ।
म कह होइ परिणामो माणस्स लमो महंति विमुहिअंजंति ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१५
३८. पडिवंखे दूमिअंजइजिएणवीसवइगुरुअमंतुपडिअ ।
तीस कहवि सहिअणेखं डिं पे अंमलहइणिसंमइ दिं ति ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१५
३९. सहिअं माणंखलणं णाओ पडिवंखविअं धाणरसो ।
सहिअो अ तुइ विओए माइअंसुहअलंजिअं वंमि मए ॥
सहिअं माणंखलणं णाओपडिवंखविसिअं पाणरसो ।
गमिओ...सुहअउंजिअं पंमीए ॥
सहिअं माणंखलणं णाओपडिवंखविहाअसं बाणरसो ।
सहिअो तुहतुह विओओ मालज्जसुसुहअ लज्जिअं वंमि मए ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०१७
४०. दूसहकआवराहं अवसाहेविगुरुएपसाआहिहिमुहं ।
अं पं चंदवअंतं पिअचपेअं मंचजोअं णविजुअं चंति ॥
—शृङ्गार. पृ. १०२४

- दूसहकआवराहं अवराहे विगरुएवसाइअहिमुहं ।
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४३. धीर०खलिअणिअंतादूरविअंभतरोसपडिव०झंत ।
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ओरत्तपङ्कअमुहिं वम्महणाडिअं व सलिलसअणणिसण्णं ।
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संहरिअपाणिअव्वाअप्पाहिअपच्चिआविरुब्भइ दूई ॥
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कुसुरोजाउ परिमलपीसुणो अणद्धतोव्व पाअडो पच्चूसो ॥
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सोहं कुणइ पिओ च्चिअ विरएइ मुहावसाहणं जुज्जइजणो ॥
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पट्टिमुहट्टिअहिअओ जाअइपंजंतमंडणो जुअइजणो ॥
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हिअअपहुत्तभहिअंमुहणवहुण्तलोअणो परिओसं ॥
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७६. विच्छिडिज्जइधीरं दारगआपडिवहंणणिज्जदिट्ठो ।
गम्मइ हिअअम्मि गए पिआणगअदूइमग्गउच्छिअअवसहिं ॥
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७७. ...पहाइअओसकालपडिसिंधधीरारं ।
भेपे०चइमण०ध चंदअहाअधिएजुअइजणो ॥
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७८. जणिअहरिसाणतक्खहिअआपडिअंपि पि पिअअमभुट्टाणं ।
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७९. कामिणिजणस्स सहसापिअदंसणवित्थणंतहरिसविमुहिसा ।
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८०. तामरसकोमलाओपिअकंठालिगणेसमुक्खिताओ ।
परिअंमावेलमओ जुअईणधरेइवम्महो वाहाओ ॥
—शृङ्गार पृ. १२०१
८१. तीए अणुराअपसरिअस्सुहपडिवज्जंतवहलपुलडब्भोओ ।
उण्णासिअसहरिसगारिसंदूरोणामिअसवत्तिहिआए ॥
—शृङ्गार पृ. १२०९
८२. उगामिहिअअपम्मट्टं खण-संभरिआवराहलन्भिअलइअं ।
अस्सलमहुमअसुहअं अपरिपुडर्जपिअं विलासवलणं ॥
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ताच्चिअ अकिउ०वरिअं पिअअमं अक्कीणो ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१०
८५. हरिसविअसंतवअणं कवोलअलसंगलंतपुलउब्भेअं ।
अवसाहिअं पि जअं पसाहिअब्भहिअ-मणहरं तीए मुहं ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१२
८६. उग्गाहिअं ण भणिअं हिअएचिरचिअं रअपरिणामं ।
माणंसिणीएविअअंभु रहसक रग्गाहिअंमि माणग्गहणे ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१३
८७. लंभपुसिआधराभोरहासलीगणविइण्णवम्महपसरो ।
होइरमिअव्वजोगो दइअवकामोडिअंवउ जुअइजणो ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१४
८८. अग्घइ वलंतधीरं दइअहठालिगआणणअलीउंवरिअं ।
विसमपरिअण्णिअमुहंसमुहवलंतहिअअंविकारावइणं ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १२१४
८९. वसट्ठिअम्मिसोहापपरिओसपसाहिआणणाएमणहरा ।
अप्पुट्ठसोअविमले सहिसत्थदीएदप्पणम्मिदिट्ठो ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२१
९०. दूरविअंभिअपसरो कअकज्जणिअंदइअदंसणजणिओ ।
हिअएणमाअलच्छिअरेइअसोअविअडेविसेपरिओसो ॥ —शृङ्गार. पृ. १२२१
९१. The text and its *chāyā* are correctly presented in the NS edn with this difference—we have changed वारुणी to वारुणि for metrical requirement.
- ९२-९५. The Prakrit text and its Sanskrit *chāyā* are correctly presented in the NS edn—but for the solitary misreading : बढंताणुअमूढलक्खं (p. 630); the *chāyā*, however, correctly renders the expression as 'वर्धमानानुशयमूढलक्ष्यं'



SAMARĀICCAKAHĀ (BHAVA-II) OF HARIBHADRASŪRI : A STUDY

(A Study with particular reference to Bhava-II)

INTRODUCTION

The Age of Haribhadra

“History in the ordinary sense of the word is almost unknown in Indian Literature.” And this is particularly true of great poets like Kālidāsa, the prince among poets, and Prakrit celebrities like Bhadrabāhu, Umāsvāti and our Haribhadra. It is by no means easy to settle the date of Haribhadra. It is still disputed in what century he lived. Scholars differ with regard to his age; and the divergence in their opinion is indeed very great. The period embraced extends from the beginning of the 6th century A. D. to the 12th century A. D.

The Jain tradition mentions Vira saṁvat 1055 (529 A. D.) as the date of Haribhadra's death.

Siddharṣi, who completed his *Upamitibhavaprapaṅcā kathā* on may 1, 906 A. D. calls Haribhadra as his 'dharmabodhakaro guruḥ :

Prof. Abhyankar in his Sanskrit Introduction to *Viṃśativimśikā* discusses the date of Haribhadra, and puts him in the last decades (Vikrama era 950, c. 894 A. D.) of the 9th century. His chief arguments are (i) Siddharṣi's statement mentioned above. (ii) Haribhadra's works reveal his acquaintance with *Śārīrabhāṣyam* (c. A. D. 800).

Śaka referred to by *Kuvalayamālā* (which will be presently discussed) must be other than Śālivāhana.

Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*History of the Indian Logic*) places him in the 12th century A. D.

Jinavijayaji in his article on 'The date of Haribhadra' assigns him to the

8th century (700 to 770 A. D.) His arguments are accepted *in toto* by Dr. Jacobi. These may be summarized thus :

Uddyotana's *Kuvalayamālā* mentions in its *praśasti* that Haribhadra was the teacher of *Uddyotana* in philosophy. This *Kuvalayamālā* was finished on the last day but one of the Śaka year 700 (21st March, 779 A. D.) Uddyotana's statement conflicts with that of *Siddharṣi* stated above. But this inconsistency could be removed by interpreting '*Dharmabodhakaro guruḥ* as the *Paramparāguruḥ*.

(ii) Haribhadra quotes many of the celebrities, who flourished in the century preceding his own, such as Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti, Bhartrhari and Kumāri. He however does not quote Śaṅkara who rose so high above all his contemporaries that Haribhadra could not have ignored him, if he had lived at his time. Nor does he discuss Śaṅkara's Māyāvāda. So it is certain that Haribhadra is earlier than Śaṅkara (788-820).

Of these, the Jain tradition which puts Haribhadra in the early half of the 6th century is clearly wrong as Haribhadra quotes Dharmakīrti who flourished about 650 A. D. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's view also is untenable from the two statements of *Kuvalayamālā* and *Upamitibhavaprapaṅcā kathā*. It is not easy to say which of the remaining two views is nearer the truth. As there is no strong and unassailable evidence about Haribhadra's date, scholars are apt to hold divergent views. So one must content oneself with merely restating their opinions.¹

Haribhadra's Life

It is a misfortune that we have no biographical records of our famous ancient poets and writers. The lack of reliable personal history produces a sense of void, of something missing. All that our Haribhadra chooses to tell us is that : (i) he obeyed the command of Jinabhāṭa, an *Ācārya* of the Sitāmbaras, (Śvetāmbaras); (ii) he was the pupil of *Ācārya* Jinadatta, an ornament of the Vidyādhara Kula; and (iii) he was the spiritual son of the nun Yākinīmahattarā.

When we look in his works for knowledge about the facts of his life, we gather from them that he was deeply learned in literature and philosophy not only Jain but of other schools of thought also; the use, in the last verse of most of his works, of the word '*Viraha*' may have reference to some tragic event in his life. Regarding this point there is a legend full of miraculous and wholly incredible incidents.

The external sources, which profess to depict Haribhadra, such as *Prabhāvākacarita*, *Upadeśapadaṭīkā* and others are discussed by Dr. Jacobi. The

following account of Haribhadra's life is based on Dr. Jacobi's conclusions.

Haribhadra was born at Citrakūṭa, the modern Chitor, where he probably lived until his initiation. He was a Brahmin by caste and had mastered all the Brahmanical learning. He is said to have been the family priest of King Jitāri (or Jitaśatru). Proud of his erudition, he proclaimed that he would become the pupil of any one whose proposition he could not understand, and this vow was engraved on a golden plate he wore on his belly. Once a mast elephant having got loose and causing great havoc in the street, Haribhadra fled before him and climbed a Jain temple to save himself. At the sight of the image of Tīrthakara, he composed a verse to deride him. Next day, he heard an old nun reciting a *gāthā*, which baffled his understanding. The *gāthā* was :

चक्रिदुगं हरिपणगं पणगं चक्रीण केसवो चक्री ।
केसव चक्री केसव दुचक्री केसी अचक्री य ॥

He asked her to explain its meaning, but she referred him to her Guru. On his way to that Guru, he passed by the temple and pronounced the same stanza, changing one word so that now it was in Jina's praise. There he met Jinabhaṭasūri, who promised to teach him after initiation. Haribhadra agreed and acknowledged Yākinī Mahattarā as his spiritual mother. Later on he was so well versed in the Jain *āgamas*, and his conduct was such, that the Guru appointed him his successor. He thus became a *yuga-pradhāna*.

The scene of his later life as a monk seems to have been chiefly the neighbouring parts of Rajaputana and the kingdom of Gujarat. His wanderings as a *yati* probably extended to far distant parts of India. *Samarāiccakahā* suggests that he had acquaintance with Northern India and Eastern India between Ayodhyā and Campā.

Beyond this we know nothing of Haribhadra, the circumstances of his birth, education, society, details about his literary activity and his passing away.

Haribhadra's Works

Haribhadra is a very versatile and voluminous writer. Tradition credits him with the authorship of 1400 *Prakarāṇas*. Kalyāṇavijaya has drawn up a list of all his works actually preserved or known from quotations only; his list shows 88 entries. About 27 works of Haribhadra are available. The number 1400 is only an exaggeration. If we mean by *Prakarāṇa* a chapter and not a systematic treatise, the number 1400 could possibly be explained. All the same, his extant works bear ample testimony to his versatile genius. The works due to him may be classified as follows :-

(I) *Vṛttis* and *Ṭīkās*

On Āgama sūtras (1) Daśvaikālikam (2) Āvaśyaka (3) Prajñāpanā (4) Anuyogadvāra and (5) Nandī; on Āgamabāhyasūtras—(6) Pañcavastuprakaraṇatīkā (7) Pañcasutta and (8) Caityavandanā (II) *Prakaraṇas* :- (9) Aṣṭakaṃ (10) Ṣoḍaśakam (11) Viṃśativimśikā (12) Pañcāśaka (13) Sambodha (14) Dharmabindu (15) Dharmasaṃgrahaṇī (16) Śrāvakañjāpti (III) *Darśanas* :- (17) Anekāntajayapatākā (18) Lokatattvanirṇaya (19) Saḍdarśanasamuccaya (20) Śāstravārtāsamuccaya (IV) Yogaśāstra (21) Yogabindu, Yogadr̥ṣṭisamuccaya (V) Dharmakathā : (23) Samarāicakahā (VI) (24) Dhūrtākhyāna-(A satire) and (25) his *Vṛtti* on *Nyāyapraveśa* of Dinnāga.

This classification of Haribhadra's important works at once shows how he has tried his hand at the various branches of literature. A study of these works reveals that they contain besides an exposition of the Jain tenets, information about and discussions or refutations of the doctrines of opponents' schools, Brahmanical and Buddhist. He wrote both in verse and prose, in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He was the pioneer in composing Sanskrit commentaries on *Sūtra* texts. His fame as a *Yuga-pradhāna* chiefly rests on his literary activity for the sake of Jainism.

It appears, says Prof. Abhyankar in his Introduction to *Viṃśativimśikā*, that *ṭīkās* or commentaries were written first, next *Dharmakathā* (Romance, religious novel), then works like *Anekāntajayapatākā*, *Lokatattvanirṇaya* which give an exposition of Jain tenets, and next philosophical works like *Saḍdarśana-samuccaya* and lastly *Yogabindu*, *Yogadr̥ṣṭisamuccaya* works on Yoga system of philosophy.

A Brief Survey of Jain Narrative Literature²

Before proceeding to a critical study of the text, it may not be out of place, if we take here a cursory and passing survey of Jain narrative literature, which has seen the light of the day. It is indeed very vast in extent and varied in scope. It may conveniently be divided into six broad categories as follows :-

- (i) Narrative elements in the Jain Canon :
- (ii) The stories contained in the *niryuktis*, *cūrṇis*, *bhāśyas*, *ṭīkās*
- (iii) The *Purāṇas* and *Mahāpurāṇas*
- (iv) The *kathās*, *ākhyānas*, *caritras*;
- (v) The *prabandhas* and

(vi) The *Kathākośas*

(i) The extant Jain canon which consists of 45 texts (11 *aṅgas*, 12 *upāṅgas*, 10 *prakīrṇas*, 6 *Chedasūtras* 4 *mūlasūtras* and 2 individual texts), contains considerable narrative portion which is marked by didactic and edifying outlook : "It covers biographies of religious heroes such as *Tīrthaṅkaras* and their ascetic disciples, explanatory similes, parables and dialogues and didactic and exemplary tales and pattern stories of men and women turning into monks and nuns and attaining better births in the next life". Some of the legends occurring in the canon are specifically Jain and others are special editions of common Indian legends with religious bias towards Jainism.

(ii) There are *niryuktis* on ten canonical texts, and some independent ones also. "*Niryuktis* themselves have many significant contexts and references which necessitated the subsequent *cūrṇis*, *bhāsyas* and *ṭīkās* to give elaborate *kathānakas* for a clear and full explanation". Sometimes catchwords only are given which give sense only when the legends are added in details. Consequently the *cūrṇis*, *bhāsyas* and *ṭīkās* abound with *kathānakas*, Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, and the greater number of these stories is indeed astonishing. The commentators such as Haribhadra, Śīlāṅka, Śāntyācārya and others give not only the stories referred to in the texts but add stories from external sources. Naturally their commentaries have become the repositories of Jain tales of varied length and various interests.

The works of Digambara authors like Kundakunda, Vaṭṭakera, Samantabhadra, Vasunandi and others also refer to many stories of absorbing interest.

(iii) The *Purāṇas* are chiefly concerned with the biographies of 63 *śalākāpuruṣas* (eminent personalities of Jain Mythology). They are often allied to the Epics and the *Purāṇas* of the Hindus. "They are evidently designed to attract to the Jain faith greater following from among the public at large and are intended to disseminate moral and religious instruction among the Jain adherents through the popular and attractive medium of fables, stories and legends of ancient mythical heroes."

(iv) In this type we have the biographies of individual Tīrthaṅkaras and other celebrated personalities of their times. These are composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa; their authors mind only the narration of events and their style is epical. *Gadyacintāmaṇi*, *Tilakamañjarī*, *Yaśastilakacampū* are "fine specimens of high poetic ability and ornate expression." The *kathās* are religious tales presented in a romantic form, *Samarāiccakahā*, which is an excellent romance in prose and verse, is a good example. In it Haribhadra shows what an important

bearing *nidāna* has on one's life. Sometimes imaginary tales are made an excuse for attacking rival schools of thought and their mythology. *Haribhadra's Dhūrtākhyāna* is a striking example in point.

(v) The *prabandhas* are semihistorical works dealing with the lives of great pontiffs who became the head of the Jain community after Mahāvīra and of royal patrons and merchant princes who eminently served the cause of Jainism. Here the historian has to separate facts from fiction in their mixture.

(vi) *Kathākośas* or compilations of stories, such as *Brhatkathākośa*, *Kumārapālpratibodha*, which could be used as source books for constant reference, form the last type.

In these different categories certain traits arrest our attention as they are not noticed in other branches of Indian literature :

(i) "Pages after pages are devoted to the past and future births; (ii) the inexorable Law of Karma plays a very conspicuous role; (iii) sermons with dogmatic details are introduced; (iv) tales are inserted within a narrative; (v) illustrative tales are added here and there; and (vi) The spirit of asceticism is writ large throughout the text; and almost as a rule every hero retires from the world to attain better status in the next life."

Summary of the Text

(Note : There was a prince Guṇasena. He had a friend Agniśarman who was very ugly. The prince enjoyed fun at his cost; as a result of this he turned an ascetic. Guṇasena became the king, once met Agniśarman, repented for his past ill-treatment and invited him to take food at his place. He accepted the invitation. Thrice he went there but Guṇasena for one reason or the other could not receive him. Agniśarman misunderstood Guṇasena. He was inflamed with fury and resolved : "If I have acquired merit by my austerities may I then be born again and again to kill him in every one of his births." Accordingly the two were born in nine successive births as enemies. *Samarāiccakahā* narrates these nine births in nine chapters (*bhavas*). The second *bhava* narrates the 2nd existence in which they were born as Siṃha and Ānanda, father and son.)

In Jayapura there ruled King Puruṣadatta; his wife was Śrīkāntā. Guṇasena, at the end of his life in heaven, was born of them as the son named Siṃha. He grew up a model of a prince. Once he met in a park Kusumāvalī, the daughter of his maternal uncle Lakṣmīkānta. Both fell in love with each other. Kusumāvalī is tormented by love. She is sick. Madanlekhā worms the secret of distress out of her princess; she approves of Kusumāvalī's fitting choice; and

acquaints her of the talks between Lakṣmīkānta and Subuddhi which show that Lakṣmīkānta is willing to offer his daughter to Simha (pp. 1-20). Now Madanalekhā requests Kusumāvalī to draw the picture of a female lordly swan separated from her mate. And she takes the painting board and a few other presents to prince Simha and tells him that the presents were sent by Kusumāvalī. Simha accepts these readily. He in turn cuts the figure of a swan out of a leaf, and adds a verse with a tender meaning and sends it to his love. The lovers kept up the exchange of presents for some days till her father betrothed her on Simha, and on an auspicious day they were duly married (20-40).

The prince and his wife lived together in happiness for a long, long time. Once, the prince chanced upon a young ācārya Dharmaghoṣa. He asked him why he accepted, in the prime of youth, monkhood. Dharmaghoṣa related that while living in Rājapura there arrived Ācārya Amaragupta who possessed *avadhi* knowledge. The king desired to know the history of the saint in this as well as in his former births. Thereupon Amaragupta narrated as follows : (Amaragupta's tale pp. 45-88)

In the remote past, Amaragupta said, I was born in Campāvasa as Somā; I was married to Rudradeva, a merchant's son. As a result of my acquaintance with a nun Bālacandrā, I was attracted towards the Jinadharmā. Rudradeva asked me to give up that *dharma*. I refused. He started hating me, and even asked for Nāgaśrī in marriage, but her father refused his request. Despairing of winning her during my life he resolved to kill me. He asked me to fetch a garland out of a pot in which he had placed a snake. I was bitten and I died. I was born as a god; Rudradeva married Nāgaśrī; after his death he was born as a hellish being (45-49). After a *palyopama* we were reborn, I as an elephant and he as a parrot. In this birth also he was responsible to bring about my death. In the next birth, I became a *Vyantara* god, and he descended into hell (53). After a *palyopama* we were reborn in Cakravālapura, I as Cakradeva and he as Yajñadeva. I loved him sincerely but he only feigned love for me; he secretly tried to bring ruin on me. He plundered the house of Candana, and asked me to guard the goods, but informed the King that I had stolen Candana's goods. My house was searched. I was taken to the king. For this crime I was banished. Unable to put up with the disgrace, I resolved to commit suicide. But the Nagaradevatā took compassion on me; she revealed the truth to the king. The king ordered Yajñadeva to be taken prisoner and hastened to save me. He explained how he came to know the truth and implored my forgiveness. I pleaded in Yajñadeva's favour and got him released. I was disgusted towards the life and hearing a sermon from Agnibhūti I became a nun. After my death I became a Vaimānika god; the

other on his death descended into hell (68). After a huge period of time, I was born in Ratnapura as Candrasāra and my enemy as Anahaka. Once Vindhyaaketu, the Śabara chief, abducted a number of people among whom was my wife. With a view to ransom my wife, Anahaka and I started to go to the Śabarās (68-70).

Meanwhile, my wife afraid of being ravished, finding an opportunity jumped in a well. Luckily she did not die; she found a shelter in a recess of the well. Shortly we arrived at the place, I carrying the provision for the journey and Anahaka the valuables. Anahaka desirous of having the valuables to himself, asked me to look into the well to see if it contained water; and as I was leaning over it, he pushed me in. As luck would have it I met my wife. We were saved by a caravan on its way to Ratnapura. On our way back we found Anahaka killed by a lion. My sad experience concerning Anahaka induced me to take vows. After his death he became a denizen of hell and I, a god. (70-76). We were reborn in Rathavīrapura, I as the merchant Anaṅgadeva and my enemy as the merchant Dhanadeva. Once we had amassed wealth in Ratnadvīpa and were on our way home when Dhanadeva resolved to poison me. He prepared cakes and put a strong poison in one of them. But through mistake he ate the poisoned one and died. Although I got all the wealth, I became averse to worldly life and took the vows. After my death, I became a god and Dhanadeva a denizen of hell (76-79). In the next birth, we were born as Jain merchants in Hastināpura. My name was Vīradeva, his Droṇaka. I lent him capital trading on which he became very rich, and built a fine mansion. In the uppermost story a projection was so constructed that it should crash when somebody was on it. His guile was that I should enter it and meet my death. He however got into such a confusion when he showed me over his villa, that he was the first to enter the projection. It crashed and with it Droṇaka. I was so affected by this accident that I turned a monk. After my death I was born as a god and he as hellish being (79-83).

Descending from heaven, I was born in Campāvāsa, as the son of Maṇibhadra and his wife Hāriṇī. I was named Pūrṇabhadra but I was also called Amaragupta, because the first word I uttered had been *Amara*. *Droṇaka* was born as *Nandayantī* a merchant-daughter. I was married to her. Once she pretended to have lost a most valuable pair of earrings. I presented her with new earrings and consoled her. Once I happened to open her jewel-box, when to my surprise, I discovered in it the lost earrings. Just then *Nandayantī* entered the room, and knowing that I had detected the earrings, she was confounded with shame. In order to avoid disgrace she prepared a poisonous charm for me. But before she could administer it to me she was bitten by a snake, and passed away in spite of my best endeavours to save her. Grief and despair, Amaragupta

concluded, induced him to adopt the *yatidharma* (83-88).

(Main story continued)

Dharmaghoṣa was initiated in the order by Amaragupta as he told the prince. The latter asked him to explain the nature of the *saṃsāra*. In the course of his sermon, the saint related :

The apologue or parable of the man in the well.

A man, stricken with poverty, left his country and wandered about. Once he entered a huge forest, where he was pursued by a furious elephant while in front he was opposed by a dreadful *Rākṣasī*. For life he fled towards a banyan tree but could not climb it. Near it there was a well; desperately he jumped into it, and got hold of a clump of reeds which grew out of its wall. He perceived on the four sides of the well, hissing snakes; and at the bottom of it a huge boa (*Ajagara*). At the root of the clump of reeds, there were gnawing in turn a white and a black mouse. The elephant, unable to reach the man, gave violent shocks to the tree, whereby a beehive on a branch just above the well was so shaken, that the bees issued from it and stung the man, while drops of honey fell on his face. He licked them up and was so pleased with their sweet taste that he forgot the dangerous position in which he was placed. The man is likened to the soul (*Jīva*); the forest to *saṃsāra*; the *Rākṣasī* to old age; the elephant to death; the Banyan tree to *mokṣa* (liberation); the well to human life; the four snakes to four passions; the clump of reeds to the length or duration of human life; the white and the black mice to the bright and dark fortnights; the bees to the diseases; the huge boa to a hell, the drops of honey to the pleasures of sense (pp. 89-96).

Dharmaghoṣa asked prince *Siṃha* to devote himself to Dharma and not to be carried away by trivial pleasures of sense, and then gave a short description of the *yatidharma*. Those who cannot follow it, should turn *śrāvakas* (pp. 96-100). *Siṃha* as well as *Kusumāvalī* adopted the *śrāvaka-dharma*. About this time King *Puruṣadatta* took the vows after having installed *Siṃha* on the throne (100-101).

Now the soul of *Agnīśarman* was conceived in the womb of *Kusumāvalī*. At the moment she dreamt that a snake had entered her body and issuing from it had bitten the king, who thereupon fell from his throne. Since then she began to dislike the King. Once she had a pregnancy-longing to eat the entrails of the King. This horrible desire made her hate her unborn child. She, therefore, tried to secure abortion, but in vain; she only grew worse every day. The King learnt from *Madanalekhā* the whole truth of the queen's pitiable condition. The King

discussed the matter with his minister Matisāgara, who proposed to deceive the queen by a trick, so that she should think her longing fulfilled. Matisāgara succeeded, and afterwards he showed the queen that no injury had been done to the King. But he advised her, when the child would be born it should be given to the minister who would see that it was brought up somewhere else without the knowledge of the King. But the plan is frustrated and the King entrusted the child to the nurses of his confidence. The boy was named Ānanda and when he was grown up, Simha declared him the heir-apparent; Ānanda however entertained, as a result of his *nidāna*, intense hatred against his father (101-108).

Once, one of the King's vassals, Durmati by name, revolted. The King marched against the rebel. After three marches, he reached the bank of Indus, where he witnessed a curious scene : a snake devouring a frog, was being devoured by an osprey, which itself was being devoured by a boa. Reflecting on this incident he made up his mind to turn an ascetic. Next day Durmati came and implored the King's forgiveness which was granted (109-114).

The King returned to Jayapura, informed his ministers of his resolution, and got their assent. A day was fixed for installing prince Ānanda on the throne. Everything was made ready for the coronation (114-116).

Ānanda, however, conspired with Durmati to kill the King. When the King went to meet him, Ānanda regarding it a splendid opportunity to execute his plan, suddenly drew his sword and wounded the King severely. The troops came to his rescue. The King however asked them to spare Ānanda as he himself was to die very soon, and appoint him King. Then Ānanda ordered Durmati to take the King prisoner and put him in a most horrid dungeon. There his queens met him and bewailed his cruel lot. The King however exhorted them to renounce the world which they did (116-121).

The King resolved to starve himself to death. Ānanda sent one of his noblemen to persuade the King to take food. But the King was firm (121-123). Now Ānanda rushed in and threatened Simha that it would cost his head, if he refused to take food. But Simha remained firm in his resolve; and he declared in many fine sentences, that it is foolish to be afraid of death. Thereupon Ānanda wounded him with a sword and finished him to death. Simha became a god and Ānanda a denizen of hell in their next birth.

The Title of the Dharmakathā

Nowhere Haribhadra refers to his work as *Samarāiccakahā*. In the introduction (*Bhūmikā*) he styles it as '*Cariyam samarāiccassa*' and *Cariyakahaṇi*.

In the concluding verses of the work, too, he calls it 'Cariyam' and 'Mahānubhāvacariyam'. This leads us to believe that Haribhadra had before his mind's eye the title *Samarāiccacariyam*. In the *Bhūmikā*, Haribhadra promises his readers that he will narrate 'divvamānusavatthugayam dhammakaham' after mentioning threefold 'kahavatthum' and 'cattāri kahāo'. It is not at all unlikely that this circumstance might have been responsible to replace 'cariyam' by *kahā* in the title.

Uddyotana refers to this work as 'Samaramiyaṅkakahā'. The word 'miyaṅka' raises a difficulty for how can *miyaṅka* (*mṛgāṅka* the moon) mean *āicca* (*āditya*-the sun) ? *Puṇyavijayajī* on the authority of a salutation-passage points out that *śaśāṅka* meant the sun; and therefore *mṛgāṅka* and *āditya* are synonyms. This is hardly convincing. Dr. Upadhye's explanation of the title seems reasonable. He renders the phrase into Sanskrit as *Samaramitārkā kathā* :

"The story of *arka* or *āditya* limited, qualified or prefixed (*mita*) by *samara*, i.e. the *Samarādityakathā*."³

The work is rightly and appropriately so called as it narrates elaborately the life of *Samarāditya*, The Hero of the romance—in his nine successive births.

The Source and the Model of the *Samarāiccakahā*

In the introduction (*Bhūmikā*) Haribhadra quotes 8 stanzas in which the argument of the main narrative is summarised very briefly. These *gāthās* are ascribed to the ancient teachers, whence it follows that Haribhadra took the main theme from earlier sources. "In the numerous stories, parables and fairytales, inserted, we come across many themes which we find often in Indian narrative literature and some of which belong to universal literature."—Dr. Winternitz. Thus "the parable of the man in the well;" a king forcibly reminded, by some chance sight, of the vanity of existence and making a resolve to renounce the world; the king *Yaśodhara* sees his first white hair and resolved to become a monk : these and many others are common to Indian narrative literature.

"Among the works which probably served Haribhadra as a model, may be mentioned the *Taraṅgavatī* by *Pādaliptasūri*, the most ancient and famous of Jain romances, The original text has been lost, but a later recasting of it, *Taraṅgalolā*, has been preserved. The reader of it will be struck by the similarity of ideas in it and Haribhadra's work. But there is this difference that while in *Taraṅgalolā* karma, remembrance of a previous birth and its consequence etc. serve to motivate the story, in the *Samarāiccakahā* the story serves to illustrate

those ideas and to impress the hearer with certain moral principles.”—Dr. Jacobi.

What are the Types of *Kathās* according to Haribhadra ?

In the Introduction (*Bhūmikā*) Haribhadra mentions the division of the subjectmatter of *kathās* into *divya* or celestial, *divyamānuṣa* celestial-terrestrial and *mānuṣa*-terrestrial. He divides *kathās* into *artha* (wealthstory), *kāma* (love story), *saṁkīrṇa* (mixed story) and *dharmakathā* (a religious novel), on the ground that *artha*, *kāma*, and *dharma* are the principal themes, in the three kinds of stories respectively; as *saṁkīrṇa* treats mainly of all the three : *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*, it is rightly so named.

Haribhadra's *Samarāiccakahā*, according to this classification is a *dharmakathā*. Hemacandra, however, calls it *sakalakathā* meaning 'samastaphalāntetivrttavarnanā'.

What is the central Idea or motif underlying the *Samarāiccakahā* ?

The dominant idea or motif, underlying the main narrative and most of the tales inserted in it, is *nidāna*. It is originally, a medical term which Haribhadra explains as 'the disorder of the humours of the body (*dhātus*). Metaphorically it means 'Bad Karma' which upsets the moral constitution of the *jīva*. The *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* mentions it as the 4th kind of *ārta dhyāna*; the *Bhāṣya* explains it thus : *Kāmopahatacittānām punarbhavaviṣayasukhagrddhānām nidānamārtadhyānam bhavati*. Pūjyapāda explains the words : *bhogākāṅkṣāturas-yānāgataviṣayaprāptim prati manahpraṇidhānam saṅkalpa-scintāprabandh-asturiyamārtam nidānamityucyate*. Siddhasena mentions it as one of the three *śalyas* and explains it as an *adhyāvasāyaviśeṣa*; 'When somebody practises penance in order to get something in another life which is denied to him in the present birth.' He further adds : *nidānamavakhaṇḍanam tapasaścāritrasya vā. Yadyasya tapaso mamāsti phalam tato janmāntare cakravartī syām* etc.

All this makes it crystalclear that *nidāna* means. 'Bartering away one's austerities for sensual pleasures in a future birth, which are denied to him in the present one or for revenging oneself for insults or personal injuries in the subsequent births'.

We see Agniśarman makes the dreadful resolve : "If I have acquired merit by keeping my vow, may I then be born again and again to kill him in every one of his births."

This *nidāna* on the part of Agniśarman is the underlying principle or basis of the whole of *Samarāiccakahā*.

Samarāiccakahā : a *dharmakathā*

Indian and Greek Romances “are totally different both in plan and spirit as even a cursory reading will show. The least part of the Sanskrit romance is the thread of the story or the adventures of its characters; all the stress is laid on rhetorical embellishment, minute descriptions of nature, detailed specification of exploits and of mental, moral and physical qualities. In the Greek romance, on the other hand, the story is everything. The reader is hurried from adventure to adventure the wilder and more improbable, the better; fine writing is practically disregarded; description and appreciation of nature are, to all intents and purposes, nonexistent.”—Levi.

Prakrit romances (*Kathās*) differ considerably from both Sanskrit and Greek romances in respect of their aims. To give pleasure is the chief aim of Sanskrit and Greek romances; the romance, on the other hand is, regarded by the Prakrit poets a didactic work, aiming at edification. Our Haribhadra is no exception. His is not a pure romance; he designates his work a *dharmakathā* and not *kathā* merely (*Kathā* and *Akhyāyikā*, we are told by Sanskrit writers on poetics, are two kinds of romances, the chief distinction between the two is that the *Ākhyāyikā* rests on tradition and the *Kathā* on fancy.)

That Haribhadra aims at imparting instruction through narratives of attractive character will be clear from what follows :-

Almost all *Kathās* by Jain authors may be ranged in the same (i. e. *dharmakathā*) category : “whatever be the adventures of the hero or heroine, the end is always their renouncement of the world and entering the Order; and narrative is usually interspersed with a great deal of religious instruction” (Dr. Jacobi). And this is particularly true of the *Samarādityakathā*. We see our hero (King Simha) and his queens enter the Order. We also get the exposition of *dharma* by Dharmaghoṣa (pp. 97-99). The parable of the man in the well (pp. 92-96) also serves to enlighten the reader. The remaining eight *bhavas* of the work abound in many such illustrations.

The character as a *dharmakathā* of our work is displayed also through the idea of Nemesis or retribution which is at the basis of the main narrative and most of the sub-narratives set forth in it. In the main narrative the retribution assumes the form of *nidāna*. Agniśarman’s dreadful resolve to revenge himself for the maltreatment at the hands of Guṇasena, in future births supplies the

dominant motif for the main story. The sub-narrative of Amaragupta (2nd *bhava*) has for its motif *māyā* deceit. Haribhadra illustrates by these narratives how good deeds are rewarded by pleasures of heaven and bad deeds are punished with tortures in hell or lower animal births. The *Samarādityakathā* “is evidently intended to illustrate the evil consequences of vices, sins, and all transgressions of the Jain code of morals and to warn the reader or hearer of it against carelessness in conduct.”—Dr. Jacobi. Haribhadra achieves his purpose presenting us love stories, mariners’ fairytales, robbertales, strange adventures in far lands, and tales of the semi-divine Vidyādhara. So his claim that his *Samarādityakathā* is a *dharmakathā*—a religious romance is well-grounded and just.

Language of *Samarāiccakahā*

The language of the text is what is called Jain *Māhārāstrī*, of which there are two kinds, one used in verses, the other in prose. In the verses the language is the same as that employed by all Śvetāmbara authors in Prakrit poems and does not much differ from chassical *Māhārāstrī*; in the prose the language is mingled here and there with peculiarities of Śaurasenī.

The Style of the *Samarāiccakahā*

The *Samarādityakathā* is in prose with considerable number of stanzas interposed from time to time; and it is by no means badly written. Barring descriptions of forests, mountains etc., it is written in lucid, simple, fluent and delightful style. The sentences, especially in the purely narrative parts, are easy and not too long. It abounds in portions which are definitely models of best Prakrit prose style. Even a casual reader will notice such passages. Short, pithy and proverbial sayings abound in the work. A few may be stated here by way of illustration : अवग्रहेसु गुणेषु य निमित्तमेतं परो होइ । सच्चपइना खु तवस्सिणो हवन्ति । देव्वसयाणं पाणिणं विसमा कज्जगई । सरणागयवच्छला चेव राइणो हवन्ति । दुक्खं पावस्स फलं । आवायमेत्तमहुइ विवागविरसा विसोवमा विसया । को दोसो कुलस्स, किं न हवन्ति सुरभिक्षुयुमेषु किमिओ । (Bhava II). खेल्लणयभूया खु एत्थ कम्मपरिणईए पाणिणो । एस अत्थो नाम महंतं देवयारूवं (Bhava VI). Haribhadra makes judicious use of figures of speech. Similes (*Upamā*)⁴, poetical fancies (*Utprekṣā*)⁵, metaphors (*Rūpaka*) and Exclusion (*Parisamkhyā*)⁶ seem to be favourite with him.

He is fond of introducing parables and fables and thus enlightening his readers, e.g. the parable of the man in the well (pp. 91-96), apologue of the two roads (5th *Bhava*) apologue of the lover in the sinkhole, apologue of the four men, apologue of the merchant’s six sons; of the robber and the four queens, and of the Savage in the royal Palace (9th *Bhava*).

He uses a large number of *Deshi* words⁷. He employs the device of inserting tale within a tale, but sometimes he loses a sense of proportion; e.g. in the 2nd *Bhava* the sub-narrative of Amargupta occupies more space than it really ought to have.

His style, at some places, betrays the influence of classical Sanskrit writers, especially Bāṇa. From our present text may be pointed out the following passages as instances in point : रज्जं हि नाम पायालं पिव दुष्पूरं; वासहरं पिव दुस्समाए; किमणेणायामेतकलेण अहम्माणुर्बधिणा य सोएण...; and देव, देव्वसयाणं पाणिणं विसमा कज्जगई...

He follows very closely the conventional ideas, and there is a stereotyped atmosphere about them. The description of the advent of the spring-season and the love-sick condition of Kusumāvalī are good examples in point.

The sermons and dogmatic details which Haribhadra introduces on the slightest excuse render the work dull and uninteresting. But as it is not a romance pure and simple but a religious one, we must make some allowance, and not harshly criticise Haribhadra.

In descriptions of forests, mountains, islands etc. the sentences are occasionally of considerable size, abounding in long compounds and ornamented with Alaṅkāras. That Haribhadra revels in giving such long sentences is perhaps to be attributed to the fact that vigour (Ojas-abundance of compounds) was considered then as the very soul of prose.

In the verses, “the style is of course more elevated though rarely intricate.”

Although Haribhadra does not affect the highly ornamented classical style of Bāṇa or Subandhu, yet he displays his proficiency in a few popular artifices : the three *Praśnottaras* (8th *Bhava*), the three *gūdhacaturthas* (8th *Bhava*) and *Śrīkhalā* (2nd *Bhava*).

Haribhadra does not exhibit any variety of metres in the *Samarādityakathā*. The majority of the verses are in the Āryā metre. In the 2nd *Bhava* we get a *Dwipadīkhaṇḍa*.

“On the whole the style is well adapted to the understanding of an audience of some culture than of great learning.”

Haribhadra as an Artist

In the galaxy of Prakrit writers, Haribhadra is a star of the first magnitude. An eminent logician, a master-satirist, a witty critic, a consummate artist, a profound ‘psychologist,’ a learned commentator, an adept story-teller, a

gifted poet—these are the diverse facets of this versatile genius. He wields a fluent pen and displays command of language, both Prakṛt and Sanskrit.

By far the work with which Haribhadra's literary glory is associated, is his splendid romance *Samarādityakathā*. In its literary merit *Samarādityakathā* is supreme. It is a masterpiece which at once reveals Haribhadra's merits as well as faults.

“Haribhadra is an adept story-teller. If we casually glance through his *Samarāiccakahā*, we find that he is well-informed about the workings of human mind and about the human behaviour in general. His experience is wide; naturally he creates characters and situations of engrossing interest. The *Samarāiccakahā* gives many counter tales which go to confirm the central idea of the main story. He possesses a special liking for symbolical apologues, apparently meaningless but full of significance and instruction when they are explained. Enlightenment by absurd stories and situations is a fine weapon which Haribhadra brandishes quite successfully. Arhaddatta (Sixth Bhava), for instance was enlightened when he was incurably attached to the pleasures of body by telling him that he was as foolish as a person extinguishing fire with grass. Absurd situations are presented illustrating such motifs—”Dr. Upadhye (*Dhūrtākhyāna*, a critical study). In *Samarādityakathā* we meet with “some interesting tales, romantic love stories, such as that of Sanat-Kumāra and Vilāsavatī who are reunited after a long separation and after inexpressibly sorrowful adventures (ship-wrecks etc.) The story, too of Dharaṇa and Lakṣmī is a pretty fairy romance, full of adventures on land and sea, with many familiar fairy tale motifs. Thus we find here the motif of the *ungrateful wife* : Dharaṇa and Lakṣmī are wandering in the forest. The woman is nearly dying of thirst. Dharaṇa draws blood from his arm, and cuts off some flesh from his thigh, so as to nourish his wife. Soon afterwards, nevertheless, she tries to get rid of her husband, in order to follow a robber, to whom she had taken a fancy.” —Dr. Winternitz

Incidentally, Haribhadra presents in his stories a graphic and vivid picture of Indian life in the 8th century; the descriptions of the dance of women to celebrate the birthday festival, the music parties and the displaying of caste-pride (1st Bhava), the descriptions of marriage-ceremonies, of conducting a search in the suspect's house, of journeys and sea-voyages fraught with dangers and difficulties, of the raids on the towns (2nd Bhava), of court-life, of the *śabaras* and *cāṇḍālas*, the coronation of the crown-prince, are some outstanding features which even an ultra-modern reader will find interesting.

Although Haribhadra shows partiality for long compounds in descriptions, his is, on the whole, fluent and simple, lucid and delightful style. Even at a cursory glance, one would notice portions in the *Samarādityakathā* which are models of best Prakrit prose style. (Devaśarman's advice to the king king's advice to his harem Simha's reflections on *rājyam* are a few illustrations in point).

Keen observation of human life in its varied aspects is another excellence of Haribhadra's art. And even a casual reader can easily find out his own illustrations at random.

Haribhadra's skill in delineation of characters is remarkable. With broad touches he has imparted life to many of his characters although it is equally true that a few of his characters are shadowy. He has invested Simha with life, reality and individuality. His Madanlekhā is vivacious and ingenious. Ānanda's perversity and wickedness is well depicted. Kusumāvalī however is, especially in early parts of the story 'a mere shadow.'

In *Samarādityakathā* there is intermingling of prose and verse. A study of his poetry shows that he is a poet of no mean ability. Here the style is elevated more than in prose, contains figures such as *upamā* (simile), *utprekṣā* (poetical fancy), *rūpaka* (metaphor) and a few others.

In spite of these merits Haribhadra has some grave defects in respect of style and structure :

The box-arrangement of tale within tale causes serious injury to the "verisimilitude and artistic effect of the romance."

Lack of a sense of proportion is another serious defect of Haribhadra. The sub-narrative of Amargupta almost threatens to overshadow the main-story. The poet spends his energy on descriptions, leaving the plot to take care of itself.

Insertion of too many sermons and dogmatic details seriously mars the action, and makes reading rather dull.

Another serious blemish is that the villain (Ānanda) is kept back for a very long time.

Shadowy nature of personages is one more grave defect of Haribhadra; this is however true of only a few characters.

Haribhadra is more often conventional than original. Thus the description of spring Kusumāvalī's lovesick condition, etc. are highly conventional.

His partiality for long compounds in descriptions is another demerit of

his. But this is perhaps 'the vice of the age'; and we should remember that it is not fair to apply modern tests and judge a work like *Samarādityakathā*.

He renders his stories tiresome as they "follow the wanderings of the same persons from one rebirth to another, the one always killing the other, the one going to heaven and the other to hell or being born as an animal." Amargupta's sub-story is a fine instance in point.

In the numerous stories, parables and fairy tales inserted, we come across many themes which we find often in Indian narrative literature and some of which belong to universal literature. This detracts not little from his originality. The parable of the man in the well *madhu-bindu-drṣṭānta*, the motif of ungrateful wife, the dialogue between Pingakeśa and Vijayasimha (3rd *bhava*) which recalls to one's mind the one between king Paesi and Kesi (*Rajaprasānīyasūtra*), Kusumāvalī's strange pregnancy longing and what follows is closely modelled on that of Cellanā (*Nirayāvaliyāo*), are some striking examples.

With all these demerits, it must be admitted that Haribhadra ranks high as an artist. If we bear in mind to our Indian authors, form was more important than matter, and partiality for long sentences and compounds was looked upon as a sign of scholarship, we cannot regard these as Haribhadra's drawbacks; and we will unhesitatingly admit his claim to a very high place among Prakrit writers.

Society depicted in the *Samarāiccakahā*

It is not possible to get a full picture of contemporary society from a 'romance' like our *Samarāiccakahā*. We, however, get a few glimpses here and there of contemporary life and an attempt is made here to give a picture of Indian life in the 8th century as depicted by Haribhadra.

The king was of course an absolute monarch and was assisted by his ministers; and the kingship was hereditary. The king had several nobles and feudatory princes under him. Vassals sometimes revolted, and the king used to send expeditions against the rebels; and if occasion demanded, he himself led the expedition. When mercy was sought, the king granted it to the concerned. The kings took great interest in religious matters; they attended sermons and often accepted the duties of a householder. They maintained courtezans and had harems consisting of hundreds of beautiful women. At times the princes rose against their fathers, conspired with the enemies, made them prisoners and usurped the throne. The grieved persons gave information to the king of offences committed. We get an interesting description of a search of Cakradeva's house by judges and leading

citizens on the king's command. A capital offender was reprieved, if a magnificent present was paid; prisoners were set free, if a great event such as the birth of a son by the queen occurred. Cāṇḍālas (low caste people) were employed as hangmen or executioners. Savage punishments such as tearing out of the eyes, amputation of the tongue, roasting a man alive (9th *bhava*) and others were inflicted on the criminals. By favour of the king the executioners were allowed to satisfy the last wish of their victims before executing them. Although the king was despotic and autocratic, he well governed the state; and people loved and respected him. The education of princes was well looked after. Hunting, riding etc. were their favourite pastimes. On festival-occasions they visited gardens and attended to the sports enjoyed by the public.

Religion had an amazing hold on the people. Jain monks wandered from place to place delivering sermons and thus enlightening the public. Religious debates were held (e.g. the one between Jain Guru Vijayasimha and Pingakeśa, a *nāstikavādin*, 3rd *bhava*). People had belief in gods and goddesses and the custom of presenting human offerings to favourite deities was prevalent among the lower strata of society; and in one place we see the mother of Surendradatta proposing him to immolate a number of animals to the *kuladevatā* for the prevention of evil consequences. Belief in *Kṣetrapāla*, *Kṣetradevatā* (7th *bhava*) *Kuladevatā* and *Nagaradevatā* (4th *bhava*) prevailed among the public. Belief in the efficacy of dreams, in the possession of human beings by evil spirits, deities and supernatural beings were shared by all. Festivals in honour of Madana, the god of love and the Yakṣa-Dhanadeva were celebrated. People believed in rebirths and the doctrine of inexorable Karma or fatalism offered them consolation in adversity. Good and bad omens such as throbbing of the left or right eye, the sight of *śramaṇaka* were superstitiously believed. Belief in astrology or the influence of stars had a firm hold upon the people.

Caravans of merchants moved from place to place for the purpose of trade and often carried over-sea trade. The journey either by land or sea was fraught with dangers. The caravans of merchants were attacked and looted in the forest by *śabaras*; while ship-wreck was their lot, when they embarked on sea-voyage.

Jugglery was credited with the power of producing wonderful and charming illusive phenomena. References to snake-bite and snake-charms, kidnapping, abduction, ransom, gamblers, robbers, burglars, magicians, selling of kidnapped women, a young widow eloping with a garland-maker, the husband neglecting his wife who had no children, administering poison to one's enemy,

attempts at abortion, sorcery, capturing travellers as victims for a sacrifice, entertaining a guest with a meal and liquor, woman falling in love with her servant : all these are eloquent of the state of society in Haribhadra's days. *Cāṇḍālas* were employed as executioners. At the request of a *Cāṇḍāla*, king *Vīradhavalā* stopped this practice and assigned to *Cāṇḍālas* land for a settlement. In *Samarāiccakahā* it is the kings and merchants that figure prominently. And the author being himself a Jain shows partiality for his own *dharma*.

2nd *bhava* contains a very interesting description of marriage ceremonies. Fixing the day for marriage in consultation with astrologers, the anointing of the bride, her toilet, dressing of the bride-groom, his riding in great pomp to the marriage-pavilion, elderly women stopping him at the door and asking of him the customary present, touching of his brow with a gold-pestle equipped with a ring at its head, his being taken to the bride by the bride's maids, the various *kautukas* he performed, the unveiling of the bride's face, *pāṇigrahaṇa* to the accompaniment of auspicious songs, bride's being brought to the 'altar' by the bride-groom, presents to the people, their circumambulating fire, the presents given to the bride-groom by his father-in-law, and to the bride by her father-in-law are of great interest to a student of the antiquities of the Indian society.

We also meet with references to all fine arts. It appears singing, dancing and painting were carried to perfection; and there are copious references to pregnancy-longings, their satisfaction; the festivities in connection with the birth of a son, the ceremony of naming the child, and to *śrāddha* ceremony; hunting, game of chess, riding, dancing and music were the means of entertainment.

Such is the picture of Indian life as depicted in the *Samarāiccakahā*.

Notes and References :

1. Pt. Sukhalalji, however supports Muni Jina Vijayāji's date see *Samadarśī Ācārya Haribhadra* (pp 8-10).
2. For details the reader is referred to pp. 17-39 of the very learned and masterly Introduction to *Brhat-Kathākośa* edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D. Litt.
3. For a full discussion of the title the reader may consult Dr. Upadhye's paper (pp. 23-24) in the *Bharatiya Vidyā* [January, 1947]
4. e.g. मत्तहत्थि व्व सच्चंदयारी (देव्वो) etc.
5. e.g. the description of the advent of spring : तस्स चेव जयजयसद्दो व्व कोइलार्हि कओ कोलाहलो etc.
6. जत्थ य पस्दापरिभोयंमि किलीवो (पुरिसवग्गो) etc.
7. हट्ट, विलया, विञ्झ, फेडा, दुगुरुल्ल, उप्पंक

MALLIKĀMAKARANDA

CHARACTERS IN THE DRAMA

Men

- Makaranda* — The Hero
- Vaiśravaṇa* — A sea-trader, transformed into a Śuka (parrot) by Candralekhā and restored to his original form by Makaranda.
- Citrāṅgada* — The rival of the Hero, a Vidyādhara-prince.
- Śreṣṭhī* — A merchant, named Brahmadaṭṭa, foster-father of Mallikā, the Heroine.
- Śuka* — A sea-trader, by name Vaiśravaṇa, who was transformed into a parrot (Śuka) by Candralekhā.
- Sundaraka* — 'Puruṣa', an attendant of Mallikā, the Heroine, and of her father, Brahmadaṭṭa.
- Karāla* — An attendant of Citrāṅgada.
- Koraka* — An employee of the merchant Brahmadaṭṭa(Śreṣṭhī)
- Devalaka* — An attendant of Candralekhā, mother of the Heroine (Mallikā).
- Kapiṅjala* — Companion of Citrāṅgada.
- Tāmarasa* — An employee of Candralekhā, mother of the heroine (Mallikā).
- Baṭu* — A 'Chap', announcing the approach of the time fixed upon (by astrologers), as auspicious for the performance of marriage.

- Brahmadatta* — The name of a merchant, the foster-father of the Heroine
- Mākanda* — An inmate of Gandhamūṣikā's *āśrama*
- Yakṣa* — Kādamba (or Kādambaka), the lord of the Yakaṣas, who waits upon the revered Vāriṣeṇa. The idol of this Lord of the Yakṣas is duly replaced by Makaranda at the time of wedding of Mallikā with the Yakṣa.
- Tāpasa or Tāpasakumāra* — Mallikā, transformed into a Tāpasa (or Tāpasakumāra) by the use of a magic pill by her mother Candralekhā (with a view to protecting her from abduction).
- Dyūtakarāḥ* — Gamblers, the creditors of Makaranda, the Hero.
- Mallikā* — The Heroine, the daughter of Candralekhā—a Vidyādhara queen, born of Kirāta (forester) youth, deserted immediately on her birth and brought up by the foster-parents, the merchant Brahmadatta and his wife, Bandhumatī or Bandhusundarī.
- Candralekhā* — The Chief queen of the Vidyādhara sovereign-ruler Vainateya, banished on account of her misconduct.
- Bandhumatī or Bandhusundarī* — The wife of merchant Brahmadatta and the foster mother of Mallikā.
- Manoramā* — The wife of the sea-trader Vaiśravaṇa who was transformed, by use of magic, into a Śuka (parrot).
- Yuvati* — Mallikā herself is referred to as Yuvati before the story of her birth and bringing up is disclosed to Makaranda, the Hero.
- Bandhulā* — Name of the maid of Mallikā (referred to as Yuvati).
- Ceṭī* — Maid to Yuvati (Mallikā), named Bandhulā.
- Ceṭī* — Maid of Mallikā, named Māgadhikā.
- Ceṭī* — Maid of Mallikā, named Lavaṅgikā.
- Gandhamūṣikā* — Name of a revered Parivrājikā highly respected by Candralekhā, mother of Mallikā (the Heroine) and Citrāṅgada, a Vidyādhara prince, suitor of Mallikā (the Heroine) and Makaranda's (the Hero's) rival.

Characters mentioned or persons referred to

- Vainateya* — Name of a Vidyādhara King, lord of Rathanūpuracakra-vālanagara, the husband of Candralekhā whom he banished for her misconduct.
- Kirāta-yuvā* — A Forester-youth with whom Candralekhā enjoyed love's dalliance.
- Jinadatta* — Name of a merchant, resident of Suvarṇadvīpa, and the father of Makaranda (the Hero).

INTRODUCTION**Rāmacandra : His Life, Date and Works¹**

Rāmacandra was the chief disciple of the great Ācārya Hemacandra (A. D. 1089-1173). He takes pride in mentioning this fact in the prologues of some of his plays.² The title 'Kavikatāramalla' was conferred on him by Siddharāja Jayasīmha for his power of composing poems speedily or quickly. He had, it is said, lost one eye, although its precise cause is not known. He was a devout votary of Jainism, a fact attested to by the number of 'stotras' he wrote in praise of the Jinas. He was fearless. In spite of the orders of king Ajaypāla he refused to impart knowledge to his fellow student Bālacandra whom he considered to be an unworthy pupil. His works bear testimony to his love of freedom here on earth and ardent desire for freedom from the cycle of birth and death.³

Although he was a 'muni', whose chief essence is *praśama* (quietude) he had a keen aesthetic sense, he was a lover of literature, scientific as well as artistic. It appears from his stout defence of writing plays that he was severely criticised by his contemporary critics for writing plays treating of love, laughter, heroism, etc.⁴ It also appears that he was charged of plagiarism in his own days by his spiteful critics whom he effectively replies to and silences.⁵ He was a very learned monk as he was proficient in Grammar, Logic and Poetics⁶. He was conversant with the art of singing, music and dance and was well versed in the ways of the world.⁷

He proudly refers to himself as 'Prabandha-śata-kartā'. But the works he wrote do not make the number '100'. We should interpret the "title" to mean 'an author who wrote a large number of works'. He wrote *śāstra*(scientific) works like *Dravyālamkāra* (with a commentary) and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (with a commentary) in collaboration with Guṇacandra, and independently *Haimabrahadvṛttinyāsa*. He wrote plays with a view to bringing round dull-

headed men or the foolish people to the right path. He was an indefatigable and industrious poet and polymath. He was very proud of his learning and poetic genius. It is perfectly understandable if one is justly proud of his abilities and achievements. Some of his utterances, however, indicate that he was boastful.⁸

After the death of Hemacandra, Rāmacandras' great preceptor, in A. D. 1173, King Kumārapala too died (within a period of six months or so). Ajayapāla, who succeeded Kumārapala to the throne, was hostile to Rāmacandra—as he believed that Rāmacandra was against his succeeding to the throne—and was responsible for his untimely, unnatural and very tragic death.

A Detailed Summary of the plot

Prologue : After the Nandī verse paying homage to Lord Jina, the Sūtradhāra enters the stage and announces his intention to please the appreciative audience. Staging a play before inappreciative spectators is simply ridiculous.' His Assistant (Naṭa) appeals to him not to enrage the aesthetes-*rasikas*—but to think of presenting some play before them. The Sūtradhāra informs him that he has already decided to stage the play *Mallikāmakaranda* of Rāmacandra, a worthy pupil of that great Hemacandra. The Assistant scornfully says that the '*munis*' (sages, monks) are solely devoted to Praśama (quietude) that they are eloquent in delivering religious sermons but in other matters maintain rigid silence and that they are unworthy of dramatic compositions which abound in sentiments like the erotic, the comic, and the heroic. (Such an objection was most probably raised against the dramatist Rāmacandra himself, a Jain monk, writing such plays.) The Sūtradhāra brushes aside the objection saying that although gods are born in heaven, they move about throughout the three worlds. He suggests thereby that it is perfectly legitimate for (gifted) *munis* who are devoted to *praśama* (quietude) to take to the pastime of writing plays and or witnessing their performance and appreciating them. Thereupon the Assistant angrily points out how there are numberless (playwrights and) poets who commit literary theft and pass others' poems as their own. The Sūtradhāra firmly replies that the dramatist himself has silenced the dull-headed critics in this matter : "We are determined to take all pains and spare no efforts in writing plays and poems. It is an old '*vyasana*' (1 vice 2 close or intent application or assiduous devotion) with us : and we need not at all blame others for it." The actor, playing the role of Makaranda (the hero of the play), speaks from behind the scenes agreeing with the statement of the Sūtradhāra to look sharp as all the actors are excited and that he himself is eager to let the audience have pleasure

of enjoying the play. The Sūtradhāra advises him not to make haste as every great success is attended with troubles. He, who bears physical and mental fatigue obtains the bride of knowledge. It is announced from behind-the-scenes that this 'upaśruti' (or 'deva-praśna') indicates that he is sure to win a bride as well as great success. The Sūtradhāra and the Naṭa then leave the stage to attend to some other business and with their exit the Āmukha (Prastāvanā, Introduction) comes to an end.

Act I : Makaranda repeating the words of the Sūtradhāra "When our 'vyasana' is very old why should we blame others ?—enters the stage. He informs the spectators that he is addicted to gambling since long. He is now full of repentance for his vice as it is a great stigma on his great family, his study of scriptures and the instruction received from his preceptor. The thought of committing suicide crosses his mind. On second thoughts, however, he thinks that following the right path is the real atonement (*prāyaścitta*). He therefore decides to spend the night in a rather secluded garden and to leave for an altogether new place at daybreak giving to the gamblers, his creditors the slip, and lead there a good life. He sees in front of him a temple dedicated to the god of love, illuminated by a bright lamp. There arrives at that time a young maiden (who later turns out to be Mallikā, the heroine of the play), supported by her maid (Bandhulā) and an attendant carrying a sword in his hand. Fearing that the maiden would not act freely if she were to see him in the light of the lamp Makaranda puts off the light, and hides himself behind a mango tree in the court-yard of the temple. From the conversation of the two girls he comes to know that the maiden is overcome with terrible grief—although she comes from a rich family—and that she intends to put an end to her life in fear of an impending danger. In view of her dangerous mood the attendant requests her to return home. She, however, conceals her feelings and with a smile on her face asks him not to worry about her. She sends both of them away under some pretext. She then attempts to commit suicide by hanging herself. Makaranda however comes out of his hiding, shouts loudly for her maid and attendant to rush up as their mistress is about to kill herself. He takes the initiative, cuts off the noose with his sword. The maiden falls down in a swoon. Makaranda tries to fan her with the end of his garment and shampoos her breast. The maid and the attendant both greatly excited return to the scene of action. The attendant takes him to be a thief. The maid appeals to him to take the ornaments but spare her mistress's life. Makaranda informs them that he is neither a thief nor a paramour. The maiden and Makaranda deeply fall in love with each other. As a token of their first meeting the maiden presents him her pair of earrings.

Makaranda gladly accepts it. The maid and the attendant disapprove of this act. The attendant angrily deprecates her action saying that it is against the code of conduct for a trader's daughter to offer her pair of earrings as present to a stranger. He threatens to bring policemen and get back by force the earrings from the stranger. He leaves the scene of action. Bandhulā is afraid that he might act on his threat and therefore her mistress should tell the stranger of her impending calamity. Just at that moment gamblers arrive there in search of Makaranda, their debtor. He advises the maiden to go home by the back-door and to see him at that very place the next day at midnight. The maiden with the maid leaves the stage. Makaranda, realising that he has been seen by the gamblers with the help of a lamp now hides himself in the hinder part of the temple.

Act II : The conversation between Lavaṅgikā, a female servant of Mallikā, and Koraka, an attendant of the merchant Brahmadata (the foster-father of Mallikā) informs us that Mallikā has been suffering for the last eight days from love's fever. At his master's behest Koraka gets an announcement made by the beating of drum that the person who would protect Mallikā from being (mysteriously) abducted would be paid five hundred dīnārs. A rogue (Kitava, in the present case, a gambler) has taken upon himself to protect Mallikā. Koraka informs the merchant Brahmadata and his wife Bandhumatī, the foster-parents of Mallikā, that they have succeeded in finding a 'rescuer' of Mallikā. The merchant asks another servant of his. Sundaraka by name, to bring in his presence the rogue (gambler) who is a debtor and other gamblers, his creditors who are holding him up. The merchant promises the creditors that he would pay off the debts to them the next morning. The creditors, satisfied with his assurance free the debtor and leave the merchant's residence. He learns from the gambler that his name is Makaranda. The merchant and his wife try to dissuade this young, handsome man from his resolve to protect Mallikā from being abducted by some unknown agency but he remains firm. The merchant then tells him how sixteen years ago he came across a deserted newly-born girl with a signet-ring on her finger and a 'bhūrjakaṇḍaka' (a piece of birch-leaf or amulet) on her fore-arm. He took up the girl and entrusted her to the care of his wife Bandhumatī. As the child was found in the shade of Jasmine plants she has been named as Mallikā by them. The signet-ring bears the name of the Vidyādhara king Vainateya by name, and birch-leaf bears one sentence : "At the end of sixteen years on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra she would be forcibly taken away by killing her husband-cum-protector." Makaranda now realizes that it is impossible to rescue the girl but puts up appearances and tells

the parents not to worry as he would protect their daughter by his magical power. He asks the merchant Brahmadata to get the material 'for worshipping the charmed-circle' before the performance of the religious ceremony proper. The merchant directs Sundaraka to get the things required for the worship—as ordered by Makaranda. In the meantime the parents along with Makaranda go to see Mallikā who is suffering from fever. Makaranda infers from Mallikā's condition that she is suffering from love's fever. Mallikā and Makaranda both are attracted to each other out of overpowering emotion of love; and both feel guilty as both had already fallen in love with a young man and a youthful damsel respectively exactly eight days ago at midnight in the court-yard of the Cupid's temple. The name of the maid 'Bandhulā' and the voice of Mallikā lead Makaranda to identify his beloved who is no other than Mallikā herself. The materials for worshipping the charmed circle are now brought there. Makaranda helps Mallikā to rise from her sick bed. His touch immediately reminds her of the touch of his hand when he had shampooed her breast in the garden of Cupid. Makaranda bows down to the charmed circle and worships it with the pair of earrings which he had received from the youthful maiden who had been saved by him from committing suicide. The sight of the pair of her earrings leaves no doubt in Mallikā's mind that the young man with whom she had fallen in love is no other than Makaranda. The parents of Mallikā come to know now of the mutual love between Mallikā and Makaranda. It is already night. Makaranda asks all but Mallikā to leave the place. They do so. Mallikā vows in the presence of Makaranda that she either marries him or remains unmarried. She then requests him not to commit suicide out of love for her nor to persist in preventing her being abducted. He however tells her there is no greater happiness than dying for one's own beloved. Just then a voice from behind-the-scenes is heard—inquiring whether he is her protector or husband. He replied that he is both, the husband and protector. The voice ridicules the very idea that a contemptible human being should be the protector and husband of a Vidyādhara damsel. The voice further says "Here I abduct this damsel" and asks the damsel not to be sorry at all as she will be made a Vidyādhara queen. Mallikā cries helplessly as she is being abducted in a mysterious way. Her abduction comes as a rude shock to Makaranda. He faints. Regaining consciousness he decides to leave by the back-door and do what befits his deep love for Mallikā.

Prelude (to Act III) : Before the third act proper commences we have a *Viṣkambhaka* containing a dialogue between Ceṭī (a female servant) and Devalaka (an attendant upon an idol, who subsists on the offering made to it). This dialogue informs us that Mallikā is not prepared at all to accept Citrāṅgada,

a Vidyādhara prince as her husband as she has already fallen in love with a man (called Makaranda). Citrāngada every day tries to please Mallikā with diverse acts of courtesy, courting and offering of various means of decoration, gifts and promises of his love but in vain. Candralekhā, the mother of Mallikā would rather kill her daughter than marry her to some one else (other than Citrāngada). Mallikā too is firm who would prefer death to marrying some one else (other than Makaranda). Devalaka gives the Ceṭī a wonderful news that in the morning he saw at the *siddhāyatana* (a Jain temple) a man. The Ceṭī is interested in knowing about him as she has been directed by Candralekhā to get his whereabouts. Devalaka asks her to go to the *siddhāyatana* where he is resting and he himself proceeds to meet Mallikā and give her divine fruits.

Act III : The main scene opens with Makaranda, who has fainted on account of a sudden fall from high above. After recovering consciousness he wonders where he is. From the various indications he infers that he is in heavenly region. In front of him he sees the everlasting idol of Jina and pays homage. From behind-the-scenes a voice resembling that of Mallikā is heard by Makaranda. He wants to ascertain whether his guess is correct. He comes across Tāpasakumāra and Manoramā, seated in an arbour. Makaranda is simply struck with wonder at the striking resemblance between Tāpasakumāra and Mallikā. He bows down to Tāpasakumāra. Tāpasakumāra wants to know how he happened to come to this celestial region (the mountain Meru). He pleads ignorance. Makaranda desires to know about Tāpasakumāra's family and why in the prime of life with such a handsome form he has taken to this ascetic life. Thereupon he narrates his account : "This mountain Meru is a part of the Vaitādhya Mountain. Once, Candralekhā, the wife of the Vidyādhara king Vainateya, who was ruling over Rathānūpura, transgressed the top of this *siddhāyatana*. As a result of this violation she forgot altogether her lore of flying through the sky and fell down here. She then practised austerities lasting for six months with a view to regaining her lost lore. At the end of the austerities she regained her lost lore. However, being overcome by passion she enjoyed love's pleasures with a young Kirāta (forest dweller). As a result of the love affair she became pregnant. As soon as she delivered a child she deserted it by putting on its person a few but very valuable ornaments..... He stops half-way. On being questioned by Makaranda he replies that he was brought up on Pañcaśaila (Mountain)—no, no, not Pañca śaila mountain but here only. Makaranda knows that the latter part of the story is spurious. He believes that the deserted child is none other than Mallikā and that this Tāpasakumāra must be her brother. Tāpasakumāra further tells him that realizing the objects of pleasure,

especially, women, to be the source of grief he took to asceticism. Manoramā knows that it is this man whom Candralekhā wants to kill. She requests Makaranda to narrate his life story. He tells his account thus :

“There was a merchant by name Jinadatta, who lived in ‘Suvarṇadvīpa’. He was the best among highly religious persons. He had inherited immense wealth. I was his only son born to him in his late age. I was named Makaranda. Right from my boyhood I squandered away our ancestral wealth by gambling and I had to depend on others for even two meals a day. In the very prime of my life I started visiting harlots.” Tāpasakumāra was disgusted with him to hear it and told him not to proceed further in his narration. When Manoramā and Makaranda importunated him to allow him to narrate the rest of the account he relented. Makaranda then resumed narration : “As it was not possible for me to live amongst my own relations and people belonging to my caste I migrated from Suvarṇadvīpa to the mountain Pañcaśaila. There I was separated from my beloved by an unknown agency in a mysterious way. Then I decided to end my life by throwing myself into the ocean when I saw there a Bhāruṇḍa bird that had arrived. What happened in between I do not know but I found myself this morning in the garden adjoining the *siddhāyatana*.” Tāpasakumāra (rightly) thinks that the Bhāruṇḍa bird, greedy of flesh, must have brought him there and suddenly dropped him down from high above. Makaranda then requests Tāpasakumāra to suggest to him some way to put an end to his life. Just then Devalaka arrives there to offer Tāpasakumāra divine fruits. Tāpasakumāra learns from Devalaka that he has been asked by Candralekhā to find ‘out of what form the newly arrived man is and where he is seated’. Tāpasakumāra fears something untoward might happen to Makaranda. Just then Māgadhikā arrives there and excitedly says : “A great misfortune is about to visit them.” She whispers into the ear of Tāpasakumāra what that misfortune is. Hearing her words Tāpasakumāra feels very much distressed at the hard-heartedness of his mother. He regards Māgadhikā like his own mother and requests her to show the way to save himself and Makaranda. She advises Makaranda to go to the *siddhāyatana* and stay there as (even) minor calamities do not visit a person during his stay in the *siddhāyatana*. Tāpasakumāra too advises him to go there and follow Māgadhikā’s instructions scrupulously. Māgadhikā and Makaranda then leave for the *siddhāyatana*. From behind-the-scenes there is the sudden fall or throw of a huge slab of stone from above. It was the doing of Candralekhā who was terribly angry with Makaranda for pursuing her daughter (Mallikā) even in a different *dvīpa* and wanted to kill him on the spot ‘at one stroke’. She asks Devalaka to remove the slab of stone so that she could again kill him

although already dead. Devalaka removes the slab of stone but to his surprise none was to be found below it. Candralekhā is sorry that her plot went awry. She gets enraged with Manoramā for interfering in her planned strategy. Tāpasakumāra addresses his mother in these words : “O mother, why do you want to kill that innocent and high souled man ? You better kill me who is the real source of your agony.” Candralekhā is still angry, holds Tāpasakumāra by the hair and asks Devalaka to take Manoramā with him. Thus they all leave the stage.

Act IV : Makaranda, who is seated in the *siddhāyatana*, thinks to himself as follows : “Although I am separated from my beloved, I do not die. On the contrary, seeing that Tāpasakumāra who bears close resemblance to Mallikā—my beloved—I desire to live. Better I take to asceticism following the example of Tāpasakumāra so that in heaven at least, I shall be united with my beloved (Mallikā). But why is Candralekhā infuriated with me ? Certainly she must have abducted Mallikā from her (foster-father) Brahmaclatta’s house. Māgadhikā could throw some light on this incident of abduction. From behind-the-scenes a voice is heard : “....O princess where are you now ? Please reply to me. O pitiless Candralekhā, what kind of turbulence or agitation is this of yours that you put obstacles in the way of your own daughter ?” Makaranda recognises the voice to be that of Māgadhikā. She then enters the stage. In her conversation with Makaranda she informs him thus : Mallikā was abducted from Pañcaśaila and transformed into a male by the use of a magic pill by Candralekhā. She was transformed into a male only to prevent her abduction by an inimical person (Makaranda ?)” Māgadhikā further informs him “she has been taken out from the arbour to her own mansion by Candralekhā and she has been flogged for the simple reason that she still remembers you.” Makaranda who is unable to save his beloved from the clutches of her cruel mother wishes to kill himself with a sword but his hand is as it were paralysed. A divine voice, however, prevents him from committing suicide. Māgadhikā explains the purpose of her visit : “I have been sent to offer to you these precious garments and ornaments by my princess (Mallikā). [She actually offers them to him.] She had received them from Citrāngada.” She has in addition sent this message to you : “You are my husband. You, however protect yourself by becoming small. Even Hari (in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa) became an insignificant cowherd (boy) and killed Kaṁsa (his powerful enemy).” After delivering this message she adds that he should remain in the *siddhāyatana* as no misfortunes overtake a person during his stay there. And if he feels dull and uninterested from the longings of love he might divert himself by visiting the pleasure lake in the garden. With these words she

goes away.

Being oppressed by the scorching heat of the sun, Makaranda takes a walk along the bank of the pleasure lake in the garden. After a while he comes across the camp of Citrāṅgada. He therefore goes in another direction. He chances to see a secluded mansion. As soon as he enters, he hears a voice advising him not to enter the mansion which is the abode of great sins. Makaranda then notices a parrot, kept in a cage in the courtyard, talking in human voice. Makaranda desires to know the parrot's account. The parrot then narrates his account thus : There was a sea-trader, Vaiśravaṇa by name and a resident of Vaibhala-nagara. He had a wife called Manoramā. Once both of them got into a ship filled with precious goods of various kinds. On their way they got down to observe the beautiful trees in the forest. In the course of their wanderings they came across a middle-aged (lit. aged) lady. She welcomed them both to her own mansion. They stayed there for quite a few days. Once while Vaiśravaṇa was seated on a couch in a room on the top of the mansion, which was all bathed in moonlight, Candralekhā, overcome by passion, invited him for amorous dalliance with her. He being a devout Jain and being devoted to abstinence from sexual intercourse with another's wife rejected her invitation. This infuriated her. Using magical power she transformed him into a parrot and kept him imprisoned in a cage. That Vaiśravaṇa is my own self; Candralekhā made Manoramā, my wife, work as a female servant with her own daughter Mallikā, who was transformed into a male (Tāpasakumāra). Candralekhā herself, with her retinue, now resides in the hermitage of Gandhamūṣikā, who had come there from Vaibhala-nagara. Makaranda asks the parrot whether there is some way to get out of the wretched condition. He informs him that the touch of a human hand would restore him to his original form. Makaranda pulls him out of the cage and he is restored to his original form. Makaranda asks him to go to the *siddhāyatana* for his own safety and that there is every chance of his meeting his wife Manoramā there. The parrot (of course, now Vaiśravaṇa) leaves for the *siddhāyatana*. Makaranda then overhears a conversation from behind-the-scenes. It is a conversation between Citrāṅgada and Kapiñjala. As directed by his master Citrāṅgada, Kapiñjala carries with him pomogranate and other fruits for the parrot. Kapiñjala tells him that Mallikā is deadly hostile to him. Makaranda wishes to retire to the *siddhāyatana*. Kapiñjala reports to his master that the parrot is no longer to be found in the cage Citrāṅgada is taken aback at this for he does not know how to face Candralekhā when the parrot has escaped from the custody. Just then Makaranda comes face to face with Citrāṅgada. Kapiñjala tells his master that it is Makaranda who is an obstacle in his path of love (to Mallikā).

Citrāngada and Makaranda get involved in a verbal contest. Citrāngada finally asks Karāla, his servant, to seize Makaranda and take him to the camp. He himself (with Kapiñjala) proceeds to go to the hermitage of Gandhamūṣikā. Thus they all exit.

Prelude to Act V : Manoramā is grateful to Makaranda for restoring her husband to her. She expresses her resolve to help achieve Makaranda's desired object (Mallikā with whom he has desparately fallen in love) even at the cost of her life. She decides to propitiate Gandhamūṣikā and secure Mallikā for Makaranda through her favour. As she proceeds to go to meet Gandhamūṣikā she sees Devalaka arriving. He does not at all like Candralekhā's hateful attitude towards Makaranda nor her angry behaviour towards Mallikā, her own daughter. He does not see any alternative but death for Mallikā, who has been abstaining from taking food or drink (as a protest against her mother's attitude.) Manoramā asks Devalaka why Mallikā does not wish to marry Citrāngada, the Vidyādhara prince, who is handsome like Madana. Devalaka pities her ignorance of love's course. Manoramā finds fault with Citrāngada who wants to force his love on unwilling Mallikā. She comes to know from Devalaka that Mallikā is in the Palace garden. Devalaka goes away to call Citrāngada as directed by Candralekhā; and Manoramā goes to see the revered Gandhamūṣikā.

Act V : The main scene opens with the entry of Mallikā and Māgadhikā. Mallikā wants to know how Makaranda fares. Māgadhikā, with the best of intentions, deliberately gives a false report about Makaranda just to keep her away from thoughts of death. Māgadhikā tries to persuade her to take food without bothering about the agony caused by the wicked. Mallikā replies that none is cruel (or wicked) to her but she is cruel (or wicked) to all; and that she is prepared to do what her mother Candralekhā wants her to do. A voice from behind-the-scene is heard "My beloved daughter, what is that desired thing" ? It is Candralekhā, being aided by Tāmarasa, who arrives and repeats the question. Mallikā (cooly) replies "My death". Candralekhā is dejected to hear this. She says to Tāmarasa : "I bore the foetus in my womb; I suffered the pains of child-birth : planning deliberately I deserted her in the vicinity of Brahmadata's house : I have been doing these calculated efforts to marry her to the Vidyādhara prince--all these good things she is ignoring for one fault of mine, viz. I separated her from that contemptible trader with whom she is in love." Tāmarasa, speaking aside to Candralekhā, suggests to her to give up (lit. slacken) her insistence on marrying her to Citrāngada; for, if something untoward (or unlucky) happens to Mallikā it is bound to give rise to a great scandal. Candralekhā is not at all worried about new public scandals. Tāmarasa tells her not to be so very harsh

to her own daughter. Candralekhā tries to persuade her daughter to act as she (Candralekhā, her mother) desires. But she is very firm and tauntingly speaks to her mother. She goes to the length of referring to her improper conduct (*anācāra*). Tāmarasa scolds her for making a mention of her own mother's misconduct. He tries to impress on her to act upon her mother's desire. She, is however, firm in her resolve (to marry Makaranda). Candralekhā thereupon tells Tāmarasa to stop arguing with Mallikā and that Citrāṅgada, her prospective husband, would do the rest to change her mind. A voice from behind-the-scenes is heard : "What room is there for any doubt in the matter ?" Knowing that Citrāṅgada is approaching, Candralekhā with Tāmarasa leaves for an interview with Gandhamūṣikā. Just then there arrives on the scene Citrāṅgada with his retinue including Kapiñjala. The dialogue between Citrāṅgada and Mallikā reveals the former's pathetic efforts to win Mallikā's love and Mallikā's deep love for Makaranda. Citrāṅgada then whispers something into Kapiñjala's ear. He goes off the stage. Citrāṅgada then angrily asks Mallikā : "What is your final decision ?" She replies : "I shall marry Makaranda and Makaranda alone, and never you." Just at the moment, Makaranda, with his hands tied and dragged by hair by Karāla and, Kapiñjala enter the stage. Makaranda says to Kapiñjala : "Your master can deprive us—Mallikā and Makaranda himself—of our life but not of our spontaneous bond of love." Mallikā is very much distressed to see her lover in that condition. Makaranda asks her not to lose heart. For her sake he is prepared to face any misfortune or calamity. Mallikā reaffirms her love for Makaranda in the presence of Citrāṅgada : "I shall secure Makaranda as my husband if not in this birth at least in the next birth. Kapiñjala says to her : 'O good girl, you are simple-hearted : All the beings in the world are born in various forms of existence in accordance with their good or evil deeds. So what relation possibly can be there of one being with another when they are born with different form and in different places in their future life ? So give up your obstinacy and accept the Vidyādhara prince as your husband and mounted in the celestial car (lit. lattice of the celestial car) enjoy the beautiful scenes presented by lovely rivers, oceans, mountains and islands.' Mallikā remains silent. Citrāṅgada asks Makaranda to give up his foolish obstinacy and not to court death at his hands. Makaranda replies; "Kill me and marry this Mallikā." Citrāṅgada asks his man to bring a sword. A servant brings it for him. Mallikā, however, gets ready to be killed first. At this point Māgadhikā says. "I report this whole incident foreboding evil to Gandhamūṣikā." Citrāṅgada raises his sword and asks Makaranda to remember his (favourite) god. Makaranda remembers the feet of Lord Jina. Mallikā addresses Citrāṅgada first to kill her as she is the rootcause of the misfortune and stands stretching her neck before him. Just then

Mākanda arrives on the scene with a message from Gandhamūṣikā. She reminds him of his latest vow with a message from Gandhamūṣikā. She reminds him of his latest vow—first to present the person to be killed before the idol of the Jina and then kill him. Citrāṅgada is sorry for the lapse and sends a message back : “You personally come and show the man (Makaranda) before the idol of the Jina.” Gandhamūṣikā arrives on the scene and scolds Citrāṅgada for his short-sightedness, and assures him, speaking aside, “I shall myself kill Makaranda and persuade Mallikā to love you.” Citrāṅgada regards this as a great favour and with his retinue he goes off the stage. Gandhamūṣikā asks Mākanda to bring with him Makaranda (with his hands tied) and Mallikā as well.

Prelude to act VI : Mākanda is simply amazed at Gandhamūṣikā's enmity to the innocent Makaranda, He is extremely sorry for Makaranda's fate. As directed by Gandhamūṣikā he handed over Makaranda to Vaiśravaṇa who, *he understands*, killed him with a sword in the Tamoguhā (a cave full of darkness). He wishes to go and report the matter to Gandhamūṣikā that Vaiśravaṇa has accomplished the task, which she had assigned to him., Just then he sees Tāmarasa approaching. Tāmarasa is bewildered at Mallikā's “about-turn.” Forgetting her deep love for Makaranda and her hatred against Citrāṅgada she nowadays propitiates Citrāṅgada after inciting Candralekhā and Gandhamūṣikā to kill Makaranda. He comes to know of Makaranda's fate from Mākanda : says Mākanda : ‘Last mid-night in accordance with Gandhamūṣikā's orders I took Makaranda to Vaiśravaṇa, who stays at the *siddhāyatana*. That very mid-night Vaiśravaṇa took Makaranda to the Tamoguhā and with a sword....He leaves the sentence half-said. Tāmarasa blames Vaiśravaṇa as well as Gandhamūṣikā for the heinous crime. Mākanda insinuates that Gandhamūṣikā must have done it for money—through Vaiśravaṇa, who, according to Tāmarasa, has been Gandhamūṣikā's favourite as he is the husband of Manoramā, her sister's daughter. Tāmarasa then goes away to call Citrāṅgada as ordered by Mallikā; and Mākanda too leaves the stage to report to Gandhamūṣikā that the task assigned to Vaiśravaṇa has been duly carried out.

Act VI : The main scene opens with the entry of Citrāṅgada, Mallikā and their retinue including Kapiñjala, Devalaka, and Māgadhikā. Citrāṅgada is curious to know how a clever girl like Mallikā felt attracted towards an insignificant trader like Makaranda, leaving a Vidyādhara-prince like him. On her behalf Devalaka informs him that it was because Makaranda had bewitched her by the use of magic spells. Owing to his bewitchment, since that very day she began to disrespect her mother, hate her husband (Citrāṅgada), disregard her female friends, throw away the means of decoration, and get angry with her

servants. Day before, Gandhamūṣikā, performing some rite, removed that bewitchment and restored Mallikā to normalcy. Consequently, she now loves her husband, is affectionate towards her mother, female friends, and so on. Citrāṅgada does not know how to repay his indebtedness to Gandhamūṣikā. Mallikā now gives expression to the spontaneous bond of love between the blessed (herself and Citrāṅgada). Citrāṅgada pays high compliments or Mallikā's for her ravishing beauty. He has, however, some reason to believe that Mallikā still secretly loves Makaranda and admonishes her., Now Manoramā arrives there and conveys the message of Gandhamūṣikā to Mallikā as follows : "Everything has gone all right as per plan and it suits your desire. Now, with your husband you go through the 'Kautuka'-ceremonies preceding marriage. Mallikā then asks her : "Where is now our revered mother Gandhamūṣikā ?" She replies "Where you know." Thereupon Citrāṅgada flares up : "That trader urchin is still nearest to you ?" Devalaka tells him : "When Mallikā has begged your pardon for the offence committed by her, it is not proper for you to speak tauntingly to her. He however intermittently continues to taunt her in relation to Makaranda. Mallikā angrily wishes to go away from Citrāṅgada. Just then Tāmarasa enters the stage and asks her not to go. He further says : "Gandhamūṣikā and Candralekhā have directed you and Citrāṅgada, both as follows : "To the south of the 'siddhāyatana' there is a cave by name Tamorāji. Kādamba, the lord of Yakṣas, who waits upon Lord Vāriṣeṇa resides there in the form of his idol. Both of you should go there." Citrāṅgada says : "The *muhūrta* for our marriage is fast approaching. Will it be proper on our part now to go there ?" Tāmarasa says in reply : "First the marriage will take place there and then here." Citrāṅgada angrily says : "Are we to go through marriage-ceremony twice ?" Tāmarasa coolly replies : "I am only a messenger. You better ask Gandhamūṣikā and Candralekhā." Devalaka clarifies : "It is a custom prevalent among the Vidyādharas—first to marry the bride to the Kādambaka Yakṣa and then to the bridegroom." Citrāṅgada says : "If it be a family custom then I have nothing to say. Here we come." They then walk about and reach the 'siddhāyatana' and then the Tamorāji. Because of intense darkness it is not possible for Citrāṅgada to recognise the persons gathered there. Tāmarasa guides him in the matter. As directed by Gandhamūṣikā, Mallikā and Citrāṅgada bow down to (the idol of) the lord of Yakṣas. Vaiśravaṇa becomes the attendant of Yakṣarāja and Manoramā of Mallikā. Citrāṅgada and Kapiñjala act as witnesses. Tāmarasa, Devalaka, and Māgadhikā are sent to the palace to keep ready the material for the marriage ceremony of Citrāṅgada. They go off the stage.

A Baṭu (boy, lad, chap) arrives on the scene and says to Gandhamūṣikā “It is now time for the wedding.” As directed by Gandhamūṣikā, Citrāṅgada and Candralekhā offer Mallikā in marriage to the lord of the Yakṣas. They join the hands of the lord of the Yakṣas and Mallikā. Just then Devalaka arrives on the scene and says : “It is time for Citrāṅgada’s wedding now; after the ‘*pāṇi-mocana*’ (releasing of the hands by the bride and the bridegroom, the opposite of ‘*pāṇi grahaṇa*’) ceremony you all come quickly to the palace.” Gandhamūṣikā asks Citrāṅgada to lift up (the idol of) the Yakṣarāja and make him and Mallikā to circumambulate the sacred fire. Citrāṅgada is surprised to find that the touch of Yakṣarāja’s body is just like the touch of a human body. Gandhamūṣikā says : “The idol is created by gods out of celestial earth; so what you say is quite possible.” She then says to Candralekhā “promise to pay something to the Yakṣarāja for releasing Mallikā’s hand.” Candralekhā offers to pay 1000 gold coins. The Yakṣarāja angrily says “Nonsense ! Is it proper to release the hand of one’s wife ?” All are surprised to hear the Yakṣarāja speaking in human voice. Taking a lamp near the Yakṣarāja Candralekhā discovers to her amazement that the Yakṣarāja is no other than Makaranda himself. She says to Gandhamūṣikā : “Revered lady, what is all this ?” Being pressed by all, Vaiśravaṇa discloses the plot. I was obliged by Makaranda by restoring to me my original form. Out of love for me Manoramā propitiated Gandhamūṣikā who arranged to send Makaranda for acting as the Yakṣarāja at the time of the wedding. Removing the idol of Kādamba I asked Makaranda to take the place of the idol. The rest all of you already know. In this matter Gandhamūṣikā is not at fault, nor Manoramā, but I am at fault”. Citrāṅgada says, “You too are not at fault as you are the crest-jewel amongst the great and grateful men”. Gandhamūṣikā admires Citrāṅgada for his noble words. She impresses upon Candralekhā to accept the meritorious Makaranda as son-in-law without bothering about the family from which Makaranda hails or the qualities he possesses. Candralekhā is reconciled to the wedding of her daughter, Mallikā, with Makaranda, brought about by the revered Gandhamūṣikā. Gandhamūṣikā asks Makaranda : “What further favour can I bestow on you ?” He says : “Is there any further favour than this ? However, with your favour my desire are accomplished”. Gandhamūṣikā joyfully says, “Through the favour of Lord Jina (lit. of the feet of Lord Jina) may you (first) obtain glorious success as bright as the rays of the pleasing moon (also Rāmacandra) and the petals of Kunda flower and (then) may you obtain ever-lasting freedom (from karma, i.e. Mokṣa—liberation)”.

Rāmacandra, using *mudrālamkāra* cleverly suggests his own name in the concluding verse pronouncing blessing on the hero of the play.

There are in all twenty-four characters in the play but only five of them arrest our attention prominently as they have their own marked individuality. The rest of them, although they exhibit one or the other individual trait, do not make any lasting impression on our mind. Although Makaranda's character is not attractive in the extreme like Cārudatta's, still it is quite attractive. Like the conventional hero he is not a paragon of virtue. He is a perfect man of the world. Although born of a wealthy and highly pious merchant he squanders away all his inherited wealth by gambling. In the prime of youth he starts visiting prostitutes. He frankly speaks of these vices before others including Tāpasakumāra whom he takes to be Mallikā's brother (but who, in fact, is Mallikā in disguise.) He is however full of repentance and resolves to lead a virtuous life afresh. He is the milk of human kindness, ever ready to help people in distress. On being separated from his beloved he is ready to end his life. When he learns of his beloved's sad plight and her tortures at the hands of her own mother and finds himself helpless to rescue her he is again ready to kill himself hoping to be united with her in heaven at least. These incidents demonstrate how true and deep his love for Mallikā is. He is bold, resourceful and ready-witted. He is more than a match for Citrāṅgada in their verbal contests. He is a devout Jain remembering Lord Jina whenever faced with insurmountable difficulties.

Not less attractive is Mallikā. Mortally afraid of being abducted by some unknown agency, she wishes to commit suicide. By mere chance Makaranda saves her. The two fall in love with each other at first sight. Mallikā strongly hates her mother, refers to her (mother's) improper conduct even to her face as she (her mother) insists on getting her (Mallikā) married to Citrāṅgada, a Vidyādhara prince. Her love for Makaranda is true and profound for even after knowing that he was in his early life given to gambling and in the prime of youth he was visiting prostitutes, she continues to love him with the same intensity as before. She is outspoken, sarcastic, when occasion demands, and witty in her conversation with her mother or Citrāṅgada. She outright repulses Citrāṅgada's advances and overtures. When he threatens to kill Makaranda she intervenes and asks him to kill her first. She does not mince words and fearlessly and candidly tells Citrāṅgada that she is determined not to marry him but Makaranda. At the bidding of Gandhamūṣikā (a Parivrājikā-nun) she only pretends to love Citrāṅgada and outwardly shows readiness to marry him. Gandhamūṣikā dupes him and Candralekhā (the mother of Mallikā) and succeeds in her plans to marry Mallikā to Makaranda.

Compared with Makaranda, the Hero, Citrāṅgada, his rival fares badly.

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He is a Vidyādhara prince possessing great treasures. Candralekhā is determined on marrying her own daughter, Mallikā, to him. Mallikā's repulsion for him and preference for Makaranda outrages his sense of importance for he believes that his position as Vidyādhara prince and his wealth entitle him to receive Mallikā's love. He is no match for Mallikā or Makaranda in wordy or verbal warfare. His threat of killing Makaranda to frighten Mallikā into loving him and not "that contemptible man" miserably fails. He displays some practical, worldly wisdom when he speaks of 'the one-sided love and consequent mental torture', or when he says, "It is not correct or proper to use force when the desired object could be achieved by peace or negotiations". The fact however remains that he is not shrewd enough to see through the plot of Gandhamūṣikā or judge men and women correctly.

Candralekhā, although she belongs to the class of semi-divine Vidyādharas, has all the attributes of a mortal being. Blinded by passion she enjoys the delights of love with a forester youth. She deserts her new-born daughter. Her improper conduct invites the wrath of her husband and parents and is disowned by them. She is bent on marrying her daughter to a very rich Vidyādhara prince. She tries every means—persuasion, punishment, threats but her daughter remains firm in her resolve to marry her man, Makaranda. She is hard-hearted and attempts to remove her daughter's lover from the scene by killing him but she fails in her attempt. She unabashedly invites Vaiśravaṇa to enjoy love's dalliance with her. Ultimately, when the young lovers are married she is forced to acquiesce in their marriage.

Compared with Kālidasa's Parivrājikā in *Mālavikāgnimitra* or Bhavabhūti's Kāmandakī in *Mālatīmādhava* Gandhamūṣikā pales into insignificance. Rāmacandra depicts her as 'Prakarānāyaka.' She is held in high esteem by Candralekhā and the Vidyādhara-prince, Citrāṅgada, the powerful suitor of Mallikā. Manoramā, wife of the merchant Vaiśravaṇa, who is extremely grateful to Makaranda for restoring the 'parrot' to his original form as Vaiśravaṇa propitiates Gandhamūṣikā. At her request she agrees to bring about the union of Makaranda with Mallikā. Apparently she takes upon herself the task of doing away with Makaranda and marrying Mallikā to Citrāṅgada but secretly devises a plot to get the lovers united. She succeeds in her plot. Candralekhā and Citrāṅgada have no option left but to acquiesce in the lovers' union.

MallikāMakaranda : A Prakaraṇa

The 'Nāṭaka' (heroic comedy) is the highest of the ten main forms or types of drama. 'Prakaraṇa' (the bourgeois comedy, the social play) stands next to it

in rank. These two are, in the true sense of the word, the full-fledged 'rūpakas'. The earliest 'prakaraṇa', available—although in fragments—to us is Aśvaghoṣa's *Sāriputra-prakaraṇa* or (its fuller title) *Śāradvatīputraprakaraṇa*⁹. It has nine acts. Next to this piece, we have Śūdraka's *Mr̥cchakaṭika*¹⁰, a unique 'prakaraṇa' drama finding place in the world literature. Next to *Mr̥cchakaṭika* we have Bhavabhūti's 'prakaraṇa' drama, the well-known *Mālatīmādhava*¹¹. The two 'prakaraṇa' dramas, *Taraṅgadatta*¹² and *Puṣpadūṣitaka*¹³ are known only from quotations, cited from them by some writers on Sanskrit Dramaturgy. The authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* quote from the following less known 'prakaraṇa' dramas—*Anaṅgasenāharinandi prakaraṇam*¹⁴ of Śuktivāsakumāra *Rohiṇi-Mrgāṅka*-(*prakaraṇam*)¹⁵ *Kaumudī-Mitrānanda*¹⁶ (-*prakaraṇam*) and *Mallikā-Makaranda*¹⁷ (-*prakaraṇam*) of Rāmacandra himself. Śiṅgabhūpāla, the author of the *Rasārṇavasudhakāra*, cites from Kāmadatta and describes it as a Dhūrta-prakaraṇa. Unfortunately the work has not survived.

There is a servile redaction of the same idea as that of the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti in the *Mallikāmāruta*,¹⁸ wrongly thought to be Daṇḍin's. Really it is the work of Uddaṇḍin or Uddaṇḍanātha, the court poet of the Zemindar of Kukkutakroḍa or Calicut in the middle of the 17th century A. D.

The writers on dramaturgy define the type of drama called 'Prakaraṇa.' Almost all the later theorists follow Bharata in their definitions of Prakaraṇa. The *Abhinavabhāratī*, the renowned commentary of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* which closely follows the *Abhinavabhāratī* in its exposition of their own Kārikās (of course, based on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*) help us a good deal in understanding and appreciating Bharata's definition of 'Prakaraṇa'. We may note here the characteristics of a 'prakaraṇa' in the light of the works of Bharata, Abhinavagupta and the authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* :

(i) Its subjectmatter is invented by the poet. It is not derived from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, or any of the Purāṇas. It should be adopted from the *Br̥hatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya (e.g., Mūladeva and his life) or from earlier poetic works in which the subjectmatter is framed at his good pleasure by the poet (e.g., Samudradatta and his Doings). The playwright may effect necessary changes—additions, omissions or modifications—to accord with the development of the sentiment or characterisation of the main characters.

(ii) Its hero too should be invented. He should be a Brāhmaṇa, merchant, counsellor, a priest (*purohita*), minister or leader of a caravan (who has fallen on evil days). He should be neither an exalted king nor a god. There should be no place for enjoyment associated with a harem which is appropriate to a king

nor for a chamberlain. It may employ a slave in place of a chamberlain, a Viṭa in place of a Vidūṣaka, and the chief of a mercantile guild in place of a minister.

(iii) The heroine of a *prakaraṇa* may be a *mandakulastrī* (*mandagoṭrāṅganā*), a lady not of a great family or a lady whose character is not above reproach, or a courtesan or both. If the plot leads to the attainment of any one of the four principal objects of human life (*puruṣārthas*) suited to a householder then a *kulastrī* alone should be introduced as, for example, Nandayantī in the play *Puṣpadūṣitaka* (now lost). If contrary be the case, a courtesan may be introduced as a heroine. If the hero be Viṭa then both a *kulastrī* and a courtesan should be introduced. The poet, however, should take care to see that the two heroines never meet in the course of the drama.

A *prakaraṇa* with a 'kulastrī' as heroine is pure, so too with a courtesan as heroine it is pure; and with both the types of heroine it is 'saṁkīrṇa'

(iv) The hero's life should abound in incidents and situations that give rise to a variety of sentiments. The governing sentiment of the *prakaraṇa* should, however, be the erotic one. All other sentiments should be made subservient to the dominant or ruling or governing sentiment.

(v) In accordance with a verse in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, like the *Nāṭaka*. it should have not less than five nor more than ten acts.

As regards the remaining characteristics they are as in the *Nāṭaka*. In other words, Junctures, Introductory scenes, Sentiments and the like are as in the *Nāṭaka*.

Mallikāmakaranda answers this description. The subjectmatter is, as will be evident from the detailed summary of the plot given above, not drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* or mythology. It is at once novel and invented by the poet. The hero, Makaranda who is a merchant's son and who has lost all his ancestral wealth by gambling and who in the prime of youth frequented prostitutes and who is now full of repentance belongs to the middle class of society. The heroine Mallikā is 'mandakulastrī', a lady not of a great family as she happens to be the illegitimate daughter born of her mother Candralekhā, a Vidyādhara queen and a Kirāta youth. The ruling sentiment of the play is the spontaneous love at first sight between Mallikā and Makaranda and after undergoing many hardships, calamities and almost insurmountable obstacles the two lovers are united. Naturally, the erotic sentiment prevails throughout the play and the sentiment of fear, of heroism and the marvellous arising out of a variety of incidents serve only to strengthen the principal erotic sentiment. The

play has six acts which accords perfectly with the rule of the *śāstra*.

It would thus seem that the play fulfils all the requirements of a *prakaraṇa*.

The Poet's Personality as revealed by his works

Rāmacandra is the reputed author of a hundred works including no less than eleven dramas. When one studies thoroughly and deeply all the writings of a poet one might be able to infer his personality more or less correctly. It may even then be hazardous to infer the man from his works if the author keeps throughout a purely objective attitude. But one will not go far wrong in the case of a self-conscious poet like Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara or our author, Rāmacandra. An attempt is made here to have a mere glimpse of Rāmacandra's personality from his play *MallikāMakaranda* and the Prologues and the Epilogues of a few other plays of his that are so far published and of his *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (in collaboration with Guṇacandra).

Rāmcandra was a devout Jain¹⁹ and devoted pupil²⁰ of the great Ācārya Hemacandra. He was proficient in the three sciences²¹ : Grammar, Logic and Poetics (including Dramaturgy). He was indefatigably engaged in creative, literary activity²² writing poems or plays or 'stotra's or scientific works. It is perfectly understandable if one takes pride in his literary art and learning. Rāmacandra, however, goes a step further and indulges in boasting²³. He declares : "There are many great poets like Murāri who diligently write plays that excel in striking modes of speech only, whereas he alone is expert in writing plays, imbued with sentiments which are the very soul (the essence) of drama."²⁴ Generally, the works (of other poets), like sugar-cane, progressively diminish in *rasa* (1sentiment 2 juice) but Rāmacandra's whole work grows progressively sweeter and sweeter still.²⁵ He proudly declares : 1. The good sayings (*sūktis* or *subhāṣitas*) of Rāmacandra, 2. the spring, 3. melodious songs, 4. Freedom and, 5. union with one's beloved person—these five (things) are veritable showers of joy²⁶.

It seems that in the days of Rāmacandra there was an army of poetasters who thrived on the poetic works of their predecessors. They unabashedly committed literary theft and passed the poems of their predecessors with some changes here and there as their own. Naturally, people, in general, were fed up with them and did not trust them at all; on the contrary they held these poetasters in utter contempt. Probably this charge of plagiarism was levelled, by some of his contemporary critics, against Rāmacandra. He stoutly defends

himself against this baseless and mischievous charge in the Prologues to *Nalavilāsa* and *Mallikāmakaranda*. The relevant dialogue between the Assistant and the Stage-Manager that occurs in the Prologue to *Nalavilāsa* may be reproduced here :

Nata (=Assistant). (Reflecting) Sir, is this poet himself a creative playwright or just a borrower ?

Sūtradhāra (=Stage-Manager) : In this matter the poet himself has already given a reply :

“We compose poems with words and senses in accordance with the dictates of our own poetic genius—Creative genius. Let them say that we imitate others (or commit literary theft). This is the way of talking (prevalent among people) : They say that the moon, lotuses which bloom even on the day of ‘amāvāsyā’ (the night of new moon, when the sun and the moon dwell together, the 15th day of the dark half of every lunar month) have bloomed on account of the contact of the rays of the moon (though it is easy to see that there could be no moon-rise that day).”²⁷

Moreover, finding that people love poems which defy any logical connection between its words and their senses the poet became dejected and said :

“They generally like poetry which is uneven with naturally crooked sense clothed in old and extremely blunted words. We cannot persuade ourselves to follow this course. This thought always troubles our mind.” In the Prologue to *Mallikāmakaranda* too he raises this issue and silences his critics.²⁸

It also seems that some people professing to guard jealously the dignity and high position of ‘*muni*’s—especially Jain *munis*—must have severely criticised Rāmacandra, for writing plays portraying the sentiments of love, laughter, etc. For peace or quietude is of the essence to the *munis* and the erotic and the comic sentiments are harmful to maintain and develop the attitude of quietude. A common man too is puzzled to find a ‘*muni*’, who has renounced the world, depicting scenes of love between young men and women and describing approvingly the charms of young beautiful damsels. The Prologue to *Mallikāmakaranda* tries to meet this criticism. The relevant dialogue is reproduced here below :

Nataḥ : (disdainfully) Sir, the ‘*muni*’s are solely devoted to peace or quietude and owing to the resultant wisdom they employ their dignified speech solely in the exposition of *dharma*; otherwise they maintain rigid silence. They

are absolutely unworthy of writing plays imbued with sentiments like the erotic, the comic and the heroic.

Sūtradhāra : O worthy friend, now, you speak things which betray that you do not have the cleverness of (even) a villager !

The whole world knows that *śama* (peace or quietude) is the very essence of great sages (monks). (Don't you however forget the fact that) although gods are born in heaven they move about in all the three worlds.²⁹

The suggestion is : 'Munis (sages, monks) too should occasionally leave the high pedestal and come down on earth and should write plays and appreciate them when staged. Just as the gods do not lose their godhead or divine nature simply because they move about in the three worlds even so the 'munis who write plays and aesthetically appreciate them do not lose their sageness or monkhood.'

It is, however, doubtful if this reply silenced Rāmacandra's critics.

Another striking trait of his personality was his love of freedom (here on earth as well freedom from the cycle of birth and death). He frankly says that he would anyday prefer the free life of a street-dog to the overlordship of the three worlds, that is dependent on another³⁰. At another place he observes : "If there be life-long freedom useless is heaven and the wealth of this world³¹ A hurried glance at the epilogues to his plays would immediately bring to our notice his intense desire for freedom from the cycle of birth and death³².

Although Rāmacandra had renounced the world he had well retained his aesthetic sense. He had read and mastered thoroughly the plays of the great poets (like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka and Bhavabhūti)³³. He had, it seems, good knowledge of the arts of singing, music and dance and that he was very well conversant with the ways of the world³⁴. His aim in writing the different kinds of plays was to impress upon the people that they should always follow the right path³⁵.

Rāmacandra intrudes on his own work and indulges in self-praise or admiration. His self-consciousness is apparent in remarks like

- (i) चाग्मी खल्वसि, एतावतैव भवतो वाचां विलासेन वयमत्यन्तमामोदिताः ।³⁶
- (ii) अहो, भय-कौतुककारी कथासंनिवेशः ।³⁷
- (iii) अहो कौतुककारी कथासंनिवेशः ।³⁸

Such remarks reveal Rāmacandra's egotism.

Rāmacandra's firm faith in the inexorable law of karma finds expression in his plays. For example, we have the following passage :

भिन्न-भिन्न-वर्त्मनि संप्रविष्णवः सर्वेऽपि जन्तवस्तैस्तैः शुभैरशुभैरर्वा कर्मभिः । विभिन्नरूपदेशानां जन्मान्तरेषु जन्मिनां कस्य केनाभिसम्बन्धः ।³⁹

The personality of Rāmacandra that emerges mainly from his play *Mallikāmakaranda* and the Prologues and Epilogues of some plays, is certainly magnetic.

Rāmacandra as a Dramatist

If we take into consideration merely the total number of plays written by a Sanskrit dramatist Rāmacandra, with his eleven plays, stands next only to Bhāsa who is believed to have written thirteen plays. In the galaxy of Sanskrit dramatists, Rāmacandra is a star of the second magnitude only. It would be unfair, however, to compare him with the early master dramatists like Bhāsa, Śūdraka, Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti. He may very well be compared with later dramatists of decadent period like Murāri, Rājaśekhara, and Jayadeva (with his *Prasannarāghava*). A close and critical study of the available plays of Rāmacandra would show that he equals if not excels them. Here it is proposed to judge him as a dramatist with reference to his play *MallikāMakaranda*.

The story of the play is invented by the poet himself. It is based on the time-worn theme of love triumphant over many obstacles. Makaranda, a merchant's son, who was in his early life a gambler and who frequented prostitutes, later becomes full of repentance and resolves to lead a virtuous life afresh. He is the hero of the play. He saves the damsel Mallikā from committing suicide. She loves him and he returns her love. It is thus a case of love at first sight. The path of their love is full of obstacles. Overcoming these obstacles the two lovers are united towards the end of the play. Their story forms the main plot (*ādhikārika vastu*). The story of Manoramā and Vaiśravaṇa forms the sub-plot (*patākā*). For, the hero Makaranda restores Vaiśravaṇa, who was transformed into a parrot (by Candralekhā) to his original form. Both Vaiśravaṇa and his wife Manoramā are very grateful to him. They, on their part, plan to win the favour of Gandhamūṣikā, a (Jain) nun and through her grace get the two lovers married. The incident to Gandhamūṣikā who, through clever intrigue helps Makaranda and Mallikā get married constitutes what is technically called 'prakāri' for she comes in only to help the hero and heroine without any expectation of a good turn in return. It would seem that the poet has skilfully intertwined the main plot and the sub-plot. A hurried glance at the story

summarised act by act would show that though it treats of a time-worn theme, it is at once very interesting and original.

The poet has succeeded in portraying the principal characters of Mallikā, Makaranda, Candralekhā, Citrāṅgada (and Gandhamūṣikā) investing each one of them with a distinct individuality⁴⁰. The minor characters among the twenty-four in all are such as would hardly linger in the reader's memory.

The poet is proficient in portraying the sentiments of love, heroism and wonder. The love at first sight between the lovers grows more firm and secure. Makaranda continues to love Mallikā even after knowing the fact that she was born as an illegitimate child; and Mallikā too loves him as before even after knowing that Makaranda was given to gambling and that he was frequenting prostitutes in prime of youth. Ill-treatment and even flogging and the temptation offered by Citrāṅgada, the Vidyādhara prince, who woos her, fail to change Mallikā's mind. Imprisonment and threats of death by the Vidyādhara-prince have no effect at all on Makaranda. The two lovers are prepared to face death as they hope they would be united in heaven. In the concluding act when everybody (excepting the member of the plot, contrived by Gandhamūṣikā) is under the impression that Makaranda has been finished to death and that Mallikā and Citrāṅgada are about to be married to each other they find, to their surprise, that Mallikā and Makaranda are married and that Candralekhā and Citrāṅgada are out-manoeuvred by Gandhamūṣikā.

The sentiment of love is the governing sentiment of the play. The sentiments of fear, heroism and wonder are portrayed as subservient to the sentiment of love. The sentiment of wonder is mainly depicted in the 'Conclusion'. Rāmacandra rightly says in his *Nalavilāsa* : "*Rasa* is of the essence of a drama. Those who are fond of showing their skill in figures of word and sense even in compositions to be staged and neglect *rasa* may rightly be called as learned men but not dramatists.

In a dramatic composition a striking variety of incidents (and metres) does not deserve so much praise as *rasa* does. A mango, though lovely with ripeness, afflicts you if it be devoid of *rasa* (juice)".⁴¹

He strictly adheres to the well-known rules of dramaturgy : "One should not make the subject-matter too disconnected by the excessive (use of) sentiment, nor should one overwhelm the sentiment with the subject-matter, figures of speech and *lakṣaṇas*".

One sentiment, either the Heroic or the Erotic, is to be made the prevalent

sentiment; all the other sentiments (should be made) subordinate. The Marvellous Sentiment should be employed (only) in the Conclusion."⁴²

The Midnight scene showing Mallikā's attempted suicide, Makaranda rushing to save her and shampooing her breast when she falls in a swoon in the first act and the marriage-scene between Mallikā and the idol of Kādambaka, the chief of Yakṣas in the Tamorājī valley in the last act would prove highly successful and tremendously popular even on a modern stage.

The play reveals the poet's skill in presenting lively and brilliant dialogues unfolding the traits of the speakers involved. The dialogues between Yuvati(=Mallikā) and Makaranda (pp. 7-8, p. 21). Śuka and Makaranda (pp.38-40), Citrāṅgada and Makaranda (pp.41-42), Candralekhā and Mallikā (pp.47-48) are instances in point.

We may now turn to his defects. The scene of the action in the first two acts of the play is the Pañcaśailadvīpa whereas in the remaining five Acts it is the mountain Ratnasānu (=Meru), the region of the Vidyādhara.

It is not made clear why Gandhamūṣikā, the nun, and her party, who are human beings go to the heavenly region of Vidyādhara, and what made Candralekhā and Citrāṅgada (themselves Vidyādhara and Vidyādhari) repose full faith in this nun, a human. Again, when 'mere disguise' would have served the purpose we do not see any point in Rāmacandra representing the Vidyādhari queen Candralekhā as transforming Mallikā into a male form by the use of a magic pill.

Again, the action is dependent to a great degree on accident; Candralekhā through *mere accident* loses her power of flying through the sky. Regaining that power after six-months' austerities she, being sex-starved, enjoys love's dalliance with a Kirāta youth. With her newly-acquired lore she could have reached her home *within no time* and enjoyed love's dalliance with her own husband. Her new-born babe she deserts. *By sheer chance* the merchant Jinadatta comes across this deserted newly-born child and entrusts it to the care of his wife Bandhusundarī. Makaranda *accidentally* saves Mallikā from killing herself by hanging from a tree. Mallikā is *mysteriously and unseen*, taken away by force from Makaranda who was keeping guard. Makaranda, at the separation from his beloved wants to put an end to his life by throwing himself into the sea when *by the merest chance* he is lifted up by a 'Bhāruṇḍa' bird and thrown down on the mountain Ratnasānu (=Meru). *By mere chance* he comes across Tāpasakumāra whom he takes to be Mallikā's brother but who, in fact, is

Mallikā herself. *transformed* by the use of a magic pill by her mother. On learning about the sad and miserable plight of his beloved and finding himself unable to help her out Makaranda wants to end his life but is prevented from doing so *by a divine voice*. By *sheer chance* Makaranda is saved from being crushed to death under a huge slab of stone hurled down by Candralekhā with a view to killing him. Again Makaranda who is about to be killed by Citrāṅgada is saved by the *timely arrival* of a messenger from the nun Gandhamūsikā. The element of chance cannot be entirely ruled out of a drama, as out of life, but its frequent occurrence severely taxes our credulity and is surely a reflection on the poet's dramatic art.

The poet does depict a few situations and give passages which contain the element of irony. The meeting between Tāpasakumāra and Makaranda and the incident of Mallikā's marriage with the (idol of the) Yakṣarāja and the conversation between Citrāṅgada and Makaranda (towards the end of Act IV) attest to the poet's fine sense of irony. The play, as a whole, however, is devoid of humour and the poet tries to make up for it by introducing the element of the supernatural.

Another defect of Rāmacandra is his lack of sense of proportion. He thus indulges in sentimental prolixity by putting six verses in the mouth of Citrāṅgada to describe the beauty of the heroine in the concluding Act of the play. Exuberance or preponderance of verse in the play also attests to his lack of sense of proportion or restraint—although it is possible to seek justification for the dramatist in his models like *Mrcchakatika* and *Mālatimādhava*.

Rāmacandra's Style

Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī are the two main kinds of style. The distinguishing features of the Vaidarbhī style are clearness (clarity, lucidity, perspicuity—*prasāda*) and sweetness (*mādhurya*). The quality of clearness causes the sense to become intelligible on merely hearing the words. The quality of sweetness is produced by the use of consonants other than cerebrals, with their appropriate nasals, 'ṛ' and 'ṛ' with short vowels, and no compounds or short compounds. The characteristic of the Gauḍī style is force or strength or vigour (*ojas*). It results from the use of compound letters, doubled letters, conjunct consonants of which 'r' forms part, cerebrals other than 'ṛ' palatal and cerebral sibilants, and long compounds and high-sounding expressions. No poet, in fact, can confine himself entirely to only one kind of style. He has to employ one or the other style in consonance with the sentiments to be portrayed. The Vaidarbhī style is appropriate in the sentiments of love in enjoyment (*sambhoga śṛṅgāra*), pathos

(*karuna*), love in separation (*vipralamba-śṛṅgāra*) and calm (*sānta*). The Gaudī style is appropriate in the sentiments of heroism, the terrible, fury and wonder (*vīra*, *ḥhayānaka*, *raudra*, and *adbhuta*).

The sentiments in *MallikāMakaranda* are mainly those of love, heroism, horror and wonder. Excepting some passages, both in prose and in verse, and some dialogues in the Vaidarbhī style, the play as a whole is written in the Gaudī style. He has a large command of the Sanskrit vocabulary. The language is, as a rule, dignified. Whatever be his meaning, Rāmacandra generally writes with force. His style is forceful and powerful and not polished or graceful. The story of *Mallikāmakaranda* centres round the spontaneous love at first sight, between the two lovers Mallikā and Makaranda. Usually the sentiment of love is portrayed by poets in the Vaidarbhī style. But as the path of love between these two lovers never runs smooth and is beset with difficulties, dangers and calamities the poet has, in the main, employed the Gaudī style. There is hardly any scope for the depiction of the sentiment of laughter. The one-sided love of Citrāṅgada for Mallikā giving rise to the comic sentiment, the ironical conversation between Citrāṅgada and Makaranda, and the final scene of marriage between Mallikā and Makaranda (representing Candralekhā and Citrāṅgada as duped) are only exceptions. Some of the passages, both in prose and verse lack simplicity and intelligibility and can be fully comprehended only after careful study and a good deal of reflection. In quite a few cases the difficulty arises on account of scribal blunders. In this regard the attention of the readers is drawn to the following verses I. 20, V. 3, V. 8, VI. 14, VI. 17.

To modern taste Rāmacandra is naturally attractive when he is simple and not grandiose or pompous or inflated as he can be when he chooses. The dialogues, barring the Āmukha, and a good many elegant and attractive verses are simple and easily intelligible. The verbal contest between Citrāṅgada and Makaranda (towards the close of Act IV) is at once brief and brilliant. The dialogue between Candralekhā, Mallikā and Tāmarasa (pp. 46-48) is also splendid.

Rāmacandra uses a large number of figures of speech to decorate his style (Vide the *pariśiṣṭam*—7 to the present edition). He is very fond of *arthāntaranyāsas* and *subhāṣitas*. A few of these may be reproduced here :

- | | | |
|-------|---|------------|
| (i) | सर्वाऽपि महती सिद्धिः क्लेशान्तरितसंभवा । | —P.3(I. 9) |
| (ii) | अथवा व्यसनान्धमेवेदं जगत् । | —P. 13 |
| (iii) | न वीक्षते योग्यतामिच्छा | —II. 20 |

- (iv) सति जीविते कथञ्चिद् घटते किञ्चित् पुनः प्रेयः । —III. 10
 (v) महाव्यसनसंपातेऽपि दुस्त्यजाः प्राणिनामसवः । —P. 33
 (vi) अर्गला रक्षणे स्त्रीणां प्रीतिरेव निर्गला । —IV. 2
 (vii) अनिर्वहणे हि प्रारम्भो नीचतां प्रकाशयति । —P. 38
 (viii) कथाऽपि पापीयसां पुंसां महते कलुषाय प्रभवति । —P. 28
 (ix) प्रायेण नीचरतयो वनिताः । —V. 16
 (x) अल्पीयसोऽपि समये सफलः प्रयत्नः । —VI. 14
 (xi) अहो नानाविचारं जगत् । —VI. 15

In this play Rāmacandra employs a large number of metres (Vide *Pariśiṣṭam*—6 to this edition. He greatly favours *śloka* which is suitable for rapidity and directness of style.

The Prakrit passages show Rāmacandra's proficiency in Prakrit. He occasionally introduces vernacular words in the Sanskrit speeches. Thus he writes 'कटरि, गतः प्रागल्भ्यम् । p. 13. The word 'Kaṭari' is used in Apabhraṁśa in the sense of 'āścaryam'; 'Cūraya pratikalam pratyūha-vajrārgalāh'-III.7 where Rāmacandra, it would seem, uses the Prakrit root 'cūra' (to reduce to powder, pulverise, crush). The form 'vidhyāpya' is probably due to Prakrit influence for in Prakrit we have the root vijjhā meaning to extinguish. On p. 63 we have the expression *madana-kaḍakam*. 'Kadagam' (or 'Kadakam') is a Prakrit form of 'Kaṭakam'. The forms vacchā, vacchara (p. 14) for Sanskrit 'vatsa' and 'vatsara' are, as they stand, Prakrit.

Rāmacandra adopts four or five verses (vide *Pariśiṣṭam*-5 to the edition) from Bhartr̥hari's *Śṛṅgāraśataka*. It is rather curious that he should adopt the verses in this way without giving any indication of their source. The play contains a few situations and scenes which strongly remind us of their counterparts in the works of Rāmacandra's predecessors like Bāṇa, Harṣa, Bhavabhūti, and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (Vide Notes). It contains verbal reminiscences of a few earlier texts. Rāmacandra has quite a few readymade verses which he repeats in his play, probably following in the footsteps of Bhavabhūti.

Some Technical Terms in The Sanskrit Drama

1. *Nāndī* : Most Sanskrit dramas open with a verse (or verses) of the form of a salutation or benediction, which is usually suggestive of the story of the drama, followed by the remark, 'At the close of the *Nāndī* the

Sūtradhāra enters'. But in Bhāsa's dramas we find the play begun with these words, and a verse or verses following. Viśvanātha adopts as the definition of *Nāṇḍī* what is recited in praise of a deity, Brāhmaṇa, King or the like, and is accompanied by a benediction, consisting of twelve inflected words (with nominal or verbal endings) or eight lines (quarter-verses); Abhinavagupta, however, permits of a greater variety of forms. In Viśvanātha's view the *Nāṇḍī* is part of the preliminaries (*Pūrvaraṅga*), and it must be preserved, however much these are shortened. The *Nāṇḍī* is recited by *Sūtrādhāra* (or *Sthāpaka*) behind the curtain, and then he comes on stage, It is called *Nāṇḍī* because it is a source of delight to the gods.

2. *Sūtradhāra* : The name *Sūtradhāra* literally means 'the holder of the string' and perhaps indicates his origin from the 'puppet show wherein the puppets or dolls are made to perform by holding and pulling the strings attached to them. Or the name *Sūtradhāra* denotes him as primarily the architect of the theatre, the man who secures the erection of the temporary stage. He is the principal stage-manager or director who arranges the cast of characters, instructs them in their art (*Nāṭyācārya*). For this high position as *Sūtradhāra* (*Nāṭyācārya*) "his qualifications were to be numerous; he was supposed to be learned in all the arts and sciences, to be acquainted with the habits and customs of all lands, to combine the completeness of technical knowledge with practical skill, and to be possessed of all the normal qualities which an Indian genius can enumerate. To him falls not merely the very important function of introducing the play, but also of taking one of the chief parts. He is normally the husband of one of the actresses (*naṭī*), who aids in the opening scene.

3. *Āmukha* : Immediately after the preliminaries (*Pūrvaraṅga*), according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, another person, similar in appearance and qualities to the *Sūtradhāra*, is to enter and introduce the play, a function which gives him the style of introducer, *Sthāpaka*. But later on, these preliminaries were considerably shortened, and the *Sūtradhāra* alone performed both the functions of the preliminaries and of the prologue (*āmukha*, *prastāvanā*, *sthāpanā*). The essential feature of the prologue is a dialogue between the stage-director and his attendant, or rather, his Assistant (*pāripārśvika*) or an actress (*Naṭī*—who happens to be his wife) or the *Vidūṣaka* on some personal business which indirectly hints at the drama. This dialogue propitiates the audience by verse or verses alluding to the subject of the play, mentions the name of the author and the play. The mode of connection between the prologue and the play is given by Dhanamjaya as

threefold and by Viśvanātha as fivefold; and accordingly the 'āmukha' (*prastāvanā*) is said to be threefold or fivefold. Of the three (or five) varieties of this prologue we are concerned with the *Kathodghāta*—for the prologue of *Mallikāmakaranda* is of this variety in which a character in the play catches up the words (or their sense) of the stage-manager (or director) and enters—comes on the stage from behind the curtain.

4. *Viṣkambhaka* : It is essential that the events or matters as are appropriate for presentation must be presented in Acts. The events described must not be disconnected. It is neither necessary nor usual that Act should follow Act without interval. To reveal to the audience the events during such intervals the *Nāṭyaśāstra* permits a choice of five forms of scenes of introduction (*arthopakṣepaka*) which serve also to narrate things, whose performance on the stage is forbidden. One of these five is *Viṣkambha* or *Viṣkambhaka*, an explanatory scene. It is so called from its concisely compressing (वि+ √स्कम्भ) into a short space those subordinate parts of the story, not enacted before the spectators, but a knowledge of which is quite essential to the comprehending of the action of the play. It serves to explain the events or incidents that have already taken place or are about to take place in (the near) future. It is generally performed by not more than two persons, never of chief rank. It is pure (*śuddha*) if the performers are of middle rank and speak Sanskrit; mixed (*saṁkīrṇa*) when the characters are of middle and inferior class and use also Prakrit. It may be used, at the beginning of a drama where it is not desired to arouse sentiment at the very outset.

5. *Nepathye* (From behind-the-scenes or the curtain); The word *nepathya* means (i) the curtain : (ii) the dressing room or greenroom; (iii) the toilet or decoration, (iv) the actor's costume. As stage-direction it means 'from behind the scenes'. It is used (i) when a character is represented as speaking while approaching the stage but before actually entering on the stage and (ii) when the utterance of character, whose entrance on the stage is not required, is to be made known to the characters who are present on the stage.

6. *Prakāśam* (Aloud) When the speech is to be heard by all those on the stage, and of course by the audience the actors speak *aloud*.

7. *Svगतam* or *Ātmगतam* (Aside, to one self) : When the speech is to be heard by the audience alone and not by any actor on the stage, the actor speaks to himself.

8. *Janāntikam* and *Apavārya* (= *Apavāritam*) : *Janāntikam* (a private conversation) is a mutual conversation in the presence of other actors by shutting out the others in the middle of the story by the hand with three fingers raised, the thumb and ring finger being curved inwards. *Apavāritam* (or *Apavārya*=aside) is a secret told to another by turning around to him. It is understood to be heard only by the actor addressed to. Both these stage-directions are, however, indifferently or indiscriminately used by the Sanskrit playwrights. These speeches are of course meant to be heard by the audience as well.

9. *Ākāśe* (In the air) : When one actor alone, without another actor on the stage pretends to see somebody in the distance, and speaks in the air "Do you say so ?" or the like, as if hearing something, though it is really not spoken, that is called conversation with imaginary persons.. This device of (speech in the air) is employed with a view to carrying forward the action of the drama but at the same time economising characters. This device is frequently used in the *Bhāṇa* (or Monologue) the actor speaks in the air, repeating answer supposed to be received.

10. *Karṇe evameva* : With a view to avoiding repetition (if what is whispered in the ear is already known to the audience) or if the plot or plans are going to be unfolded later, the concerned actor whispers into the ear of another actor (who is also concerned) "it is like this" or "it is so."

At the instance of Prof. D. D. Malvania, formerly Director, and Dr. N. J. Shah, the present Director, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad I gladly undertook the work of writing a critical Introduction and Critical and Comparative Notes to *MallikāMakaranda*, the text of which was already and ably edited by the late lamented Muniśrī Punyavijayajī Mahārāja. I personally knew this distinguished scholar and saint and held him in great reverence. I therefore readily accepted the suggestion of completing the work left unfinished by him. I tender my sincere thanks to Prof. D. D. Malvania, Dr. H. C. Bhayani and Dr. N. J. Shah for their keen interest in my work and their useful suggestions in tackling a few knotty phrases and lines from the text. I tender grateful thanks to Prof. R. B. Athavale who spared time for me for discussing with him some tough passages from the text of the present play. In conclusion, I pay my tearful tribute to my wife who is no more. In spite of her serious illness, she had encouraged me to continue the critical study of this play.

Notes and References :

1. For a detailed account vide (i) L. B. Gandhi's Introduction (in Sanskrit, pp. 22-39) to *Nalavilāsa*, pub. in GOS as No XXIX, Baroda, 1926 and (ii) *The Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra : A Critical Study* (pp. 209-237) by Dr. K. H. Trivedi, pub. in L. D. series as No. 9. Ahmedabad, 1966).
2. Vide Prologues to *Nalavilāsa*, *Kaumudīmitrāṇanda* and *Mallikāmakaranda*.
3. *Svātantryamī yadi jīvitāvadhī mudhā svarbhūrbhūvo vaibhavam* —*Nalavilāsa* 1.2.c
Sūktayo Rāmacandrasya—svātantryam...Harṣavr(ṣṛ)ṣṭayaḥ —*Satyaharīścandra* 1.5
—*Nirbhayaḥhīma* 1-2

And, concluding benediction in his various plays

4. नटः—(सावज्ञम्) भाव, प्रशमरसिकवैदुष्येण धर्मदेशनाविधानैकप्रगल्भवाचो वाचंयमाः शृङ्गार-हास्य-वीर प्रमुखरसमयानामनर्हाः खलु नाट्यप्रबन्धानाम् ।
सूत्रधारः—मार्ष सांप्रतं ग्रामीणचातुरीवन्ध्यमभिदधासि ।
शमस्तत्त्वं मुनीन्द्राणां जानते तु जगन्त्यपि ।
जन्मैव दिवि देवानां विहारो भुवनेष्वपि ॥
—*Mallikāmakaranda*, I.6
5. Vide नटः (सावहेलम्)भाव,
परोपनीतशब्दार्थाः स्वनाम्ना कृतकीर्तयः ।
निबन्धारोऽधुना तेन विश्रम्भस्तेषु कः सताम् ॥
सूत्रधारः—मार्ष नास्य पर्यन्योगस्य वयं पात्रम् । अत्रार्थे प्रबन्धविधानसमानकालाः सुमेधस एव प्रमाणम् ।
—*Kaumudīmitrāṇanda* 1.5

Also vide : *Mallikāmakaranda* I. 7-8

6. Vide : शब्दलक्ष्म-प्रमालक्ष्म-काव्यलक्ष्म-कृतश्रमः ।
वाग्विलासस्त्रिमार्गो नौ, प्रवाह इव जाहनुजः ॥
—*Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, p. 103 v. 4
And, न गीत-वाद्य-नृत्तज्ञाः लोकस्थितिविदो न ये ।
अभिनेतुं च कर्तुं च प्रबन्धांस्ते बहिर्मुखाः ॥
—*Ibid*, p. 21 c. 4
And also, पञ्चप्रबन्धमिषपञ्चमुखानकेन विद्वन्मनःसदसि नृत्यति यस्य कीर्तिः ।
विद्यात्रयीचणमचुम्बितकाव्यतन्द्रं कस्तं न वेद सुकृती किल रामचन्द्रम् ॥
—*Raghuvilāsa*, I.3
प्राणाः कवित्वं विद्यानां लावण्यमिव योषिताम् ।
त्रैविद्यवेदिनोऽप्यस्मै ततो नित्यं कृतस्मृहाः ॥
—*Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. p. 22 v, 9
7. Cf : नाटकेन रजादिरुत्तमप्रकृतिर्व्युत्पाद्यते...वणिगादिर्मध्यमप्रकृतिः प्रकरणेन । दुर्मधसां हि न्याय्ये वर्त्तन्नि वृत्त्यर्थं कवयोऽभिनेयप्रबन्धान् ग्रथन्तीति ।
—*Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. p. 106
8. Cf : कविः काव्ये रामः सरसवचसामेकवसतिः ।
—*Nalavilāsa* I. 2.a.
And, प्रबन्धानाधातुं नवभणितिवैदाध्यमधुरन्
कवीन्द्रा निस्तन्द्राः कति न हि मुररिप्रभृतयः ।
ऋते रामान्नान्यः किमुत परकोटी घटयितुं
रसान् नाट्यप्राणान् पटुरिति वितर्को मनसि नः ॥
—*Nalavilāsa* I. 3
—*Kaumudīmitrāṇanda* I. 3

And also,

व्युत्पत्तिर्मुखमेव नाटकगुणव्यासे तु किं वर्ण्यते
 सौरभ्यप्रसवा नवा भणितिरप्यस्त्येव काचित् वृत्ति ।
 यं प्राणान् दशरूपकस्य स करेत्क्षेपं समाचक्षते
 साहित्योपनिषद्विदः स तु स्तो रामस्य वाचां परः ॥

—*Satyahariscandra* I-3

And also further,

प्रबन्धा इक्षुवत् प्रायो हीयमानरसाः क्रमात् ।
 कृतिस्तु रामचन्द्रस्य सर्वा स्वादुः पुरः पुरः ॥

—*Nalavilāsa* I. 4

—*Satyahariscandra* I. 4

—*Kaumudimitrānanda*, I. 4

And also still further,

सुकृतो रामचन्द्रस्य वसन्तः कलगीतयः ।
 स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्टयोगश्च पञ्चैते हर्षवृ(स्)ष्टयः ॥

—*Satyahariscandra*, I. 5

—*Nirbhayabhīma*, I. 2

9. Keith : *The Sanskrit Drama*, (pp. 80-83)
10. *Ibid*, pp. 131-142; Dasgupta : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 239-248
11. Keith : *The Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 187-203.
 Dasgupta : *A History of Sanskrit Literature* Vol. I, pp. 208-298.
12. Introduction (Sanskrit) to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, p. 42.
13. *Ibid*, p. 47.
14. *Ibid*, p. 32.
15. *Ibid*, p. 55.
16. Ed. Muni Punyavijaya, *Jaina Ātmānanda Granthamālā*, Bhavnagar, 1917.
17. Text published for the first time in *Sambodhi* Vol. 7, April, 1978-January 1979, Nos. 1-4.
18. Keith : *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 221, pp. 257-258.
 Dasgupta : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol I, p. 474, p. 686.
19. At the commencement of his works he pays homage to the Jinas or their Speech.
20. He speaks with reverence of his great Ācārya :
 शब्द-प्रमाण-साहित्य-छन्दो-लक्ष्मविधायिनाम् ।
 श्रीहेमचन्द्रपादानां प्रसादाय नमो नमः ॥
21. He calls himself '*Vidyātrayīcaṇam*' in his prologue to *Raghuvilāsa*, and '*Traividyaavedin*' in the introductory portion of the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa-vivarāṇa*. The three '*Vidyās*', meant by Rāmacandra are :
 शब्दलक्ष्म-प्रमालक्ष्म-काव्यलक्ष्म-कृतश्रमः ।
 वाग्विलासस्त्रिमार्गो नौ प्रवाह इव जाहुजः ॥
22. He calls himself '*Acumbita-kāvya-tandram*' (prologue to *Raghuvilāsa*) and '*Viśrṇa-kāvya-nirmāṇa-tandra*' (Prologue to *Kaumudimitrānanda*.) He refers to his firm resolve to compose original works in his Prologue to *Mallikāmakaranda* (I. 8).

23. Read : कविः काव्ये रामः सरसवचसामेकवसतिः ।
—Nalavilāsa I. 2.
24. प्रबन्धानाधातुं नवभणितिवैदग्ध्यमधुरान्
कवीन्द्रा निस्तन्द्राः कति नहि मुरसिप्रभृतयः ।
ऋते रामान्नान्यः किमुत परकोटौ घटयितुं
रसान् नाट्यप्राणान् पटुरिति वितर्को मनसि नः ॥
—Ibid I. 3
—Kaumudī I. 3
25. प्रबन्धा इक्षुवत् प्रायो हीयमानरसाः क्रमात् ।
कृतिस्तु रामचन्द्रस्य सर्वां स्वादुः पुरः पुरः ॥
—Ibid I. 4
—Kaumudī I. 4
—Satyahariścandra I. 4
26. सूक्तयो रामचन्द्रस्य वसन्तः कलगीतयः ।
स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्टयोगश्च पञ्चैते हर्षवृष्टयः ॥
—Satyahariścandra I. 5
—Nirbhayabhīma I. 2
27. Nalavilāsa I. 7 and 8
28. Mallikāmakaranda I. 7 and 8
29. शमस्तत्त्वं मुनीन्द्राणां जानते तु जगन्त्यपि ।
जन्यैव दिवि देवानां विहारो भवनेष्वपि ॥
30. स्वतन्त्रो देव भूयासं सारमेयोऽपि वर्त्मनि ।
मास्म भूवं परायत्तस्त्रिलोकस्यापि नायकः ॥
31. स्वातन्त्र्यं यदि जीवितावधि मुधा स्वर्भूर्भुवो वैभवं
—Nalavilāsa II. 2(C)
32. Read अजातगणनाः समाः परमतः स्वतन्त्रो भव ।
प्राप्य स्वातन्त्र्यलक्ष्मीं मुदमथ वहतां शाश्वतीं यादवेन्द्रः ।
प्राप्य स्वातन्त्र्यलक्ष्मीमनुभवतु मुदं शाश्वती भीमसेनः ।
आसाद्य यशोलक्ष्मीं परां स्वतन्त्राक्षिरं भूयाः ।
—Nalavilāsa
—Satyahariścandra
—Yadavābhūdaya
—Nirbhayabhīma
—Kaumudī, Mallikāmakaranda
33. Read महाकविनिबद्धानि दृष्ट्वा रूपाणि भूरिशः ।
स्वयं च कृत्वा स्वोपज्ञं नाट्यलक्ष्म विवृण्वहे ॥
—Nātyadarpana I (Introductory v. n. 2)
34. Read न गीत-वाद्य-नृतज्ञाः लोकास्थितिविदो न ये ।
अभिनेतुं च कर्तुं च प्रबन्धांस्ते बहिर्मुखाः ॥
—Ibid. v. n. 3
35. Read दुर्मेधसां हि न्याये वर्त्मनि वृत्त्यर्थं कवयोऽभिनेय-प्रबन्धान् ग्रथन्ति ।
—Ibid, p. 106
36. Āmukha to Mallikāmakaranda (p. 1)
37. Mallikāmakaranda (p. 27)
38. Ibid, (p. 38)
39. Mallikāmakaranda, (p. 52). A passage of similar import occurs in Nalavilāsa (p. 82).
40. Vide the section on Characters *supra*.
41. रसप्राणो नाट्यविधिः । वर्णार्थबन्धवैदग्धीवासितान्तःकरणा ये पुनरभिनेयेष्वपि
प्रबन्धेषु रसमपजहति विद्वांस एव ते न कवयः ।
न तथा वृत्तवैचित्री श्लाघ्या नाट्ये यथा रसः ॥

विपाककम्रमप्याम्रमुद्वेजयति नीरसम् ॥

—VI. 23

Rāmacandra's statement 'रसप्रणो नाट्यविधिः' reminds one of Bharata's dictum : नहि रसाद् ऋते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते—

42. न चातिरसतो वस्तु दूरं विच्छिन्नतां नयेत् ।
 रसं वा न तिरोदध्याद् वस्त्वलङ्कारलक्षणैः ॥
 एको रसोऽङ्गीकर्तव्यो वीरः शङ्गार एव वा ।
 अङ्गमन्ये रसाः सर्वे कुर्यान्निर्वहणेऽद्भुतम् ॥

—*Daśarūpaka* III. 33-34



PRAKRIT VERSES IN SANSKRIT WORKS ON POETICS

1. The Need For A Critical Edition :

When scholars of eminence and learned Pandits have edited the various texts on Sanskrit poetics, one should not have felt the need for bringing out a critical edition of “*Prakrit Verses In Sanskrit Works On Poetics.*” With due deference to these learned scholars and Pandits, I cannot help making a remark that Prakrit verses have received far less attention than they deserve. At many places the text is corrupt, sometimes very corrupt¹. In some places the Sanskrit Chāyā does not agree with the corresponding Prakrit passages, often partly and sometimes wholly. There is a large number of Prakrit verses drawn as illustrations from works which are lost and are yet to be discovered. In the footnotes to their texts the editors simply remark ‘*Durbodhā or aviśadā or aspaṣṭā iyaṁ gāthā*’ and express their helplessness in rendering the Prakrit *gāthā* intelligible. They only remain content by adding a questionmark when they are confronted with a corrupt reading. Owing to want of sufficient knowledge of Prakrit some perpetrate ludicrous blunders while translating Prakrit verses into English or modern Indian languages, and do injustice to Prakrit poets. It is the duty of modern research scholars to present the text of the Prakrit verses as correctly as possible by undertaking a comparative study. Vigorous efforts must be made to trace their primary sources and where that is not possible—on account of the irretrievable loss of Prakrit poetic works—to hunt secondary sources such as works on Prakrit Grammar, Prosody Prakrit Anthologies and other works on Poetics to find if any of the corrupt verses have been cited in any of these works. References to the primary or secondary sources often help a curious reader to refer to the context in which the verses occur and thus facilitate understanding. Many scholars believed that the number of these Prakrit verses could not be large since a good many of them are repeated from early standard works like *Dhvanyāloka* and *Kāvya prakāśa*. When I first undertook the work of restoring the text of the illustrative Prakrit verses I was myself not

aware of the stupendous nature of my task. No doubt, a large number of these verses are repeated by various writers on poetics; still the fact remains that the total number of Prakrit verses cited as illustrations far exceeds the general belief of scholars. Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa* alone quotes over 380 Prakrit (and Apabhraṁśa) passages and his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* has earned the enviable distinction of quoting the largest number of Prakrit (and Apabhraṁśa) verses or passages which come to about 1650 in number. Of all the works on Poetics *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* pose a true challenge to one's critical ability, scholarship, patience and industry. For a very large majority of Prakrit (and Apabhraṁśa) verses (and passages) are presented in a very corrupt and confounding form—some (of the verses) are indeed corrupt beyond recognition.

I have endeavoured to restore the corrupt Prakrit verses in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* and other works on Poetics tracing them to their primary or secondary sources. As regards the restoration of such passages there is hardly any room for doubt, for the restoration is based on a substantial basis. But a considerable number of Prakrit verses are such as cannot be traced to their sources, primary or secondary. Their sources are irretrievably lost, and they are not cited in any other work on Poetics, Prosody or Grammar or Anthologies. Naturally, the restoration of such Prakrit passages may not be unanimously or universally acceptable. There is scope for other and more competent and better equipped scholars to suggest better or more meaningful emendations. In spite of my best efforts, over a hundred out of 2896 Prakrit verses (and Apabhraṁśa passages) covered in this volume still remain to be restored. I leave these verses to such scholars.

2. Corrupt Text :

The Prakrit text of many verses, is, in many places, corrupt or shows small or big gaps and in some cases it is so hopelessly corrupt that it is unintelligible. In many cases the exact context from which they are drawn is not known and consequently they remain obscure. As the Prakrit text is carelessly transcribed in the Manuscripts, it becomes the responsibility of the editors of these works to present the Prakrit verses as correctly as possible, by tracing them to their sources or by referring to other works on Poetics (*Alaṅkāra*) Grammar or Prosody or Anthologies wherever they are quoted. One must concede, however, that in spite of the best of efforts on the part of editors some verses still remain obscure, as their sources are irretrievably lost and they are not cited elsewhere. Dr. Weber has edited some *gāthās* from the works, on Sanskrit poetics and incorporated them, by way of an Appendix, in his critical edition of

Gāthāsaptasatī : *Über das Sapta Satakam des Hāla*. Dr. A. M. Ghatage has corrected some Prakrit verses in the footnotes to his article on *Māhārāṣṭrī* Language and Literature. Dr. A. N. Upadhye has corrected one very obscure Apabhraṁśa verse from Dhanika's *Avaloka* on *Daśarūpaka* which correction is incorporated by T. Venkatacharya² in his paper entitled 'An Appraisal of the Hindi Daśarūpaka' in *Journal, University of Gauhati XI : Arts*.

Dr. H. C. Bhayani has presented a philological discussion of the Prakrit illustrations cited in 'Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* in his two papers (in Gujarati) published in *VIDYA, Journal of Gujarat University, Vol. XIII : No.2, August 1970, (pp 9-17)* and *Vol. XIV : No.1, January 1971, (pp. 1-10)*. He has contributed three papers, devoted to restoration of the Apabhraṁśa passages from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* :

(i) "The Apabhraṁśa Passages From Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, I- VIII, "The *Journal of Oriental Institute Vol.XXV, March-June 1976, Nos. 3-4*.

(ii) "Apabhraṁśa Passages From Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*" (IX-XIV), *VIDYA : Languages Vol. XVIII (1) (pp. 1-12), January 1976, and*

(iii) "The Apabhraṁśa Passages From Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* XV- XXXVI, *Bulletin of The Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, No. 20, August 1976 (pp 1-13)*. He has also contributed, a paper to (MM Dr. P. V. Kane Birth Centenary Volume) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Volumes 52-53/1977-78 (New Series) : "Restoration of the text of some Corrupt Apabhraṁśa and Prakrit citations in Dhanika's Avaloka on the Daśarūpaka and in Kuntaka's Vakroktijīvita" (pp. 49-54)*. I contributed a number of papers to various Journals with a view to restoring or reconstructing the Prakrit text of a very large number of verses. As the present volume covers all these papers, with corrections of misprints and emendations wherever necessary, I do not list them here. Of the *Alamkāra* works covered in the present volume Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Coronation Press, Mysore edn. in four volumes) and *The Sāhitya Mīmāṁsā* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXIV, 1934) present the text of Prakrit illustrative verses and passages very carelessly and in a highly corrupt form. Sometimes they present the verses as prose passages ! To give an idea of how corrupt the text is a few typical cases are discussed below :

The passage "Ahape.... anurāo" in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Vol. I, p. 120 has been considered very corrupt. The significant word 'anurāo' and the word 'āśvāsaka' following this passage in the text led me to seek the source of these two verses in *Setubandha* and I succeeded in tracing the two verses as *Setubandha* IX.1 and IX 96 respectively.

The passage “Devaditi luṇāhi ..gumariphellaparāṇya” (?) in *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* 1.16 was considered extremely corrupt and absolutely unintelligible. The commentator “*Bālapriyākāra*” confesses his inability to restore the original passage. I came across a corresponding passage in *Abhinavabhāratī* (Vol. I, Ch. VI, p. 305) which reads “Vardhate’ luṇāhi... landhā.” This too is absolutely corrupt. *Parīṣiṣṭam* to the Volume (p. 383) notes : *Dhvanyālokalocanasya tālapatrādarśe...*

“Paluddisi.. dolvapaitṭha (?)” This, too proved of little use in tracing the original verse. Someśvara’s *Samketa* on *Kāvyaṣaṣṭā* (II-14, p.24) quotes part of the relevant passage from *Locana* wherein the Apabhraṃśa verse occurs and correctly presents a half of the verse : “Lāvaṇṇujjalaṅgu ghari ḍhollu paitṭhā”. The whole verse, however, is for the first time cited correctly in *Kalpalatāviveka* (p. 123, lines 26-27) as follows :-

Dīvaḍi tellu ṇāhi palu drammi gamitṭhā |
Lāvaṇṇujjalaṅgu ghari ḍhollu paitṭhā ||

(Sanskrit *chāyā* :

Dīpake tailam nāsti palam dramam gavesitam |
Lāvaṇyojjvalāṅgo grhe priyatamaḥ praviṣṭaḥ ||

One more passage from *Locana* may be cited here in this connection. *Locana* (p. 176) reads :-

“Osuru sumṭhi...teṇa !”

The text of the first quarter of this Apabhraṃśa verse is obviously corrupt. *Kalpalatāviveka* (p.127, line 17) records the *pratīka* of this verse as “*Usurusumbhiyāe*”.

Desāsaddasaṅgaha (p. 55) reads :

‘ऊसुंभिय-ऊसुरुसुंभिया य रुद्धगलरुण्णम्मि’

The editor explains “*Ūsumbhiyaṃ tathā ūsurū-sumbhiyaṃ ruddhagalam rodanam*”. In the light of these two relevant and useful suggestions the verse could be restored as :-

Ūsurusumbhiyāe muhu cumbū jeṇa |
Amīarasaghoṭaṇu paḍijāṇiu teṇa ||

Sanskrit *chāyā* :

Ruddhagalam rudatyāḥ mukham cumbitaṃ yena |
Amṛtarasaghoṭanam pariñātaṃ tena ||

A part of the *chāyā* given by the commentator, viz., 'Īrṣyāśruśobhitayā is inaccurate.

From the commentary of Ratneśvara on Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana* we reproduce for consideration two verses. The first verse is on p. 81 :

उच्चइ आगमहि आवड्ड सिज्जंतरो सपरिआरम् ।
पाणौपसरन्तमत्ताचंवफलिहचसअम्मुहं बाला ॥

The Sanskrit *chāyā*, added in the footnotes by the editors is as follows :

'उच्चारगच्छेरावर्धय सिध्यन्तरः सपरिवारम् ।
पाणौ प्रसरन्त...बाला'.... इतिच्छाया.

Now, the Prakrit verse which is highly corrupt, especially in its first half, is unintelligible. The Sanskrit *chāyā*, which is erroneous and incomplete, hardly helps us to understand the import of the verse. The verse, cited as an illustration, is drawn from Vākpati's *Gauḍavaho* v.no. 690 and reads as follows :

उच्चइइ दइअ-गहिआहरोट्ट-झिज्जंत-रोस-पडिसअं ।
पाणोसरंत-मइरं व फलिह-चसअं इमा बाला ॥
[उद्धति दयितगृहीताधरोष्ठक्षीयमाणरोषप्रतिरागम् ।
पानापसरन्मदिरमिव स्फटिकचषकमियं बाला ॥]

Note : The printed text reads 'imā vaanam' (Sk. *iyam vadanam*' in place 'muham bālā'. The reading adopted here is supported by *Śrīngāraprakāśa* (p. 623, p. 771 & p. 1040).

The second verse, which is an excellent example of the corrupt text occurs on p. 121 (lines 3-4). It reads as follows :

धवलाई गलेत्ति धवलेहि अणञ्जणसामलोहिं णिसालआए ।
णरवत्तकुसुमाइं णहअलाओ ओसराइ ॥

As the passage is extremely corrupt the editors have not added the Sanskrit *chāyā*. In fact, the text of this passage is a medley of fragmented lines belonging to different *gāthās* :

Some words from the two lines, presented as one verse by the editors, when properly rearranged, make the second hemistich of a *gāthā* which we come across in *Līlavāī* (*Gāthā* No. 1091) :

पच्चूस-गय-वरुम्भूलियाएँ उड्डीण-ससि-विहंगाए ।
धवलाई गलन्ति णिसा-लयाएँ णवत्त-कुसुमाइं ॥
(प्रत्यूषगजवरोन्मूलिताया उड्डीनशशिविहङ्गायाः ।
धवलानि गलन्ति निशालताया नक्षत्रकुसुमानि ॥)

In *dhavalāim galetti*, 'galetti' is obviously a scribal error, or misreading of *galamti* on the part of the editor. Dr. Upadhye, the editor of *Līlāvāi*, says in a footnote to this *gāthā* : "This *gāthā* is not given by B, but is found only in PJ" (p. 164. fn. 2). In his Notes on this *gāthā* (p. 372) Dr. Upadhye observes : "This is a beautiful *gāthā* describing the morning scene and quite independent by itself". We find that Hemacandra has quoted this to illustrate that 'e' (and 'o') could be short at the end of a *pada* (छन्दो p. Ia. Bombay 1912) :

एदोतौ पदान्ते प्राकृते ह्रस्वौ वा । पदान्ते वर्तमानावेकोरौकरौ प्राकृत-भाषायां ह्रस्वौ वा भवतः । यथा-
पच्चूसगयवरुम्मूलिआए उड्डीणससिविहंगाए ।
धवलाई गलंति निसालयाए नक्खत्तकुसुमाइ ॥
उअ ओ (-पो) मरायमरायसंवलिआ णहयलाउ ओयइ ।
णहसिरिकंठभट्ट व्व कंठिआ कीरींछोला (=०ली) ॥
ईं हिं इत्येतयोह्रस्वत्वं शब्दानुशासने निर्णोतमिति नेहोच्यते ।

The second quotation 'Ua' etc. comes from the GS (I.75) but the first is not traced there. This *gāthā*, with its second line read somewhat differently, is found included in the *Surasumdarīcariya* III. 245, where it stands thus :

पच्चूसगयवरुम्मूलियाए उड्डीणससिविहंगाए ।
स्यणिलयाए गलंति व कुसुमाइ तास्यनिहेण ॥”

Now a close look at the second *gāthā* reveals that it contains the two words "nahayalāu oyarai" which correspond to "nahaalāo osarai" of the medley text of Ratneśvara's commentary on SK. Still the two *padas* "dhavalehim aṇañjaṇa" from Ratneśvara's text remain untraced. But the whole riddle of this medley passage is solved when we turn to *Svayambucchandaḥ*. Its *gāthādividhi* reads :

हिआरो बिन्दुजुओ पआवसाणम्मि लहू । छइल्लाण जहा-
(हिकारो बिन्दुयुतः पदावसाने लघुः । छइल्लस्य (? विदग्धस्य) यथा -)
धवलोहिं अणंजणसामलोहिं पेरेततणुअतणुएहिं ।
णिदाएत्ति उवेदो गअणिदाएहिं अच्छीहिं ॥१.२॥
(धवलाभ्यामनञ्जनश्यामलाभ्यां पर्यन्ततनुकतनुकैः ।
निद्रायते उपेन्द्रः गतनिद्राभ्यामक्षिभ्याम् ॥१.२॥
एआरो सुद्धो पआवसाणम्मि लहू । वम्मउत्तस्य (०स्स) जहा-
(एकारः शुद्धः पदावसाने लघुः । वर्मपुत्रस्य यथा-)
पच्चूसगअवरमलिआए उड्डीणससिविहंगाए ।
धवलाई गलंति णिसालआएँ णक्खत्तकुसुमाइ ॥१.३॥
(प्रत्युषगजवरमृदितायाः उड्डीणशशिविहंगायाः ।
धवत्वानि गलन्ति निशालतायाः नक्खत्तकुसुमानि ॥१.३॥)

ओआरो सुद्धो पआवसाणम्मि लहू अ । पालित्तस्स जहा—
 (ओकारः शुद्धः पदावसाने लघुश्च । पादलित्तस्य यथा-)
 उअ पोम्मराअमराअसंवलिया णहअलाओ ओअरइ ।
 णहसिरिकंठभट्टु व्व कंठिआ कीरिंछेली ॥१.४॥
 (पश्य पद्मरागमरकतसंवलिता नभस्तलादवतरति ।
 नभःश्रीकण्ठभ्रष्टेव कण्ठिका शुकपङ्क्तिः ॥)

The context in *SK* (I. Kārikā. 123) and Ratneśvara's comments thereon (pp.120-121) leave no doubt that Ratneśvara had in mind these three illustrations.

Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* cites the highest number of Prakrit passages. The printed text (Mysore edn.) presents a large number of them in a very corrupt form. A few typical examples may be taken up for consideration :

चं छं खाहिपरौखं कहवतुगघडिआहिआगमसुंधस्सं ।
 चालिअणि कं पं अणुहूआहिविमहं सुअच्चिअगरुअं ॥

Now, this passage, as presented in the printed text hardly makes any sense. If we keep in mind the context of *sāstrābhimāna* and read the text again and again we get some hints. It speaks of 'parokkha' 'āgama', 'aṇuhūāū', 'sua' and we are made to think that the terms are most probably drawn from *Nyāyāśāstra*, and we are led to emend the corrupt term 'camchamkhāhi' to 'paccakkhāhi' and this word serves as a key to trace the corrupt verse to *Setubandha* IV. 27.

पच्चक्खा हि परेक्खं कह वि तुलगघडिआहि हि आगमसुद्धं ।
 संचालिअणिकंपं अणुहूआ वि महं सुअं चिअ गरुअं ॥
 [प्रत्यक्षात्परोक्षं कथमपि तुलाग्र (? काकतालीय) घटितादागमशुद्धम् ।
 संचालितनिष्कम्पमनुभूतादपि मम श्रुतमेव गुरुकम् (=गुरु) ॥
 (ii) वैरि ंजंतो पुवकएहि कंमेहि केहिंवरओ
 सुमंछंतो दुंसह जणाणए जणे परइ ।
 अरंभो जंस इमोणीसासाआससोसिअसरीरे
 परिणाहेकहं होहिइण आणिमो दंढेपेमंस ॥

—Vol. IV p. 901.

These four lines, as printed in the text, lead us to believe that they form the four quarters of one single stanza. On a closer look, however, they are seen to be in the Āryā metre (with 12, 18, 12 and 15 *mātrās* in the four quarters respectively) and actually form two independent stanzas.

पेरिज्जंतो पुवकएहि कम्मेहि केहिं वराओ ।
 सुहमिच्छंतो दुल्लहजणाणए जणे पडइ ॥

[प्रेर्यमाणः पूर्वकृतैः कर्मभिः कैरपि वराकः ।
सुखमिच्छन् दुर्लभजनानुरागे जनः पतति ॥]

This stanza is found in the *Līlāvāī* (V. No. 569). As the next verse follows this without any introductory words such as ‘*yathā vā*’, which Bhoja frequently adds while giving an additional example, one would expect to find this next verse also in the *Līlāvāī* in the same context. The printed edition of the *Līlāvāī*, however, does not contain it. This verse when corrected would read as :

आरंभो जस्स इमो णीसासाआससोसिससरीरो ।
परिणाहो (? परिणामो) कहं होहिइ ण आणिमो दड्डुपेम्मस्स ॥
[आरम्भो यस्यायं निःश्वासायासशोषितशरीरः ।
परिणामः कथं भविष्यति न जानीमो दग्धप्रेम्णः ॥]

Now this verse is found quoted in the *Vajjālagga* with a few variant readings :

आरंभो जस्स इमो आसन्नासाससोसियसरीरो ।
परिणामो कह होसइ न याणिमो तस्स पेम्मस्स ॥

The words in bold type present variant readings; *hosai* and *hohihi* are just two different forms identical in meaning; *na āṇimo* and *na yāṇimo* are (almost) identical. The reading *āsannāsāsa* however, is not happy. Ratnadeva, the commentator, renders it as *āsannāsāvāsa* and Prof. M. V. Patwardhan says in his Notes :

“आसन्न = आसन्नजण, आसन्नाणं आसन्नजणाणं आसासेहि (= ऊसासेहि = उच्छवासैः-..... ।”

It would be better to read *āsannūsāsa*.” The reading *ṇīsāsāsa* of the *ŚP* is decidedly better and eminently suits the context.

From the point of view of grammatical construction the reading *tassa* found in the *Vajjālagga* seems to be more appropriate. The reading *daḍḍha-pemmassa* conveys in a telling manner the *virahavisūraṇa* (distress or sorrow caused by separation) which is being illustrated.

(iii) चंदो वि चंदवअण —p. 953.

The printed text gives only this much portion of the verse. Nor has the verse been cited in full earlier or later in the text. One is left only with a speculation as to what verse Bhoja must have had in mind. Although the context immediately preceding the printed portion of the verse is not given, we gather from the introductory portion of Chapter XXIX that the intended verse is cited to illustrate *priyasandēśaḥ*. As *dūtasampreṣaṇam*, etc., are each illustrated with two verses, it is clear that the present incomplete verse and the immediately

succeeding one are cited to illustrate 'priyasandesah'. A gāthā with these very opening words is included by Weber in his edition of *Saptaśatakam*. It suits admirably the context of *priyasandesah*. The *nāyaka* conveys through this *dūti* a message to the *nāyikā*. The message contains flattering or coaxing words praising the beautiful moonlike face, lotus-stalk-like arms and blue lotus-like eyes of the *nāyikā*. The *gāthā* in full is as follows :

चंदो वि चंदवअणे मुणालबाहालए मुणालाई ।
 इंदीवराइ इंदीवरच्छि तावेति तुह विरहे ॥
 [चन्द्रोऽपि चन्द्रवदने मृणालबाहा (=बाहु-)लते मृणालानि ।
 इंदीवराणीन्दीवरक्षि तापयन्ति तव विरहे ॥]

The *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* has been edited very carelessly and the printed text bristles with innumerable errors and corrupt readings. We take up here a few out of 120 passages for discussion :

- (i) णिभुअं खुणं ससिजइरुवइ...रस्सुतं पिणि ।
 सइं व कआपराहाहिअअ च्चिअ जिण्हविज्जंति ॥

The text is undoubtedly corrupt. When restored it reads as follows :

- (ii) णिहुअं खु णीससिज्जइ, रुव्वइ राईसु तं पि णीसइं ।
 पइम्मि कआवराहे, हिअ-इच्छिआणि ण्हुविज्जंति ॥
 [निभृतं खलु निःश्वस्यते रुद्यते रात्रिषु तदपि निःशब्दम् ।
 पत्यौ कृतापराधे हृदयेऽपिस्तानि हनूयन्ते ॥]

- (iii) अलअं जणांति दकहकत्थरस्सराहचसरासरीरजीवि ।
 अंजणअ आथणअप्यं समअं अह करलाविद्धा (?) ॥

Note : The text of this verse is highly corrupt. It is, however, cited in Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇthābharāṇa* (V. v. no. 13, p. 576) and Narendraprabha's *Alamkāramahodadhi* as an example of *rasābhāsa*. Metrically these two quotations are imperfect. There the text makes a clear mention of 'Daśakandhara', 'Rāghava' and 'Janakasutā' and these names lead us to trace the verse to *Setubandha*. Although its *Nirnyasagar* edition does not include it, the *Calcuttā* edition (*Rāvaṇavahamahākāvyaṃ*) presents it at XV. 66. K. K. Handiqui (Introduction p. 113, Pravarasena's *Setubandha, Translation, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad-9, 1976*) rightly observes : "But not a few commentators from different parts of India seem to have rejected it because of the unpleasant idea involving Sītā in the description."

पुलअं जणेति दसकंधरस्स रहव-सरा सरीर-अडंता ।
 जणअ-तणआ-पओहर-फंस-महग्घविअ-कर-जुअल-णिव्वूढा ॥

[पुलकं जनयन्ति दशकन्धरस्य राघवशराः शरीरपतन्तः ।
जनकतनयापयोधरस्पर्शमर्हर्षितकरयुगलनिर्व्यूढः ॥]

(iii) 'संखकुलमि' त्ति स (?) - p. 121.

Only the *pratīka* 'Samkhakula' is given here, on its basis and taking into consideration the context of 'samudre paṅkajam varnyam'—although lotuses do not exist in an ocean they should be so described—we identify the intended full verse to be :

संख-उल-धवल-कमले, फुड-मराग-हरिअ-पत्तभंग-णिहाए ।
विहुम-मिलिअ-किसलए उहअतडाबद्धसंकमम्मि णलवहे ॥
[शङ्खकुलधवलकमले स्फुटमरकतहरितपत्रभङ्गनिघाते ।
विद्रुममिलितकिसलये उभयतटाबद्धसंक्रमे नलपथे ॥] —Setu VIII. 100

(iv) "आसण्णकुडुग्गजण्ण—वाहिणीगोलो ।" —p.150

This passage, although printed as prose, is really not in prose. Through scribal error four independent *gāthās* illustrating the festival of *navapatikā* are presented as prose. The whole passage is adopted by the author of *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* from *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Ch. XXXIV, pp. 1192-1193, Mysore edition) :

(i) आसण्ण-कुडुंगे जुण्णदेउले बहु-जुआण-संकिण्णे ।
थेरो पइ त्ति मा रुअसु पुत्ति दिण्णासि सुग्गामे ॥

[आसन्नलतागृहे जीणदिवकुले बहुयुवसंकीर्णे ।

स्थविरः पतिरिति मा रुदिहि पुत्रि दत्तासि सुग्रामे ॥] —Cf. *ŚP* Vol. IV, p. 1192.

(ii) ता कुणह कालहरणं तुवरंतम्मि वि वरे विवाहस्स ।

जा पंडुणहवआइं, होंति कुमारीएँ अंगाइं ॥

[तावत् कुरु कालहरणं त्वरमाणेऽपि वरे विवाहस्य ।

यावत् पाण्डुनखपदानि भवन्ति कुमार्या अङ्गानि ॥]

—Cf. *ŚP* Vol. IV, p. 1193, *SK* V. v. no. 311.

(iii) कइआ जाआ कइआ णु सिक्खिआ माइआ हअकुमारी ।

तं तं जाणइ सव्वं जं जं महिलाओ जाणांति ॥

[कदा जाता कदा नु शिक्षिता मातः, हतकुमारी ।

तत्तज्जानाति सर्वं यद्यद् महिला जानन्ति ॥]

—Cf. *ŚP* Vol. IV p. 1193; *GS* (W) 825.

(iv) तत्थ वि होंति सहीओ पुत्तलि मा रुवसु जत्थ दिण्णा सि ।

तत्थ वि णिउंज-लीला तत्थ वि गिरिवाहिणी गोला ॥

[तत्रापि भवन्ति सख्यः पुत्रिके मा रुदिहि यत्र दत्तासि ।

तत्रापि निकुञ्जलीला तत्रापि गिरिवाहिनी गोदा ॥]

—Cf. *Saptaśātīsāra* v. no. 78, *GS* (W) 885.

These few examples will give a knowledgeable reader some idea of the stupendous task that restoring corrupt passages involves.

3. Praise Of Prakrit Poetry In Vajjālaggaṃ :

How do those who do not know how to recite and hear (appreciate) Prakrit poetry, which is (like) nectar (itself)—not feel ashamed while pretending to carry on gossip about the nature of love³ ?

The utterances (of fair women), full of half-pronounced (indistinctly uttered) letters, (their) charming and coquettish smiles and (oblique) glances shot through half-closed and half-opened eyes—these to be sure can hardly be understood without an acquaintance with the *gāthās*⁴.

In the absence of the *gāthās* adorned with figures of speech, characterised by literary excellences (or adherence to the rule of grammar—*lakṣaṇa*), and rendered enchanting by diverse emotions and also in the absence of loving sweethearts, adorned with ornaments, characterised by auspicious physical qualities (*lakṣaṇa*) and fascinating with the diverse display of emotions, the mind is very much ill at ease (or is deeply distressed)⁵.

This is only too obvious that the hidden meaning of the *gāthās* and the heart of women cannot be followed by men who are devoid of literary appreciation (devoid of emotional excitement), just as riches cannot be obtained in the absence of virtue (practised in a previous life)⁶.

The *gāthā* clad in metre, possessing an attractive form, adorned with figures of speech and full of charming utterances, yields pleasure (only) when it is recited, just as a beautiful woman, *self-willed*, possessing an attractive form, adorned with ornaments and full of pleasing utterances, yields much delight (only) when she is (properly) approached (for amorous dalliance)⁷.

Whose hearts are not fascinated (ravished) by the emotional appeal of the *gāthās*, by the coquettish gestures of women, by the utterances of poets and by the lisping words (indistinct babble) of children⁸ ?

Failure to appreciate the charm of the *gāthās*, of songs (vocal music), of the notes of the lutes and of grown-up ladies—well, that itself is a great punishment⁹.

We never become satiated with the delight which springs from Prakrit poetry, from the utterances of clever people and from the drinking of cool and fragrant water¹⁰.

Prakrit poetry which is marked by the use of Deśya (provincial, regional)

words, which has sweet (pleasing) sounds, which is cast in metrical form, which is graceful and whose sense is clear (*sphuṭa*) obvious (*vikāṭa*) and transparent (*prakāṭa*) deserves to be studied (read) (by all)¹¹.

While Prakrit poetry, charming, full of (lifting word music) adored by young ladies and enriched by the sentiment of love is at hand, who will care to go in for Sanskrit (poetry)¹² ?

4. Various Poet's Praise Of Prakrit Poetry :

(a) Vākpati

"The charm of Sanskrit speech blooms in its Prakritic shadow, while the (innate) glory of the Prakrit is heightened when touched up by its Sanskritization¹³.

It is only in Prakrit that we can have in an abundant measure, ever fresh themes presented in a rich variety of styles, refreshingly cool and caressingly sweet. This will continue to be till the end of the world¹⁴.

All languages merge in it (Prakrit) and emerge (*neṃti*) from it. Waters pour into the sea and flow out of it¹⁵.

A peculiar delight which dilates and closes the eyes, thrills the heart, rushing inwards and outwards¹⁶."—*Gaṇḍavaho* : v 65, v 92, v 93, v94. (As translated by N. G. Suru.)

(b) Rājaśekhara

"Sanskrit compositions are harsh, while a composition in Prakrit sounds so soft. The difference between the two is as between the masculine and the feminine."¹⁷

In other words,

You may respect Sanskrit but you will fall in love with Prakrit.

—*Karpūramañjarī* I.7

Sanskrit speech is praiseworthy whereas Prakrit speech is naturally sweet...¹⁸

—*Bālarāmāyaṇa* I.11

It (i.e. Prakrit) is the source of Sanskrit; it dances on the tongues of ladies of lovely eyes; when one hears it the words of Sanskrit language grate upon one's ears; its prose is easy, does not contain hard letters and has very few compounds; and it is the abode of the god of love...¹⁹ —*Bālarāmāyaṇa* I. 11"

(c) A commentator of Prakrit-Prakāśa

O, how marvellous ! The Prakrit, which is lovely like the moonlike face of the beloved, is fascinating. It sparkles with *sūktis* (good sayings) imbued with nectar-like *rasas*²⁰.

(d) *Ajñātakaviḥ*

Away with Sanskrit poetry and the poets who composed it. For Sanskrit, when read, sounds like 'taḍ-taḍ-taṭṭa' like a house of bamboos on fire²¹.

The *Paṇḍita*, who replies in Sanskrit when Prakrit poetry is recited, pelts stones at the bed of flowers and destroys it²².

The topic which follows about "Praise of Prakrit Poets" is in a way related to the topic under discussion as it contains indirect praise of Prakrit poetry.

5. Poetry In Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit :

Prakrit literature is vast and varied. It is composed in different languages like Ardhāmāgadhī, Māhārāṣṭrī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Jain Śaurasenī, Paisācī and Apabhraṃśa. I confine myself to poetry in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit for writers on Sanskrit poetics mostly draw upon poetic works in Māhārāṣṭrī for their illustrations. The principal works in this Prakrit are :

(a) Hāla's *Sattasāī* or *Saptaśatakam* or *Gāhākośo* or better known as *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (GS)²³ (C. first century A. D., but according to some scholars second or third century A. D.) is the earliest known anthology of Prakrit, to be precise, of Māhārāṣṭrī verses comprising some seven hundred *gāthās*. It is the most famous and best known of Māhārāṣṭrī works. Its value as an anthology is high and it also affords evidence to show that Māhārāṣṭrī literature was once very extensive and widespread²⁴. Its popularity is attested by the large number of commentaries on it and scores of quotations from it in works on Poetics and the use made of it by the Prakrit grammarians. Eminent poets like Bāṇa, Uddyotanasūri, Abhinanda and Soḍḍhala²⁵ bestow high praise on it. And if imitation is an index of popularity we have its imitation in Sanskrit in Govardhana's *Āryāsaptaśatī* which is certainly modelled on Hāla's *Gāthāsaptaśatī*.

The work is divided, as is clear from the title, into seven *śatakas*, centuries, collections of hundred *gāthās* each, which however differ very much in various MSS. This anthology is mostly erotic. Each *gāthā* presents a miniature picture complete in itself. These *gāthās* mainly depict village life and the peasantry. The family life of the lower strata of the society is portrayed in its various contexts, but the erotic aspect dominates. These *gāthās* are not

specimens of ancient songs of Indians dealing with the joys and sorrows of their lives but only artistic poems closely modelled on them. Next to the *gāthās* portraying love in its various aspects we have some lovely pictures of nature. We also get a few glimpses of the town and court life as some of the *gāthās* are composed by kings and their court poets. The anthology is rich in maxims and popular sayings and sheds light on the customs and conventions prevalent in those times. There are allusions to divine beings like Śīva, Pārvatī, Gaurī, Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, etc. and to mythological events from the epics. The references to Vindhya, Sahya and Godā indicate that the locality of the composition of the majority of these *gāthās*, is the Deccan, particularly Māhārāṣṭra²⁶.

(b) *Rāvaṇavijaya* (now lost) : Although this *kāvya* is ranked by Bhoja, and after him, by Hemacandra, as high as *Harivijaya* and *Setubandha*, nothing is known about its author or its contents beyond a solitary citation²⁷ by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and after him by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*.

(c) Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*²⁸ (now lost) : Sarvasena composed his *Harivijaya* in the first half of the fourth century A. D.,²⁹ about a hundred years earlier than the *Setubandha*. Eminent Sanskrit Ālamkārikas, viz. Ānandavardhana and Kuntaka³⁰ speak appreciatively of his *Harivijaya*, and Bhoja draws verses copiously from it to illustrate various points of poetics in the course of his writing *Sarasvatīkaṅṭhābharana* and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and following him, Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* give us the following information about this work : It was 'āśvāsakabandha.' Its prevailing metre was *Skandhaka*, (and 'Galitakas' were employed at the end of the *Āśvāsaka*.) It was marked by the word 'utsāha' in the last verse of each *Āśvāsaka*. It contained descriptions of city, mountain, seasons, the sunset, the hero, his vehicle, Garutmat (= Garuda), his *dūta* Sātyakaḥ (? Sātyakiḥ, his (Hari's) march, (against Indra) for securing the Pārijāta tree, his rise in the form of the conquest of the enemy who himself surrenders, drink party and the removal of Satyabhāmā's jealous anger by effort (by Hari by winning from Indra the Pārijāta tree and planting it in front of Satyabhāmā's palace.

By a study of the verses quoted by Ānandavardhana and Bhoja from this epic we gather the following information regarding its story :

Hari is the hero of this epic. Rukmiṇī is the senior (*jyeṣṭhā*) and exalted (*udāttā*) heroine (*nāyikā*). Satyabhāmā is the junior (*kaniṣṭhā*) and haughty (*uddhatā*) heroine. Hari offers a garland of fragrant flowers of the celestial Pārijāta tree to Rukmiṇī. This arouses the jealousy of Satyabhāmā. Her face,

marked with anger, looked beautiful like the moon, marked with its dark spot, and delighted Hari. In order to soften her anger Hari decides to fall prostrate at her feet. Claspng his own crown with both the hands he throws himself down prostrate. Tears of joy fall from her eyes, in spite of her best efforts to check them, on his back. He then promises her to get her the Pārijāta tree itself from Indra's garden. He mounts Garuḍa and sets out on his march against Indra. Now Satyabhāmā, although perfectly confident of Hari's valour, feels greatly worried. This speaks of her deep and abiding love for him.

Hari, in accordance with the rules of state-craft, sends first Sātyaka (= Sātyaki) his own charioteer as an envoy to Indra. He advises Indra to accept Hari's hand of friendship and honour the Yādavas by gifting away the celestial Pārijāta tree. Indra, however, does not pay any heed to his advice. Then a fight takes place between the two. Hari forces ultimately Indra to surrender and wins the cherished Pārijāta tree from him. Hari, the victorious, returns home with the Pārijāta tree. Satyabhāmā's heart is captivated by the sweet fragrance of the Pārijāta flowers, yet her gaze first rests on Hari and only later on the Pārijāta tree. Hari plants the tree in the garden in front of Satyabhāmā's residence and thus succeeds in removing her sulky wrath. She infers from this gift that Hari's love for her is a thousand times more intense than for Rukmaṇī whom he had given only a garland. Rukmiṇī has every reason to be angry with Hari for his partiality towards her co-wife but when she meets him only joy and not anger pervades her heart.

It is this episode of Hari's conquest of (Indra and his) Pārijāta tree which accounts for the title *Harivijaya* of the present epic. The statement of the Dhvanikāra that if in a story adopted from a well-known source, the poet is faced with situations conflicting with the intended aesthetic emotion (*rasa*), he should leave out those situations, inventing in their place even imaginary ones, in conformity with the intended *rasa*... .. as has been done by Sarvasena in *Harivijaya*, and Abhinavagupta's comment on it in his *Locana* indicate that the main story of the epic was something different and the conquest of the Pārijāta tree from Indra's custody formed only one—although important—episode in it. The available citations from *HV* do not throw any light on the principal story but from the references of Bhoja and Hemacandra we may conjecture that it was mainly descriptive and not narrative. As regards its extent, we might further hazard a guess that it contained as many Āśvāsakas as are found in *Setubandha* which is modelled on it.

From the citations we find that *Harivijaya* was composed in a graceful

style. Its language and style are, as compared to *Setubandha*, more easy and less involved.

Like Pravarasena Sarvasena too shows the use of long compounds and figures of speech. Kuntaka's praise for graceful style and Dhvanikāra's compliment for imaginative handling of the Pārijāta episode and Bhoja's appreciation of his work (by profusely quoting from it) Sarvasena very well deserves.

(d) Pravarasena's *Setubandha*³¹ also known as *Rāvaṇavaho*, (C. first half of the 5th century A. D.) : This work is completely available with Sanskrit commentaries *Setutattvacandrikā* (Anonymous, ed. Basak, Calcutta, 1959) and *Rāmasetupradīpa* (of Rāmadāsa, NS edn, Bombay 1935). There are eight more commentaries which are still unpublished. Some of them are incomplete and fragmentary. The *Setubandha* deals with a portion of the story of Rāma from the return of Hanumat from Laṅkā with the whereabouts of Sītā to the death of Rāvaṇa, with special emphasis on the construction of the great causeway between the mainland and the island. It follows the story of Rāma as related in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with only a few minor variations. The designations of the different cantos of the *Setubandha* listed below from the commentary of Rāmadāsa give an adequate idea of its contents.

1. *Rāma-prasthānam* (Rāma's March).
2. *Samudrotkarṣaḥ* (The Glory of the Ocean).
3. *Sugrīva-praudhīḥ* (Sugriva's war-like speech and boastful claims of his own powers).
4. *Rāma-ṣādgūnyam* (Rāma's application of the six political expedients—Consecrating Vībhiṣaṇa as the future ruler of Laṅkā).
5. *Samudra-quāthaḥ* (The boiling-rage of the Ocean).
6. *Parvatoddhāraḥ* (The uprooting of mountains).
7. *Setorudyogaḥ* (Active preparations for the construction of causeway).
8. *Setuniṣpattiḥ* (The successful building of the causeway).
9. *Suvelotkarṣaḥ* (The glory of the Suvela mountain).
10. *Kāminī-keliḥ* (The gaities of love of the young women of Laṅkā).
11. *Māyottamāṅgam* (The exhibition of the severed head of Rāma by magic and the lamentation of Sītā and Trijāta's consolatory speech).
12. *Sainyasaṅghattaḥ* (The battle of the two armies of the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas).
13. *Dvandvasaṅgrāmaḥ* (Single Combats between leaders of the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas).
14. *Rākṣovikṣobhaḥ* (The convulsions of the Rākṣasas) and
15. *Sītāsamprāptiḥ* (Reunion with Sītā after the slaying of Rāvaṇa).

The *Setubandha* is the only extant *mahākāvya* written in Prakrit. Its affinity to the Sanskrit *mahākāvya* is one of the main causes of its popularity through the centuries³².

(e. and f.) Vākpatirāja's *Mahumahavīa* (Sk : *Madhumathavijaya*) and *Gauḍavaho* (Sk. *Gauḍavadha*)—these two poems were composed in the first half of the eighth century A. D. Of these two *kāvya*s, *Mahumahavīa* is now lost. Vākpati himself refers to this work in his *Gauḍavaho*. "How can my robust (flowery) language (employed) in the *Madhumathavijaya* shrink to the size of a (compact) bud ? (But then) the later blossoming of the wild creepers is much thinner and softer than its first."³³

Abhinavagupta while commenting on *Dhvanyāloka*³⁴ cites the following *gāthā* as forming a part of Pāñicajanya's speech : O, (Madhu-matha (-mathana, Viṣṇu), you once as a boar *carried with ease the entire terrestrial on the tip of your tusk*; then how is it that today you find even this (very light) ornament of *lotus-fibre* too heavy to carry³⁵ ?"

The following *gāthā* in *Māhārāṣṭrī*, cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka*, is most probably drawn from this *mahākāvya* (now lost). For in its content and expression it has very close resemblance with *Gauḍavaho* v. no. 66. The two *gāthās* in their translation are as follows :

One, "The literary art of great poets is all conquering. For it causes various ideas to enter the heart (of the reader) and appear (there) in a form which is different, as it were, from their real form." (Translation by Masson and Patwardhan)³⁶.

and two, "What is real appears as unreal and what is unreal appears as if it were real, and (sometimes) a thing appears exactly as it is—these are the ways (*prakṛtayah* or *padavyah*) of good poets." (Translation by Masson and Patwardhan)³⁷

Vākpati's second work is available in its entirety³⁸. It is a unique historical poem in *Māhārāṣṭrī* Prakrit. It is a stupendous work comprising over 1200 *gāthās*. It is no doubt a *mahākāvya* having a wide variety of topics but unlike its prototype *Rāvaṇavaho* (better known as *Setubandha*) it has no divisions called *Āśvāsakas*. It is just one long, continuous composition with *kulakas* appearing here and there. The purpose of this poem is to celebrate the glory of his patron, King Yaśovarman, with particular reference to his slaying of the Gauḍa King. This important event, however, has been only cursorily mentioned in the whole poem.

The principal topics dealt with in this long poem may briefly be touched upon : The opening sixty one *gāthās* present by way of *maṅgalācaraṇa* (invocations) word-pictures of the various *devatās* (divinities) like Brahmā,

Viṣṇu, his incarnations, Śiva, Gaurī, Kumāra. Pārvaṭī, Sarasvatī, the Moon, the Sun, the Sea, etc. Verses 62-98 treat of *Kaviprasānsā* (Praise of Poets). The poem begins with verse 99 which glorifies his patron, King Yaśovarman, and the verses 100-160 sing of his glory and greatness and how even Indra, who clipped the wings of flying mountains, honours him. The poet then gives a picturesque description of *Pralaya*. Then follows a description of the lamentable condition of the wives of the King's enemies. Verse 192 informs us of the King's expedition for world-conquest; his visit to the temple of the Vindhyaśinī Goddess, his reflections at the sight of a dead body, the summer, the rainy season, his slaying of a Magadha King, his victory over the King of the Vaṅgas and a Southern King, the defeat of the Pārasīkas, the march across the Marudeśa (Marwar), the visit to the famous lake in Kurukṣetra, the visit to the Mandara mountain and tracts in the North, the desolation of the enemies' cities, the King's amorous dalliance with his beloved, his playful acts of gallantry, etc., are then described (vv 193-796). VV 797-803 give us some details of the poet's personal life. His listeners request him to describe to them how the Magadha King was slain by King Yaśovarman. He agrees, but first describes the ways of the world in 150 *gāthās*. Then he describes his patron King's virtues, the evening, the moonrise, the Night Life of lovers, the advent of dawn, the sunrise, and then announces his intention to describe the life of the great king and with this the poem ends.

Vākpatirāja claims that his graceful literary composition is : picturesque, steeped in sentiments, easy to recite, full of substance, of permanent value and brilliant all over³⁹. His claim is more or less justifiable. He is a masterpoet bringing to light all the poetry that is in ordinary things. He is a true poet of nature and his depiction of the rural scene is very charming. He presents mythical events with imagination. His style is highly cultivated and pregnant with meaning. He chiefly delights in two figures of speech, the *Upamā* and the *Utprekṣā*. If Kālidāsa is a master of *Upamā* Vākpati is a master of *Utprekṣā*. His partiality for long compounds detracts, however, from the merits of his otherwise excellent poem. However, he remained unnoticed, for centuries, just because he wrote in Prakrit.

(g) *Lilāvai*⁴⁰ (Sk. *Lilāvati*) : is a *Kathā* (a romance) in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit verse. Its composition is assigned to c A. D. 800. The poet does not disclose his name although he gives his father's name as Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa and his grandfather's name as Bahulāditya (*gāthās* 19, 21 and 23). According to the commentator of this *Kathā*, however, the word 'Kouhaleṇa (Sk. Kautūhalena) in *gāthā* 23 refers to the poet's name (Kaūtuhala = Kutūhala).

This *Kathā* consists of 1333 *gāthās*. At the beginning of the work the poet invokes Purānic deities like Hari, Madhumathana, Gaurī, Caṇḍī and others. The main story deals with the love of Hāla, the very famous king of Pratiṣṭhāna in Mahārāṣṭra, wellknown as a Prakrit poet and renowned for his preference for Prakrit, and Līlavatī, a princess of Simhaladvīpa who is prophesied to make her husband a monarch of the whole world. The main story contains sub-stories of Kuvalāyāvali (daughter of King Vipulāśaya and the celestial nymph Rambhā) and Citrāṅgada, a Gandharva prince, and of Mahānumati (daughter of Alakāpurī and his wife Vasantaśrī, born of the Vidyādhara King Haṁsa and his wife Padmā) and Mādhavānila, (the son of the Siddha King Malayānila and his queen Kamalā).

It is a secular and romantic poem mostly in *gāthās* interspersed with prose lines and verses in other metres; its structure is complex like that of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. The poet himself is the chief narrator, and addresses the entire poem, leaving out, Invocation and Introductory portion, to his wife. In the body of the plot the chief characters or their companions are made to unfold various details about themselves, thus supplying the reader, stage after stage, with various threads of the story which get duly joined in the concluding portion of the poem. The ruling sentiment is that of *śṛṅgāra* (eroticism). The characters drawn from the semi-divine beings like the Vidyādharas, the Siddhas, the Yakṣas add the element of the supernatural add the feeling of awe to the atmosphere of the poem. Destiny and Chance play a major role in the whole story.

The poem shows close affinity with *Brhatkathā* in regard to legendary background, characters, motifs, episodes and stray events. The religious background, which is positively Śaivite, is also not different from that of *Brhatkathā*. Further, the poem shows influence of literary works like the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* the *Vāsavadattā*, and the *Ratnāvalī* in depicting characters and situations. The literary merits of this poem are certainly high although only a few *gāthās* from it are cited by Sanskrit writers on poetics.

(h) *Viṣamabāṇalīlā* : Ānandavardhana (c. 850 A. D.), the famous author of *Dhvanyāloka*, a poet of considerable merit, wrote both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The only Prakrit work of his that we know is the *Viṣamabāṇalīlā* (now lost). We have only a few *gāthās* quoted from this work by Ānandavardhana himself in his *Dhvanyāloka* and by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on it called *Locana*. In one *gāthā*⁴¹ the poet says : "Merits become merits when they are appreciated by the cultured critics. Lotuses become Lotuses when they are favoured by the rays of the sun." From a reference in *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana* on it we come to know

that the work contains speeches of the god of love and his companions like Spring, Youth, Wind from the Malaya mountain, and others⁴².

In another *gāthā* Ānandavardhana says : “There is no limit to them and they never look like repetitions; (They stand for) the sportive graces of the beloveds and the meanings of the words of good poets.”⁴³

“The heart of the *Asuras* was solely intent on seizing the *Kaustubha* jewel which was churned out of the ocean along with the goddess *Lakṣmī*. But the god of love set it on the *bimba*-like red lower lips of their beloveds.”⁴⁴

From the contents of these *gāthās* and from the title itself : “The Sports of Cupid” it is reasonable to infer that the work must have dealt with the subject of love.

6. Praise of Prakrit Poets :

In his introductory verses to *Harṣacarita* the poet, Bāṇabhaṭṭa praises *Sātavāhana*, also known as *Śālivāhana* and *Hāla*, for his (*Gāthā*) *Kośa* better known as *Gāthāsaptasatī*, in these glowing terms :

Sātavāhana made a treasury of fine sayings as of jewels, *avināśinam* (1. immortal; 2. indestructible) *agrāmyam* (1. not vulgar or indecent, i.e. refined; 2. not produced in villages—for jewels are found in the sea or in mines, not in villages) *viśuddha-jāti* (1. containing description of nature or objects that are not vulgar; 2. of purest character)⁴⁵.

Uddyotanasūri, the author of *Kuvalayamālā*, (a unique *Campū* in Prakrit), extols *Hāla* (and his (*Gāthākośa*)) in these words : “What is the use of composing poetry after the passing away of *Hāla* whose poetry was on the tongues of even farmers (while ploughing their fields) ? (Or who made even the peasants skilful in clever conversation by mastery over beautiful expressions ?) when the intoxicating effect of the wine is no more, what is the of meat (*kavva* : 1 *kāvya* 2 *kravya*)⁴⁶.

The popularity of *Gāthāsattasāī* can also be seen from the large number of commentaries it gave rise to and the vast number of quotations from it found in later works on Sanskrit poetics; in this context it is worth noting that *Govardhanācārya* modelled his *Āryāsaptasatī* in Sanskrit on *Hāla*'s *Gāthāsattasāī* in Prakrit.

Ānandavardhana ranks *Sarvasena* with *Kālidāsa* when he compliments him for inventing new episodes to supplement the original story and infusing it with a suitable *rasa*⁴⁷.

Abhinavagupta explains in his commentary, *Locana*, that he invented the episodes like those of *Pārijātaḥaraṇa* and introduced them in his *Harivijaya* although they have no basis in the *Itihāsa*⁴⁸.

Kuntaka mentions Sarvasena next in order to Kālidāsa as a poet of the *Sukumāra* (graceful), popularly known as *Vaidarbhī*, style of composition⁴⁹.

Although Hemacandra assumes Sarvasena to have composed the *galitakas*, he, following Bhoja, mentions the view that some literary critics regarded these *galitakas* as interpolations made by self-styled Pandits. If that view is correct Hemacandra's criticism loses all its force. But for this single critical reference Hemacandra is, like Bhoja, all praise for Sarvasena and his *Harivijaya*. Like Bhoja he mentions *Harivijaya* with *Rāvaṇavijaya* and *Setubandha* as the three well-known Prakrit *mahākāvya*s, and mentions it approvingly several times with other well-known Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvya*s, while illustrating the salient features of a *mahākāvya*. Bhoja shows his high esteem for Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* by drawing on it for exquisite examples on more than forty five occasions in the course of his exposition of poetics.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa eulogizes Pravarasena's *Setubandha*, like Hāla *Sātavāhana*'s (*Gāthā*-) *Kośa*, in equally glowing terms :

Pravarasena's fame bright like the white water lily, crossed over to the other shore of the ocean by Setu (1. bridge; 2. his *Setukāvya* composed in Prakrit) like the army of monkeys, glorified with Kumuda, a Commander-in-chief of monkeys, crossed over to the other shore of the ocean⁵⁰.

It is held by some that the *Setubandha* was composed by Kālidāsa and that Pravarasena was only the patron of that great poet. This tradition itself linking Pravarasena's *Setubandha* with the name of Kālidāsa speaks volumes for its high literary merit.

Daṇḍī, the renowned author of *Kāvyaḍarśa*, bestows high praise on *Setubandha* when he says : "The *Māhārāṣṭrī* is the best of all Prakrits. *Setubandha* (and other poetic compositions) composed in this Prakrit are verily an ocean of jewel-like *subhāsitā*s (fine witty sayings)."⁵¹

Two centuries before the *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena was appreciated by Ānandavardhana, the *Setubandha* was extolled by eminent writers like Bāṇa and Daṇḍī. This fact clearly shows that *Setubandha* was regarded as the best among the Prakrit *mahākāvya*s.

That *Setubandha* of Pravarasena was well known in literary circles in

Cambodia in the ninth century A. D. is attested by a verse from an inscription of the Cambodian King Yaśovarman who reigned in the last decade of the ninth century A. D. The verse makes a comparison between Yaśovarman and Pravarasena. The former is also *pravara-sena* 'one that has an excellent army'; but while he built a bridge of piety-*dharmasetu*-consisting of his religious foundations, the other Pravarasena made only a *Prakrit-Setu*, which apparently means 'an ordinary bridge', but really means the *Setu kāvyā* composed in Prakrit⁵².

Numerous Sanskrit commentaries on this Prakrit epic also attest to its immense popularity. (The eminent German scholar Jacobi refers to this work (also known as *Rāvanavaho*) as "The most famous *mahākāvya* of the Prakrit literature."

The eminent and erudite scholar S. P. Pandit, who first drew the attention of scholars, both in India and abroad, to the Prakrit *Kāvya* (*Gāṇḍavaho*) by bringing out its edition, extols it as a 'most excellent poem.'

7. Claims of Prakrit Poetry

S. P. Pandit sets forth the claims of Prakrit poetry in these words :

"Prakrit poetry rightly boasts of certain charms which are peculiarly its own. It possesses a softness and sweetness which comes nearer home to us than the artificial adornments in Sanskrit. It justly lays claim to a larger amount of reality of thought and expression than ought to be assigned to later Sanskrit, as nearly the whole of the literature written in the latter was composed in a language foreign to the writers. And using, as they did, a language rich in forms and conventional phrases and figures, they naturally cared less for personal observation and personal sentiments than did their Prakrit brother poets. The latter, having to use a language less rich, less plastic, less conventional, less used by poets and writers, less learned and less esteemed, had necessarily to study their matter more carefully, in order to make up thereby the deficiencies and the disadvantages attendant upon the use of the vulgar tongues. Accordingly, we find much less conventionalism, less commonplace verse, less ready-at-hand set phrases, set ideas and set sentiments, to suit set circumstances in their poetry, than in the Sanskrit compositions of the corresponding class of writers."⁵³

The editors of Jineśvarasūri's *Gāhārāyaṇakosa* extol the glory of Prakrit Subhāṣitas, Prakrit Language and Prakrit writers :

"In Sanskrit we find Subhāṣitas in abundance. There is no doubt about it. But as Sanskrit was mainly confined to the elite, we almost miss in the Sanskrit Subhāṣitas the wisdom, experience and sentiments of the common

man. Prakrit was the language of the people. So, Prakrit language and Prakrit writers had the opportunity to be in close contact with the people. The vista which was almost closed to Sanskrit language and Sanskrit writers was open to Prakrit language and Prakrit writers. This is the reason why those elements that capture the hearts of the common man predominate in Prakrit literary works. Elasticity or suggestiveness of Prakrit language is even greater than that of Sanskrit. This is to be considered a strong point in the world of poetry.

Today, it is not unusual to find common men reciting verses from *Bihārisatasāi*, *Vṛndasatasāi* etc. Similarly, in old days the verses from the *Gāthāsaptasatī* of that great Prakrit poet were current among the people. Even farmers, while ploughing their fields, took delight in reciting them. Their hearts were charmed by their recitation. This has been stated by Ac. Uddyotanasūri in the *gāthās* devoted to the respectful memory of the previous poets, in the beginning of his well-known *Kuvalayamālākathā* (Śaka Saṃvat 701-780 A. D.) The *gāthā* in point is as follows :

भण्डिविसेसवइत्तबोस्त्रिके जो करेइ हल्लिए वि ।
कव्वेण किं पउत्थे हाले हाला-वियारे व्व ॥

The gist of the *gāthā* is : When Hāla whose poetry was on the tongues of even farmers is no more, what is the use of our composing poems ? When the intoxicating effect of the wine is no more, what is the use of meat ?

There is a pun on the word 'kavva' in the *gāthā*. When construed with Hāla, it means 'kāvya'. When construed with *hālāvīkāra*, it means 'kravya'⁵⁴.

8. How far are the claims of Prakrit Poetry just ?

The above claims forcefully put forward by S. P. Pandit, and many other scholars whose partiality for Prakrit language and literature is well known, deserve consideration. These claims are undoubtedly just in the case of Prakrit poetry as represented by *Gāthāsaptasatī*, *Vajjalaggam* and other Prakrit Anthologies. But when we think of poetic works like *Setubandha* and *Gauḍavaho* an impartial and dispassionate reader or critic will have to admit that the above claims are, if not preposterous, and wholly unjustified, are at least highly exaggerated and unwarranted. R. Pischel has rightly observed :

“Māhārāṣṭrī is also the language of artificial epics, of which up till now two have been published, the *Rāvaṇavaho* and the *Gauḍavaho*... They are very strongly influenced by Sanskrit patterns and are written in thoroughly high-flown and artificial language, with unending compounds, as are found in the dramas of *Bhavabhūti* and occasionally in *Mṛcchakaṭika* as well.”⁵⁵

S. P. Pandit explains away Vākpati's partiality for long compounds 'as a vice of the age' and adds in his defence that we must not judge him independently of what the scholarship of his age considered as essential and beautiful⁵⁶. The fact, however, remains that the major portion of the poem is difficult to comprehend even for advanced students of Prakrit without the help of Sanskrit commentary. N. G. Suru's comments regarding the pompous style (of a major portion) of *Gaṇḍavaho* are apposite :

"When one reads portions of the Poem given in an ornate, high-flown style, full of long compounds, one gets the impression that this is all Sanskrit Prakritised by the poet to cater to the literary tastes of his times. It is Prakrit distorted...He probably first put his ideas in a Sanskrit draft...and then dressed them in a Prakrit garb in verse⁵⁷."

9. Mention of Prakrit Literature in Alamkāra Works

Bhāmaha⁵⁸ speaks of three literatures : Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. Daṇḍī⁵⁹ speaks of four by adding Mīśra to Bhāmaha's list. Rudraṭa⁶⁰ alludes to six : 1. Prakrit, 2. Sanskrit, 3. Māgadhī, 4. Paisācī, 5. Sūrasenī (= Śāurasenī) and Apabhraṃśa. Rudraṭa⁶¹ quotes some of his own Prakrit verses in his *Kāvyaalamkāra*. It is Ānandavardhana⁶² who, for the first time, sets the tradition of freely quoting Prakrit verses. He quotes some forty five, a few of his own composition, and others from well-known works, to illustrate various types of *Dhvani*, *Alamkāra*, etc. Abhinavagupta, his celebrated commentator follows his lead in his *Locana*. Dhanika, the well-known commentator of *Daśarūpaka* quotes some 26 Prakrit verses in his *Avaloka*. The distinction of quoting hundreds of Prakrit verses in his *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* however, goes to Bhoja⁶³. The first work contains over 350 and the second, about 1650 Prakrit verses. Among other reputed Ālamkārikas, we find Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka, and his commentator, Jayaratha, Hemacandra, Śobhākara and Viśvanātha quote 15, 28, 64, 15, 38, 80, 163 and 23 Prakrit verses respectively. Some of these are reproduced from *Dhvanyaloka* and *Locana*, A large number of verses cited by Bhoja in his two treatises are repetitions.

10. No Separate Work on Prakrit Poetics :

In the History of Prakrit Literature we come across works on Prakrit Grammar, Prakrit Metrics, Prakrit Lexicons, but not on Prakrit Poetics. In his *Index of authors and works on Sanskrit Poetics to The History of Sanskrit Poetics*, P. V. Kane refers to a solitary work *Alamkāradarpaṇa* (anonymous) in Prakrit, consisting of 134 ślokas (to be precise, gāthās) treating of poetic figures. Catalogue of Sanskrit And Prakrit Manuscripts, Jesalmer Collection⁶⁴ gives a

description of a manuscript of this work and reproduces a few *gāthās* that occur at the beginning and at the end of the work⁶⁵. It is hardly a work of value or importance.

Namisādhu, who wrote his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaḷamkāra* in 1069 A. D. mentions one Hari. When commenting on Rudraṭa II. 19 he quotes a *gāthā* from Hari which speaks of eight varieties of *anuprāsa* (*vṛttis*) :

तथा ह्यष्टौ हरिणोक्ताः । यथा -
महुरं परुसं / फरुसं कोमलमोजर्स्स निदुरं च ललियं च ।
गंभीरं सामण्णं च अद्भुभणिति उ नायच्चा (? अद्भु भणिईओँ नायच्चा) ॥

They are as follows : 1. sweet (*madhura*), 2. harsh (*parusa*), 3. gentle (*komala*), 4. vigorous (*ojasvī*), 5. jarring (*niṣṭhura*), 6. graceful (*lalita*), 7. deep (*gambhīra*), and 8. common or miscellaneous (*sāmānya*).

Now, P. V. Kane, in his *Index of Authors and Works on Sanskrit Poetics* (1951 edn, p. 422) makes the following note : "Hari mentioned by Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaḷamkāra* II. 19 as a *Writer on Poetics in Prakrit*" (*Italics ours*).

V. Raghavan, however, writes (*Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, 1978 edn p. 821) : "The verse (mentioning eight Anuprāsa varieties, *vṛttis*) is evidently from the preliminary part of the opening chapter of some Prakrit poem by one Hari." (*Italics ours*).

The nature of the quotation is such as to allow Kane and Raghavan to draw their respective inferences about its source. In the absence of any other supporting evidence it would be rash on our part to accept or reject either inference.

The *Anuyogadvārasūtra*⁶⁶ (*Aṇuogaddārāim*) which claims to be old (before third century A. D. ?) contains a Prakrit passage on nine *kāvya rasas*⁶⁷. It is extremely difficult to say whether this passage is adopted from an early independent Prakrit text on Poetics or whether it is composed by the author himself keeping in view Sanskrit texts on Dramaturgy and Poetics. No Prakrit work on Poetics except the later solitary work mentioned above (and Hari's problematic work) is so far known. It is not unlikely that the author of the *Anuyogadvārsūtra* himself added this passage. The reference to nine *kāvya rasas* including the (*pra-*) *sānta* tempts one to assign the author of this Prakrit passage to post-Udbhaṭa period.

The absence of a Prakrit work of value on poetics needs an explanation which is, however, not far to seek. Notwithstanding the difference in language

the *ālamkārikas* (literary thinkers) made no difference between Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures. They studied and appreciated both. Some of them wrote in both Sanskrit and Prakrit. Ānandavardhana, the author of the far-famed *Dhvanyāloka* has written a Prakrit poem, called *Viṣamabāṇalīlā* and Rājaśekhara, the author of *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, a unique work on Sanskrit Poetics, (which does not directly concern itself with the exposition of *rasas*, *guṇas*, or *alamkaras*, and is rather in the nature of a *śikṣāgrantha*) has written, among other plays, *Karpūramañjarī* entirely in Prakrit which is cited as a model of the type of plays called *Sattaka*. Ānandavardhana and all the later *ālamkārikas* freely cite Sanskrit as well as Prakrit passages to illustrate various points of poetics. The norms laid down in their works were equally applicable to both and, indeed, till recently to literatures even in modern Indian languages like Marāṭhi, Gujarātī, Hindī, and so on. Even a scholar of the eminence of Ācārya Hemacandra, who has to his credit books on Prakrit grammar and prosody did not feel the necessity of preparing a treatise on Prakrit Poetics. The fact, however, remains that the Sanskrit critical thought took little note of some of the interesting and peculiar aspects of the vast and varied literature in Prakrit. The *ālamkārikas*, generally speaking, contented themselves merely with quoting Prakrit passages for illustrative purposes or alluding to certain works for illustrating the types of composition.

11. Influence of Prakrit Poetry on Sanskrit poetics :

Although we do not find Prakrit illustrations in the early works on Poetics like Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-ālamkāra*, Daṇḍī's *Kāvya-ādarśa*, etc., they clearly state the fact of the existence of Prakrit literature along with Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa literature. The absence of Prakrit quotations in their works is due to the practice of composing their own examples instead of quoting examples from the works of other authors. The few Prakrit examples we come across in Rudraṭa are his own compositions. The fact that over two thousand and eight hundred verses from Prakrit works are cited by later *ālamkārikas* beginning with Ānandavardhana is a clear and definite proof of the great influence of Prakrit poetry.

Of all the writers on Sanskrit Poetics it is Ānandavardhana who is considerably influenced by the *Setubandha* and the *Gauḍavaho*. He and Kuntaka, the author of *Vakroktijīvitā*, frequently use the expression *bandhacchāyā* (beauty of composition) in expounding their poetical theories⁶⁸. Ānandavardhana refers to the objectives of '*bandhacchāyā*' and '*ahinavā atthagai*' (*Sk abhinavā arthagatih*, a new range of meaning or the novelty of ideas) mentioned by Pravarasena in his *Setubandha* in almost identical language : "Novelty of ideas as

well as great beauty of composition is achieved by adopting a single sentiment as predominant in any poem as a whole"⁶⁹. Vākpati, taking his cue from Pravarasena, also speaks of new ideas and beauty of composition in his *Gāṇḍavaho*⁷⁰ before Ānandavardhana :

"It is only in Prakrit that we shall have in abundant measure, till (the end) of the world's duration, a presentation of ever fresh themes and a rich variety of compositions that are cool and pleasing in their arrangement."⁷¹

Ānandavardhana quotes *Gāṇḍavaho* v. no. 416 to illustrate *atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya* (*dhvani*) :

"How charming when the clouds reel in the sky; how lovely when in the woods the white Arjuna trees are torn (shaken ?) by great downpours of rain. Though in the sky the moon has lost all pride yet these black nights have a haunting beauty of their own."⁷² Here the words "reel" and "has lost all pride" are full of suggestion with the literal meaning completely lost. Ānandavardhana seems to have quoted another Prakrit *gāthā* most probably from Vākpati's *Mahamahavīa* (*Sk Madhumathavijaya*) as pointed out earlier⁷².

As pointed out by Dr. Masson and Prof. Patwardhan⁷³ several of Ānandavardhana's (or Kārikākāra's) most cherished ideas come from this great poem (*Gāṇḍavaho*) :

In his *Vṛtti* on *Kārika* II. 16 Ānandavardhana observes :-

"In the case of a poet who is intent upon suggesting *rasas* and who has imaginative genius (*pratibhānavat*), even figures of speech which may appear (to the reader) difficult (to create) clamour to present themselves to him."

This statement is very similar to Vākpati's observation. "The minds of other (i. e. ordinary) poets wander about frantically searching for subjectmatter. (But) in the case of great poets the themes themselves rush to their hearts, without any effort on their part"⁷⁴.

Again, Ānandavardhana's long discussion on *ānanta*, the endlessness of poetic themes, is certainly influenced by Vākpati's some of the fine *gāthās* dealing with 'The praise of poets.'

Ānandavardhana's discussion may briefly be summarised as follows :

"For literature (*vāṇī*) that is embellished with any one of these varieties (of suggestion) though it reproduces ideas already treated, appears fresh (*navatvam*). By using *rasa* in a poem even subjects seen time and again will appear new, just as do trees in the month of March—with the advent of spring.

By using *dhvani* and *guṇibhūta vyaṅgya* in this manner, there will be no end to the subjectmatter of poetry as long as there is the gift of poetic imagination.

“By its very nature (even without the help of a suggested sense), the purely denoted sense is inexhaustible because of difference of circumstance, place, time etc.

If the subjectmatter (*Vastugati*) that is diversified according to time, place etc. is used in accordance with (the doctrine of) propriety and is associated with *rasa*, *bhāva*, etc.,

“Though assiduously written about by thousands of thousands of (poets similar to) Vācaspati, it cannot be exhausted any more than the primordial matter (*Prakṛti*) of the universe.”⁷⁵

“Earlier poets through the virtue of their times (i. e. because they were born in ancient times) were able to wander on virgin paths but some others (i. e. modern poets) are guided on difficult paths by the imitation of the genius of the earlier poets.”⁷⁶

“It is true that there is nothing that has not been seen on the well-trodden paths of poetry. But actually this is true for only the very beginnings of the path. All else is new.”⁷⁷ Glorious is the poet’s speech pulsating with inspiration ! Though every day great poets have drained its essence from the beginning of creation yet it still seems as if its seal remains unbroken—intact (i.e., its riches have barely been tapped).⁷⁸

Again, Ānandavardhana’s discussion of *prakṛtyaucitya* (propriety in relation to the nature of characters) which is divided into propriety relating to high, middle and low characters as well as propriety relating to *divya* (divine), *mānuṣa* (human) and *divya-mānuṣa* characters strongly reminds us of the threefold *kathā* (story) : *divya*, *divya-mānuṣī* and *mānuṣī* spoken of by the author of *Līlāvāī*⁷⁹.

Further, Ānandavardhana’s specific reference to Sātavāhana’s superhuman exploit of going to the netherworld of Nāgas which has been described in *Līlāvāī* indicates that he knew this Prakrit work and has utilised it in the context of describing *Prakṛti-aucitya*.

The whole discussion would show how, the Prakṛt works *Setubandha*, *Gauḍavaḥo* and *Līlāvāī* have greatly influenced Ānandavardhana, the greatest writer on Sanskrit Poetics⁸⁰.

12. A Few Illustrative Verses :

(i) From *Gāthāsaptasatī*

It is extremely difficult, almost impossible to select only a few of the exquisitely beautiful verses selected and cited by the *ālamkārikas*. But as this cannot be avoided I do so with great diffidence.

This anthology is highly popular with the writers on Sanskrit poetics beginning with Ānandavardhana. It is, however, Bhoja, the author of *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Śṛṅgārprakāśa*, who most amply quotes the *gāthās* from this anthology. We may refer here to only a few of these quotations :

The maiden in love begs the moon to touch her with the same rays which have touched her lover⁸¹. Another maiden begs of the night to stay for ever, when the morning comes she will have to bear her lover's departure⁸². The lover who is on his travels bids the thunder and lightning do their worst on him, if they but spare his beloved at home⁸³.

A tender (-hearted) wife rejoicing at her husband's return does not put on gay dress lest she adds to the grief of her neighbour whose husband has not yet come home⁸⁴. One of the loveliest *gāthās*, steeped in pathos, says :

"When of the two who have long shared joy and sorrow together, one dies, the one that dies is really alive, the other is dead"⁸⁵. This beautiful sentiment has a distant parallel in Bhāsa's line :

"Vāsavadattā (lit. Mahāsena's daughter) who is dead is not dead if the King (Udayana) has such a soft feeling for her⁸⁶; and also in Bhavabhūti's line, 'He is not dead of whom a beloved thinks, in other words, surely he is not dead who lives in the memory of a loved person⁸⁷."

But absence may be a joy where the heart is false; "the faithless one bemoans her unprotected state, and begs her (neighbour-) friend to come to her house, merely to ensure her safety"⁸⁸. Another *gāthā* tells us of a naughty wife who pretends to be bitten by a scorpion in order to go to the house of the physician—her paramour⁸⁹.

Another *gāthā* brilliantly describes the removal of anger of the offended woman; "The wife who is overpowered with sulky wrath at the offence of faithlessness of her husband (suddenly) laughs as their little boy crawls on his father's back, when he falls prostrate at her feet in penitence for his offence⁹⁰."

Another *gāthā* presents a graphic picture of a traveller and a maid (who provides water to travellers) who fall in love at first sight : "Looking upwards

and with his slender fingers (not tightly closed) the traveller drinks water for long and the girl makes thinner and thinner the already thin stream of water that she pours in the hollow of his hand⁹¹.

In another *gāthā* the poet beautifully brings out Pārvatī's 'untutored cleverness' in not allowing Śiva to gaze at her unclothed beauty :

"In the course of enjoying love's delights Pārvatī has her garment stripped off; immediately she closes the pair of Śiva's eyes with her tender arms, and closes the third eye of Śiva by planting a kiss on it."

This *gāthā* strongly reminds us of Kālidāsa's famous verse from *Kumārasambhava*⁹². The poet of this *gāthā* it would seem, has improved upon Kālidāsa's lovely description of the situation.

In another *gāthā* the poet graphically describes how a cow in the cowshed rubs her eye on the horn of a wicked bull. This description finds a parallel in Kālidāsa's picture in *Śākuntala* wherein he desires to represent a doe rubbing her left eye on the horn of a black antelope⁹³.

(ii) From *Harivijaya* :

Ānandavardhana cites the following verse from *Harivijaya* to illustrate a variety of suggestion. Apparently it describes the advent of spring which causes restlessness in the minds of young people : "*Madhulakṣmī* had bedecked her ears with mango sprouts; and her mouth carried the sweet fragrance of wine taken in celebration of the (Spring) festival. *Kusumaśara* (the god of love) caught hold of her face, although not offered (i.e. by force) (in order to kiss it). "Here we have a beautiful *samāsokti*. Bhoja cites the following verses from among many from *Harivijaya* :

The topic of *māninī* (The offended woman) is a popular subject in Sanskrit as well as Prakrit poetry. The offence consists in the faithlessness of her lover. Here are a few verses dealing with a *māninī* :

"With a view to giving his beloved (*Satyabhāmā*) the highest enjoyment of love's delights, not even conceived of or dreamt of by her, Hari with a smile on his face and with both of his hands holding his *mukūṭa* in its place fell at her feet."

"Hari in order to appease the anger of his beloved (*Satyabhāmā*) fell prostrate at her feet; and what a wonder ! Drops of tears of joy, which welled up in her eyes, and which she did her best to suppress fell on his back."

(iii) From *Setubandha* :

Here are a few more examples of *māninī* (the offended woman) from *Setubandha* :

“The anger of the proud women, heightened by love, died away slowly in their hearts, gratified for a moment by the entreaties of the lovers, but saddened and perturbed again by the remembrance of the offence given.”

“The young women, who greeted their lovers even without being appeased by them, were abashed when covertly admonished by their maiden friends with severe looks. As they stood scared their lovers knew that they only pretended to be angry.”

[They pretended anger to please their *sakhīs* (girl friends) who had advised them to practise *māna*, and silently reproved them for being cordial to the lovers without waiting to be appeased by them for their past offences.]

“They spoke in one way before their maiden friends, and in another way while instructing the messenger girls, and something quite different, excitedly, at the sight of the beloved.”⁹⁴

(iv) From *Gaiḍavaḥo* :

Here is a verse from Vākpati describing a *māninī* : The lady was angry; but when her man held her lower lip between his own lips, the flush of anger began wearing away, like red wine in a crystal cup which goes on subsiding when sipped, after being seized between the two lips by the drinker (v. no. 690).

13. Principal theme and governing sentiment :

Prakrit verses quoted in works on *Alamkārasāstra* are mostly erotic, love in its various phases and stages being the dominant sentiment. No doubt there are some verses cited which contain maxims, popular sayings, *subhāṣitas* and some others which deal with nature, seasons, etc; and some others expressing heroism. But as a rule Prakrit poems and anthologies from which these verses are drawn deal mainly with love : Young women, the blossoming of love, the messages from young women to their absent lovers, the efforts of a *dūtī* (go-between) to bring about the union of lovers, their actual meeting,—their kisses, embraces, nailmarks, toothbites, and actual intercourse are described—the *māninī* (woman offended), love in separation, the *asatī* (an unmarried woman who is not chaste, or an adulteress, a wanton woman) a *puṣpiṇī*, etc., are portrayed with charm in these works. The Prakrit poets are proud of the fact that their poetry mainly deals with love, and that they are mainly interested in

evoking the beautiful sentiment of *śṛṅgāra*.

Impersonality is a striking feature of this love poetry in Prakrit. In his Introduction to *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry* Daniel H. H. Ingalls makes the following observation : "In the five hundred or so verses that deal with love in Vidyākara's anthology one will not find the name of a single lover. In Vidyākara's section on villains one finds no villain's name; in the section on good men no individual good man is so identified that we could know him from other good men⁹⁵. We know nothing of the personal lives of Sanskrit poets. The persons here have melted into the types of poet. One may remark that impersonality appears in its extreme form in India only in Sanskrit." This observation of H. H. Ingalls with reference to Sanskrit love poetry in *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* is equally true of Prakrit love poetry as represented in *Gāthāsaptatī*, *Vajjālagam* and other Prakrit anthologies.

This preference for the theme of love and the erotic sentiment should be easy to understand on psychological grounds : Love is the most dominant of all feelings, and is easily within the experience of all⁹⁶. Ānandavardhana was fully conversant with human psychology so well expressed by Bhāmaha :

"They (say, princes undergoing instruction or pupils in general) study *śāstras* if they are mixed with sweet pleasurable *rasa*. Children who first lick honey easily take a bitter dose of medicine."⁹⁷ Keeping in mind this aspect of human psychology Ānandavardhana most probably chose to cite erotic Prakrit *gāthās* to illustrate the theory of *dhvani* and its varieties. His lead is enthusiastically followed by later *ālamkārikas*, particularly by Bhoja who cited in his two *ālamkāra* works about two thousand Prakrit verses.

14. Prakrit Poetry highly erotic but not obscene :

In some quarters it is alleged that the *ālamkārikas* cite Prakrit verses which are full of obscenity and vulgarity and which glorify illicit or clandestine love, as illustrations because the obscenity remains hidden under the garb of the Prakrit language. This allegation, on the face of it, is false. For the very purpose of citing illustrations is defeated if the verses are unintelligible. The fact is that in the classical period there was no compartmentalisation or bifurcation of studies into Sanskrit and Prakrit. The long-standing practice of writing dramas in Sanskrit and Prakrit will easily bear out this statement. Again, eminent Sanskrit writers like Bāṇa, Daṇḍī, Kuntaka, Ānandavardhana, Bhoja have paid handsome tributes to Hāla Sātavāhana, Sarvasena, Pravarsena for their exquisite Prakrit works. This fact corroborates, the statement that there was integration of Sanskrit and Prakrit studies. Naturally, the *ālamkārikas*

appreciated first-rate Prakrit works and freely drew upon them—as they did in the case of Sanskrit works—for illustrations in their *ālamkāra* works. It is therefore an insult to the intelligence of these *ālamkārikas* to allege that they quoted Prakrit verses with an ulterior motive.

Now let us examine the charge of obscenity against the Prakrit verses. The *ālamkārikas* have defined in their works what constitutes the poetic blemish of obscenity. Use of words which give rise to feelings of shame, of disgust or convey the sense of inauspiciousness is condemned as obscene and vulgar. They have, with their sharp intellect, recorded and denounced as obscene even particular combination of letters giving rise to words meaning the names of the private parts of the human body. So there is no question of defending obscenity in literature—whether Sanskrit or Prakrit.

These Prakrit verses fall into two groups : Those which are highly erotic and those which portray illicit, clandestine or adulterous love.

We must clearly distinguish between the erotic and the obscene. The writings of great poets, both Sanskrit and Prakrit, are highly erotic and artistic or poetic. To brand them as obscene, as impatient critics of Prakrit verses do, would mean putting these great works out of the reach of the sensitive *sahṛdayas*. We must not be carried away by highly erotic descriptions and mistake the highly erotic for the obscene. The Prakrit poets, as a rule, remain strictly within the bounds of propriety and refinement and avoid vulgarity and obscenity. According to the European scholars of the Victorian age or nineteenth century Western morals, the descriptions of *ratikalaha* (love's battle), the lover's wounding his mistress with nails (*nakhakṣata*), and biting her (lower) lip (*dantakṣata*), inverted intercourse where the woman takes the man's position above while the man lies below (*viparitarata*) depart very far from standards of propriety and taste and therefore are offensive. But Indian *rasikas* or *sahṛdayas* have all along been enjoying these descriptions; they register their dissent or disapproval only when they overstep the bounds of *aucitya* (propriety or decorum) according to their standards. Thus Ānandavardhana, Kṣemendra, and Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha would like to censure Kālidāsa and Jayadeva for frankly describing the amorous sports of Śiva and Pārvatī—the parents of the whole world—and the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in *Kumārasambhava* and *Gītagovinda* respectively. As far as *Gāthāsaptasatī* is concerned the renowned poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa unequivocally states that it is not vulgar (*agrāmyam*). The verses dealing with *cauryarata* are fine specimens of *dhvani kāvya*. There is a class of literary critics who hold the view that art is for the sake of art. According

to them we must never mix up aesthetics with ethics. In the realm of literature and its appreciation we must be solely guided by aesthetics and we must refuse to be influenced by extraneous considerations of morality and its effect or impact on society. As literary critics our sole duty is to appreciate the beauty of the literary creation and experience aesthetic rapture. To censor passages from works on grounds of morality or their evil influence on Society is the job of law-courts. Viewed in this light the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and the amorous sports of Śiva and Pārvatī and the descriptions of *Cauryarata* in *Gāthāsaptaśatī* would not appear improper or obscene. According to these critics, the theme of art may be anything which has a basis in life; if it is beautifully presented by the poet it is enough for us; we appreciate it whole-heartedly. Dhanamjaya rightly observes in his *Daśarūpa* :

“There is nothing in this world, a poetic mind cannot appreciate—may it be beautiful or disgusting, great or mean, terrifying or pleasing, incomprehensible or obvious, real or fictitious.”⁹⁸ In other words, life in all its aspects has a place in literature. It is for the poet to present it in a beautiful form.

15. Conclusion :

In conclusion, it may be said categorically that poetic works in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit exhibit excellences and literary beauty of a high order. They easily bear comparison with their counterparts in Sanskrit literature, Notwithstanding the differences in language the Sanskrit *ālamkārikas* (writers on Sanskrit Poetics) made no difference between Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures. They appreciated both and freely quoted from both. Some of them like Ānandavardhana and Rājaśekhara wrote in both. The norms laid down in the Sanskrit works on Poetics are equally applicable to both. That is why even a scholar of Hemacandra's eminence who has to his credit works on Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar and prosody did not feel the necessity of preparing an independent work exclusively dealing with Prakrit poetics. In fact, till recently—before the impact of Western literature and literary criticism was felt—the poetry in Indian languages like Marathi, Gujarati, Hīndī, etc. was being judged by the norms laid down by Sanskrit literary thinkers. So leaving aside the controversy as to whether Sanskrit is the source of Prakrit or *vice versa*, and realizing that the two languages are closely allied and that the literatures in both of these languages, in spite of their own distinguishing features, bear close affinity we should always strive for integrating the Sanskrit and Prakrit studies⁹⁹.

Notes and References :

1. Vide the section on *Corrupt Text*, *infra*.
2. Vide also his edition of the *Daśarūpaka* with the commentary *Avaloka* by Dhanika and the sub-commentary *Laghutīkā* by Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṃha, Introduction: pp xix-lix, text: pp. 296-299.
Note : Pp. 296-297, and Dr. Bhayani's paper in MM Dr. P.V. Kane Birth Centenary Volume mentioned *infra*.
3. अमयं पाइयकव्वं षट्ठिं सौठं च जे न जाणंति ।
कामस्स तत्तवत्ति कुणंति ते कह न लज्जंति ॥
[अमृतं प्राकृतकाव्यं षट्ठितुं श्रोतुं च ये न जानन्ति ।
कामस्य तत्त्ववार्ता कुर्वन्ति ते कथं न लज्जन्ते ॥]
4. अद्धक्खरभणियाइं नूणं सविलास-मुद्ध-हसियाइं ।
अद्धच्छिपेच्छियाइं गाहाहि विणा न नज्जंति ॥
[अर्धाक्षरभणितानि नूनं सविलासमुग्धहसितानि ।
अर्धाक्षिप्रेक्षितानि गाथाभिर्विना न ज्ञायन्ते ॥]
5. सालंकाराहि सलक्खणाहि अन्नन्नरायसरियाहिं ।
गाहाहि पणइणीहि य खिज्जइ चित्तं अईतीहिं ॥
[सालङ्काराभिः सलक्षणाभिरन्यान्यरागरसिता(का)भिः ।
गाथाभिः प्रणयिनीभिश्च खिद्यते चित्तमनागच्छन्तीभिः ॥]
6. एयं चिय नवरि फुडं हिययं गाहाण महिलियाणं च ।
अणरसिएहि न लब्भइ दविणं व विहीणपुण्णेहिं ॥
[एतदेव केवलं स्फुटं हृदयं गाथानां महिलानां च ।
अरसिकैर्न लभ्यते द्रविणामिव विहीनपुण्यैः ॥]
7. सच्छंदिया सरूवा सालंकार य सरस-उल्लावा ।
वरकामिणि व्व गाहा गाहिज्जंती रसं देइ ॥
[सच्छन्दस्का (स्वच्छन्दिका) सरूपा सालङ्कारा च सरसोल्लापा ।
वरकामिनीव गाथा गीयमाना (गाह्यमाना) रसं ददाति ॥]
8. गाहाण रसा महिलाण विब्भमा कइजणाण उल्लावा ।
कस्स न हरंति हिययं बालाण य मम्मपुल्लावा ॥
[गाथानां रसा महिलानां विभ्रमाः कविजनानामुल्लापाः ।
कस्य न हरन्ति हृदयं बालानां च मन्मनोल्लापाः ॥]
9. गाहाणं गीयाणं तंतीसद्दण पोढमहिलाणं ।
ताणं चिय सो दंडो जे ताण रसं न याणंति ॥
[गाथानां गीतानां तन्त्रीशब्दानां प्रौढमहिलानाम् ।
तेषामेव स दण्डो ये तेषां रसं न जानन्ति ॥]
10. पाइयकव्वम्मि रसो जो जायइ तह य छेयभणिएहिं ।
उययस्स य वासियसीयलस्स तिर्त्ति न वच्चाभो ॥
[प्राकृतकाव्ये रसो यो जायते तथा च च्छेकभणितैः ।
उदकस्य च वासितशीतलस्य तृप्तिं न ब्रजामः ॥]

11. देसियसहपलोद्वं महुरक्खरछंदसंठियं ललियं ।
फुडवियडपायडत्थं पाइयकव्वं पढेयव्वं ॥
[देशीयशब्दप्रवृत्तं मधुराक्षरच्छन्दःसंस्थितं ललितम् ।
स्फुटविकटप्रकाटार्थं प्राकृतकाव्यं पठनीयम् ॥]
12. ललिते महुरक्खरए जुवईजणवल्लहे ससिगारे ।
संते पाइयकव्वे को सक्कइ सक्कयं पढिडं ॥
[ललिते मधुराक्षरे युवितजनवल्लभे सशृङ्गारे ।
सति प्राकृतकाव्ये कः प्वष्कते/शक्नोति संस्कृतं पठितुम् ॥]
13. उम्मिल्लइ लायणं पअअ-च्छआएँ सक्कअ-वआणं ।
सक्कअ-सक्कारुक्करिसणेण पअअस्स वि पहावो ॥
[उन्मीलति लावण्यं प्राकृतच्छायया संस्कृतपदानाम् ।
संस्कृतसंस्कारोत्कर्षेण प्राकृतस्यापि प्रभावः ॥]
14. णवमत्थदंसणं सणिवेस-सिसिराओ वंध-रिद्धीओ ।
अविरलमिणमो आभुवण-बंधमिह णवर पअअम्मि ॥
[नवमर्थदर्शनं संनिवेशशिशिरा बन्धधर्दयः ।
अविरलमेतदाभुवनबन्धमिह केवलं प्राकृते ॥]
15. सअलाओ इमं वाआ विसंति एत्तो अ णेंति वाआओ ।
एंति समुदं चिअ णेंति साअशओ च्चिअ जत्ताइ ॥
[सकला इदं वाचो विशन्तीतश्चः निर्यन्ति वाचः ।
एन्ति समुद्रमेव निर्यन्ति सागरादेव जलानि ॥]
16. हरिस-विसेसो विअसावओ अ मउत्तावओ अ अच्छीण ।
इह बहिहुत्तो अंतोमुहो अ हिअअस्स विप्फुरइ ॥
[हर्षविशेषो विकासको मुकुलीकारकक्षाक्ष्णोः ।
इह बहिर्मुखोऽन्तर्मुखश्च हृदयस्य विस्फुरति ॥]
17. परुसा सक्कअबंधा पाउअबंधो वि होइ सुउमारो ।
पुरिसमहिलाणं जेत्तिअमिहंतरं तेत्तिअमिमाणं ॥
[परुषाः संस्कृतबन्धाः प्राकृतबन्धोऽपि भवति सुकुमारः ।
पुरुषमहिलयोर्थावदिहान्तरं तावदनयोः ॥]
18. गिरः श्रव्या दिव्याः प्रकृतिमधुयः प्राकृतगिरः ।
19. यद् योनिः किल संस्कृतस्य सुदशां, जिह्वासु यन्मोदते
यत्र श्रोत्रपथावतारिणि कटुर्भाषाक्षरणां रसः ।
गद्यं चूर्णपदं पदं रतिपतेस्तत्प्राकृतं यद्वच -
स्तांश्लार्थं ललितार्थं पश्य नुदती दृष्टेनिमेषव्रतम् ॥
20. अहो तत्प्राकृतं हारि प्रियावक्त्रेन्दुसुन्दरम् ।
सूक्तयो यत्र रजन्ते सुधानिःष्यन्दनिर्भयः ॥
21. उञ्जउ सक्कयकव्वं सक्कयकव्वं च निम्मियं जेण ।
वंसहरं व पलित्तं, तडयडतट्टतणं कुणइ ॥
[उञ्ज्यतां संस्कृतकाव्यं, संस्कृतकाव्यं च निर्मितं येन ।
वंशगृहमिव प्रदीपं तडेतडतट्टत्वं करोति ॥]

Note : *Vajjālaggam* (v.no. 31 x 3, p. 217) reads *dajjhau* (*Sk dahyatām*) for 'ujjhau' and 'vamsaharammi palitte' (*Sk vamsāgrhe pradīpte*) in the second half.

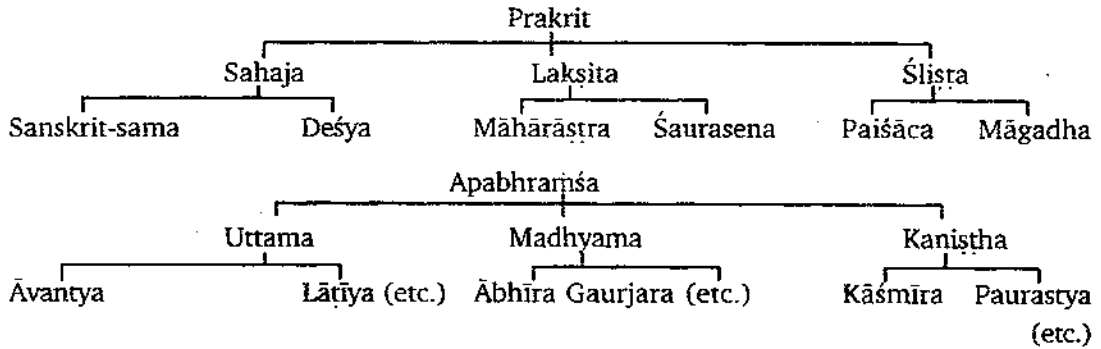
22. पाइयकव्वुल्लावे पडिवयणं सक्कएण जो देइ ।
सो कुसुमसत्थरं पत्थरेण दलितं विणासेइ ।।
[प्राकृतकाव्योल्लापे प्रतिवचनं संस्कृतेन यो ददाति ।
स कुसुमसत्थरं प्रस्तरेण दलित्वा विनाशयति ॥]
23. A. Weber : *Ueber das Saptasatakam des Hāla*, Leipzig 1870; *Das Saptasatakam of Hāla*, Leipzig 1881; the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, *Kavyamala* 21, 2nd edn, 1911; *Ibid* 3rd edn, Bombay 1933.
Keith : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford 1928, pp.223 ff.; A. M. Ghatage : "Māhārāṣṭrī Language and Literature", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, IV.6, May 1936.
24. Cf. सत्त सआइं कइवच्छलेण कोडीअ मज्झआरम्मि ।
हालेण विइआइं सालंकारण गाहाणं ॥ —GS I.3
25. Vide, *infra*, 'Praise of Prakrit poets.'
26. Vide : A. M. Ghatage : "Māhārāṣṭrī Language and Literature" *Journal of the University of Bombay*, IV, part 6 (pp. 19-70) May 1936; Keith : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford 1928, pp. 223 ff.
27. A. N. Upadhye : *Prakrit Literature, Encyclopedia of Literature I*, New York 1946.
28. For a detailed study of this work vide my paper : "The Harivijaya of Sarvasena" first published in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Diamond Jubilee Volume), pp. 691-710 and now included in *Studies In Sanskrit SāhityaŚāstra* (pp. 162-179), published by B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan (North Gujarat) PIN : 384 266.
29. Vide Pravarasena's *Setubandha* tr. by Handique, p. 50.
30. (i) Ānandavardhana observes in his *Dhvanyāloka* (III. 11-12. pp. 335-36) :
इतिवृत्तवशायातां कथञ्चिद्रसानुगुणां स्थितिं त्यक्त्वा पुनरुत्प्रेक्ष्यप्यान्तराभीष्टरसोचितकथोन्नयो विधेयः यथा कालिदासप्रबन्धेषु । यथा च सर्वसेनविरचिते हरिविजये ।
Abhinavagupta thus explains in his *Locana* (p. 335) : ...
हरिविजये कान्तानुनयनाङ्गत्वेन पारिजातहरणादिनिरूपितमितिहासेष्वदृष्टमपि ।
(ii) In his *Vakroktijīvitā* (De's Edn., 71) Kuntaka ranks Sarvasena along with Kālidāsa for his graceful style of composition :
एवं सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र सुकुमारस्वरूपं चर्चणीयम् ।
(iii) The very fact that Bhoja cites scores of verses from Sarvasena's *HV* to illustrate various points of poetics is eloquent of his high appreciation of Sarvasena's work.
31. *Rāvaṇavaho* oder *Setubandha* Prakrit and deutseh herausge geben von Siegfried Goldschmidt I. Lieferung : Text, Index. Strassburg, 1880; Second edition, with Rāmadāsa's commentary *Nirnaya* Sagar Press, Bombay, 1935; Pravarasena *Rāvaṇavaha-Mahākāvya* edited by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1959; Pravarasena's *Setubandha*, Translated by K. K. Handiqui, Prakrit Text Society, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9.

32. For its popularity and its influence on writers on Sanskrit poetics vide *infra* "Praise of Prakrit Poets" and "Influence of Prakrit Poetry on Sanskrit Writers on Poetics."
33. महुमह-विअअ-पउता वाआ कह णाम मउलउ इमम्मि ।
पढमकुसुमाहि तलिनं पच्छ कुसुमं वणलआण ॥
[मधुमथ [न]विजयप्रयुक्ता वाक् कथं नाम मुकुलयत्वस्मिन् ।
प्रथमकुसुमात्तलिनं पश्चात्कुसुमं वनलतानाम् ॥] —*Gaṇḍavaho*-60
34. तद्यथा मधुमध्वनविजये पाञ्चजन्योक्तिषु
—*Dhvanyāloka* III.15, P. 345
35. लीलादाढगुव्वूढसअलमहिमंडलस्स चिअ अज्ज ।
कीस मुणालाहरणं पि तुज्झ गरुआइ अंगम्मि ॥
(लीलादंष्ट्राप्रोद्व्यूढसकलमहीमण्डलस्यैवाद्य ।
कस्माद् मृणालाभरणमपि तव गुरूयतेऽङ्गे ॥)
36. अतहट्टिए वि तहसंठिए व्व हिअअम्मि जा णिवेसेइ ।
अत्थविसेसे सा जअइ विअड-कइ-गोअरा वाणी ॥
(अतथास्थितानपि तथासंस्थितानिव हृदये या निवेशयति ।
अर्थविशेषान् सा जयति विकटकविगोचरा वाणी ॥)
37. ठिअमट्टिअं व दीसइ अठिअं पि परिट्टिअं व पडिहाइ ।
जहसंठिअं च दीसइ सुकईण इमाओ पयईओ ॥
(स्थितमस्थितमिव दृश्यतेऽस्थितमपि परिष्ठितमिव प्रतिभाति ।
यथासंस्थितं च दृश्यते सुकवीनामेताः पदव्यः ॥)
38. *Gaṇḍavaho* by Vākpatirāja, edited with an Introduction, Sanskrit *Chāryā*, English Translation, Notes, Appendices, and Glossary by Prof. N. G. Suru, pub. by Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad-9.
39. आलेखिअं च सरसं च परिसलोणं च सारवंतं च ।
थिरमुज्जलं च छायाघणं च गीविलसिअं च ॥
(आलेख्यं च सरसं च स्पर्शलवणं च सारवच्च ।
स्थिरमुज्जलं च छायाघनं च गीविलसितं च ॥) —*Gaṇḍavaho* v. no. 801
40. *Līlavāi* of Kōuhala with the Sanskrit *Vṛtti* of a Jain author, edited by Prof. A. N. Upadhye, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7, 1949 A.D.
41. ताला जाअंति गुणा जाला ते सहिअएहिं घेप्पति ।
इकिरणाणुगुगहिआइँ होंति कमलाइँ कमलाइँ ॥
[तदा जायन्ते गुणा यदा ते सहृदयैर्गृह्यन्ते ।
रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि ॥] —*Dhvanyāloka* II, p. 170.
42. यथा वा ममैव कामदेवस्य सहचरसमागमे विषमबाणलीलायाम् । —*Dhvanyāloka* III. pp. 345-346.
...सहचरः वसन्तयौवनमलयानिलादयस्तैः सह समागमे ।
हुमि अवहत्थिअ-रेहो णिरंकुसो अह विवेअ-रहिओ वि ।
सिखिणे वि तुज्झ समए, पत्तिअ (पा. भे. पत्तिहि) भत्ति ण पम्हुसमि ॥
(भवाम्यपहस्तितरेखो निरङ्कुशोऽथ विवेकरहितोऽपि ।
स्वप्नेऽपि तव समकं (=समं) प्रतीहि भक्तिं न विस्मरामि ॥) —*Locana* p. 346

43. दशितमेव चैतद् विषमबाणलीलायाम्-
ण अ ताण घडइ ओही ण अ ते दीसंति कह वि पुणरुत्ता ।
जे विब्भमा पिआणं अत्था वा सुकइवाणीणं ॥
[न च तेषां घटतेऽवधिः, न च ते दृश्यन्ते कथमपि पुनरुक्ताः ।
ये विभ्रमाः प्रियाणामर्था वा सुकविवाणीनाम् ॥]
—*Dhvanyāloka* IV, p. 539
44. यथा वा ममैव विषमबाणलीलायामसुरपराक्रमणे कामदेवस्य -
तं ताण सिरिसहोअररअणाहरणम्मि हिअअमेकरसं ।
विबाहरे पिआणं, णिवेसिअं कुसुमबाणेण ॥
[तत्तेषां श्रीसहोदरत्नाभरणे हृदयमेकरसम् ।
विम्बाधरे प्रियाणां निवेशितं कुसुमबाणेन ॥]
—*Dhvanyāloka* II, P. 265
45. अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत् सातवाहनः ।
विशुद्धजातिभिः कोशं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितैः ॥
—*Harṣacarita* I. 13
46. भणइ-विलास-वइत्तण-चोळिक्के (पा. भे. चोळिक्के) जो करेइ हलिए वि ।
कव्वेण किं पउत्थे हाले हाल-विचारे व्व ॥
—*Kuvalayamālā* P. 3, II 21-22
47. इतिवृत्तवशायातां कथञ्चिद् रसाननुगुणां स्थितिं त्यक्त्वा पुनः उत्प्रेक्ष्यापि अभीष्टसोचितकथोन्नयो विधेयः । यथा कालिदासप्रबन्धेषु, यथा च सर्वसेनविरचिते हरिविजये ।
—*Dhvanyāloka* III, pp. 335-336
48. हरिविजये कान्तातुनयनाङ्गत्वेन पारिजातहरणादि निरूपितमितिहासेषु अदृष्टमपि ।
—*Locana*, P. 335
49. एवं सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र सुकुमारस्वरूपं चर्चनीयम् ।
—*Vakroktijivita* I. 52-53, Dharwad edn. p. 66
50. कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥
—*Harṣacarita* I. 14
51. महाराष्ट्रश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।
सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥
—*Kāvyaḍarśa* I. 34
52. येन प्रवरसेनेन धर्मसेतुं विवृण्वता ।
परः प्रवरसेनोऽपि जितः प्राकृतसेतुकृत् ॥
—Cited by Handiqui in his Introduction to his Translation of Pravarasena's *Setubandha*, pp. 17-18.
53. Introduction to *Gaiḍavaho* by Vākpati, ed. by S. P. Pandit, B.O.R. Institute, POONA, 1927 edn, p.11.
54. Introduction to Jineśvarasūri's *Gāhārayanakosa*, ed. by Pandit Amritlal M. Bhojak, Nagin J. Shah, Pub. by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9. 1975, PP. 8-9.
55. Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages, pp. 13-14; *italics* (ours).
56. Introduction to *Gaiḍavaho*, B.O.R. Institute, Poona, 1927 edition, p. Liv.
57. Introduction to *Gaiḍavaho*, Prakrit Text Series No. 18, 1975, p. xcix
58. *Kāvyaḍamkāra* I.16.
59. *Kāvyaḍarśa* I.32.
60. *Kāvyaḍamkāra* II. 11-12.
61. *Kāvyaḍamkāra* IV. 11-15, 17-21.

62. *Dhvanyāloka*.

63. Incidentally, it may be noted that Bhoja's classification of Prakrit and Apabhramśa languages is unique. It may be shown in a tabular form as follows :



64. Compiled by Munishri Punyavijayaji, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9 (Serial No. 326-2, p. 138).

65. The following three *gāthās* out of the six, reproduced in the Catalogue, expressly inform us that the work deals with only figures of speech :

सव्वाइ कव्वाइ, सव्वाइ जेण होति भव्वाइ ।
 तमलंकारं भणिमोऽलंकारं कुकवि (? खु कवि-) कव्वाणं ।
 अच्चंतसुंदरं पि हु निरलंकारं जणम्मि कीरंतं ।
 कामिणिमुहं व कव्वं होइ पसणं पि विच्छाअं ॥
 ता जाणिरुण णिरुणं लकिखज्जह बहुविहे अलंकारे ।
 जेहिं अलंकरिआइं बहुमणिज्जति कव्वाइ ॥

66. *Nandisuttam* and the *Anuogaddārāim*, Jaina Agama Series No. 1 Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Bombay 1968.

67. *Ibid*, pp. 121-124.

68. अभिनवा पूर्वैरुक्ता अर्थगतिः अभिधेयपद्धतिः बन्धच्छायया कृच्छत् संदर्भशोभया दुःखं संपाद्यते । *Kṛṣṇavipra* on *Setu* I.11

("It is hard to combine new ideas (lit. a new range of meaning) with beauty of composition.")

And, अङ्गीभूतरसाद्याश्रयेण काव्ये क्रियमाणे नवार्थलाभो भवति बन्धच्छाया च महती संपद्यत इति । *Dhvanyāloka* IV. 5-6

69. See footnote (14) *supra*.

70. *Gauḍavaho* was composed probably about A. D. 736. The period of Ānandavardhana's literary activity lies between 860-890 A. D.

71. Translation adopted from N. G. Suru's edition mentioned in footnote (7) *supra*.

72. Translation by J. L. Masson and M.V. Patwardhan in their paper referred to in f.n. no. 73 *infra*.

गअणं च मत्तमेहं धारलुलिअज्जुणाई अ वणाई ।
 णिरहंकारमिअंका हरंति णीलाओ अ (?वि) णिसाओ ॥

[गगनं च मत्तमेघं धारतुलितार्जुनानि च वनानि ।
निरहङ्कारमृगाङ्गा हरन्ति नीलाञ्च (? नीला अपि) निशाः ॥]

For a brilliant and highly poetic exposition of this *gāthā* read *Locana*, p. 173.

73. The *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Gāṇḍavaho*, Prof. D. D. Kosambi Commemoration Volume, Science and Human Progress, Popular Prakashan.
74. Translation by J. L. Masson and M. V. Patwardhan in their paper referred to in f.n. No. 73 *supra*.

Read *Gāṇḍavaho*, verse 86

अथालोअण-तरला इअर-कईण भमंति बुद्धीओ ।
अथच्चेअ णिरारंभमेति हिअअं कइंदाण ॥
[अर्थालोकनतरस्लेतरकवीनां भ्राम्यन्ति बुद्धयः ।
अर्था एव निरारंभमेन्ति हृदयं कवीन्द्राणाम् ॥]

75. अतो ह्यन्यतमेनापि प्रकारेण विभूषिता ।
वाणी नवत्मायाति पूर्वार्थान्वयवत्यपि ॥
दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् ।
सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः ॥
अनेरित्थं गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्य च समाश्रयात् ।
न काव्यार्थविरामोऽस्ति यदि स्यात् प्रतिभागुणः ॥
अवस्थादेशकालादिविशेषैरपि जायते ।
आनन्त्यमेव वाच्यस्य शुद्धस्यापि स्वभावतः ॥
रसभावादिसम्बद्धा यद्यौचित्यानुसारिणी ।
अन्वीयते वस्तुगतिदेशकालादिभेदिनी ॥
वाचस्पतिसहस्राणां सहस्रैरपि यत्नतः ।
निबद्धा सा क्षयं नैति प्रकृतिर्जगतामिव ॥

—*Dhvanyāloka* IV. Kārikās 2, 4, 6, 7, 9 & 10.

76. कालगुणा पढमकईहिं भमिअमपरिग्गहेसु मग्गेषु ।
इहस मईहि हीरंति दुक्करं के वि काणं पि ॥
[कालगुणात् प्रथमकविभिर्भ्रान्तमपरिग्रहेषु मार्गेषु ।
इदानीं मतिभिर्हियन्ते दुक्करं केऽपि केषामपि ॥]

77. Translation by J. L. Masson and M. V. Patwardhan, *Ibid*, p. 181.

कत्तो णाम ण दिट्ठं सच्चं कवि-सेविणसु मग्गेषु ।
सीमंते उण मुक्कम्मि तम्मि सच्चं णवं चेअ ॥
[कुतो नाम न दृष्टं सत्यं कविसेवितेषु मार्गेषु ।
सीमन्ते पुनर्मुक्ते तस्मिन् सर्वं नवमेव ॥]

78. Translation by J. L. Masson and M. V. Patwardhan, *Ibid*, p. 182.

आसंसारं कइ-पुंगवेहि तदिअह-गहिअ-सारो वि ।
अज्ज वि अभिण्णमुदो व्व जअइ वाआ-परिष्फंदो ॥
[आसंसारं कविपुङ्गवैः प्रतिदिवसगृहीतसारोऽपि ।
अद्याप्यभिन्नमुद्र इव जयति वाक्परिस्पन्दः ॥]

—*Gāṇḍavaho*. 84, 85, 87.

79. —तिविहा कहा भणिया ।
तं जह दिव्वा तह दिव्वमाणुसी माणुसी तह च्वेय । —*Lilāvai*, v. 35.
णायज्जुण-भिव्खु-पुरस्सरेण णइ-तीर-संठिओ रया ।
विजआणंदेण समं विवरहुतं परिकंतो ॥ —*Lilāvai*, v. 1021.
80. भावौचित्यं तु प्रकृत्यौचित्यात् । प्रकृतिहर्षुत्तममध्यमाधमभावेन दिव्यमानुषादिभावेन च विभेदिनी ।—ननु नागलोकगमनादयः सातवाहनप्रभृतीनां श्रूयन्ते तदलोकसामान्यप्रभावातिशयवर्णने किमनौचित्यं सर्वोर्वीभरणक्षमाणां क्षमाभुजाभिति । —*Dhvanyāloka* III. 14-15.
81. I.16.
82. I.46.
83. VI.66.
84. I. 39.
85. सम-सोक्ख-दुक्ख-परिवड्ढिआणं कालेण रूढ-पेम्माणं ।
मिहुणाणं मरइ जं तं खु जिअइ इअरं मुअं होइ ।
[समसौख्यदुःखपरिवर्धितयोः कालेन रूढप्रेम्णोः ।
मिथुनयोर्घ्नियते यत् तत् खलु जीवति इतरन्मृतं भवति ॥]
—*GS* II. 42.
86. उपस्ताप्यनुपरता महासेनपुत्री एवमनुकम्यमानार्थपुत्रेण । —*Svapnavāsavadattam* VI.9-10.
87. ण हु सो उवरदो जस्स वल्लहो सुमरेद ।
[न खलु स उपरतो यस्य वल्लभः स्मरति ॥]
—*Mālatīmādhava* V. 24-25.
88. *GS* IV. 35.
89. III. 37.
90. I.12 Note : *The translation of many of these gāthās is adopted, with slight changes, from A History of Sanskrit Literature by A. B. Keith. Oxford, 1928, pp. 224-25.*
91. उद्धच्छो पिअइ जलं जह जह विरलंगुली चिरं पहिओ ।
पावालिका वि तह तह धारं तणुइं पि तणुएइ ॥
[ऊर्ध्वाक्षः पिबति जलं यथा यथा विरलाङ्गुलिश्चिरं पथिकः ।
प्रपापालिकापि तथा तथा धारां तनुकामपि तनूकरोति ॥]
—*GS* II. 61.
92. रइकेलि-हिअ-णिअंसण-कर-किसलअ-रुद्ध-णअण-जुअलस्स ।
रुद्धस्स तइअ-णअणं पव्वइ-परिचुंविअं जअइ ॥
[रतिकेलिहतनिवसनकरकिसलयरुद्धनयनयुगलस्य ।
रुद्रस्य तृतीयनयनं पार्वतीपरिचुम्बितं जयति ॥]
Cf. शूलिनः करतलद्वयेन सा संनिरुध्य नयने हतांशुका ।
तस्य पश्यति ललाटलोचने मोघयत्वविधुरा रहस्यभूत् ॥]
—*Kumārasambhava* VIII. 7.
93. *Gāthāsaptasatī* V. 60
and, — शृङ्गे कृष्णमृगस्य वामनयनं कण्डूयमानां मृगीम् । —*Sākuntala* VI. 17.
94. अन्यदिति 'किं तेन शठेन' इत्यादि सखीजनपुरतः । दूतीजनं संदिशन् चान्यथेति 'यथाशक्ति दयितमानय इति विमुक्तधैर्यं युवतिजनो जल्पति । अन्यदेव दयितदर्शने । सबहुमानमिति भावः ।
—*Kulanātha on Setu* X. 75.
95. *Vidyākara's Subhāṣitaratnakośa* translated by Daniel H.H. Ingalls, Harvard University

Press, 1965.

96. तत्र कामस्य सकलजातिसुलभतयात्यन्तपरिचितत्वेन सर्वान् प्रति हृद्यता ।

—*Abhinavabhāratī* Vol. I, p. 267.

And, भावान्तरेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो रतिभावः प्रकृत्यते ।

—*Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa* XIII, p. 565.

And also, शुङ्गारसे हि संसारिणां नियमेनानुभवविषयत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्यः कमनीयतया प्रधानभूतः ।

—*Dhvanyāloka* III. 29-30.

97. स्वादुकाव्यरसोन्मिश्रं शास्त्रमप्युपयुञ्जते ।

प्रथमालीढमधवः पिबन्ति कटुभेषजम् ॥

—*Bhāmaha : Kāvyaśāstra* V. 3.

98. रम्यं जुगुप्सितमुदारमथापि नीच-

मुग्रं प्रसादि गहनं विकृतं (?विवृतं) च वस्तु ।

यद्वाप्यवस्तु कविभावकभाव्यमानं ।

तत्रास्ति यत्र रसभावमुपैति लोके ॥

—*Daśarūpaka* IV. 85.

99. I am grateful to the Editors of *Sambodhi* for their courtesy in allowing me to incorporate in this Introduction my paper, with some changes, "Prakrit Poetry And Sanskrit Poetics" appearing in Vol. 10 April 1981-January 1982, (pp. 145-168).

□ □ □

A BRIEF SURVEY OF JAIN LITERATURE (IN PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT LANGUAGES)

(i) Canonical Literature of the Śvetāmbaras

According to the belief of the Jains themselves, their religion is eternal and it has been revealed again and again in different ages of the world by 24 Tīrthaṅkaras. Ṛṣabha was the first Tīrthaṅkara and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was the last. Of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras the last two, viz., Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra are unanimously accepted as historical personages. The rest of them are said to belong to mythology. The 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, Ariṣṭanemi, is connected with the legend of Kṛṣṇa as his cousin and some scholars are inclined to accept him as a historical personage.

The sacred works of the Jains—variously called as *āgama*, *śruta*, *siddhānta*, *dvādaśāṅgī*—are not composed by a Tīrthaṅkara (say Mahāvīra) himself. But they are based on the discourses delivered by him to his disciples¹ who arranged them in the form of *sūtras* (scriptures or canonical texts). The sacred literature of the (Śvetāmbara) Jains at present comprises 45 texts :

- (i) 11 *aṅgas* : *Ācāra*, *Sūtrakṛta*, *Sthāna*, *Samavāya*, *Bhagavatī*, *Jñātādharma-akathās*, *Upāsakadaśās*, *Antakṛddaśās*, *Anuttaraupapātikadaśās*, *Praśnavyākaraṇa* and *Vipāka* (*Drṣṭivāda* the 12th *aṅga* being no longer extant).
- (ii) 12 *upāṅgas* : *Aupapātika*, *Rājaprasāniya*, *Jīvābhigama*, *Prajñāpanā*, *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, *Candraprajñapti*, *Sūryaprajñapti*, *Nirayāvalī*, *Kalpāvataṃsika*, *Puṣpikā*, *Puṣpacūlikā* and *Vṛṣṇidaśās*.
- (iii) 10 *prakīrṇakas* : *Catuḥśaraṇa*, (or *Samstāraka*), *Āturapratyākhyāna*, *Bhaktaparijñā*, *Tandulavaicārika*, *Camdāvijjhaya* (*Candravedhyaka*), *Devendrastava*, *Gaṇividya*, *Mahāpratyākhyāna* and *Vīrastava*.
- (iv) 6 *Chedasūtras* : *Niśītha*, *Mahāniśītha*, *Vyavahāra*, *Daśāsrutaskandha*, *Bṛhatkalpa* and *Pañcakalpa* or *Jitakalpa*.

- (v) 2 *Cūlikā* texts : *Nandisūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra*².
 (vi) 4 *Mūlasūtras* : *Uttarādhyayana*, *Āvaśyaka*, *Daśavaikālika* and *Pinḍaniryukti*.

Originally there were 14 *pūrvas* which were reckoned to form 12th *aṅga* called *Drṣṭivāda* but these *pūrvas*, and consequently, the 12th *aṅga* too, were gradually lost altogether.

(ii) Pro-canonical Literature of the Digambara Jains

According to the Digambara tradition, all the twelve *Aṅgas*, excepting the portions of the 12th *Aṅga*, namely, *Diṭṭhivāya*, have been lost. These portions have been preserved in the *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and *Mahādhavalā* *Siddhāntas*. The *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, composed by the two *Ācāryas*, *Puṣpadanta* and *Bhūtabali*, on the basis of the second *Pūrvā* text and the *Kasāyapāhuḍa*, composed by *Ācārya Gaṇadhara*, on the basis of the fifth *Pūrvā* text, are regarded as authoritative and sacred. According to the *Śvetāmbaras*, on the contrary, the first eleven *Aṅgas* are preserved while the twelfth *Aṅga*, the *Diṭṭhivāya* is completely lost. It would seem that the two traditions to a certain extent complement each other.

Besides the *Aṅgas*, the Digambaras hold that 14 texts which were composed by *sthaviras* ("Elders") formed part of the Canon but these too have been irretrievably lost. These texts are as follows :

1. *Sāmāyika*, 2. *Caturviṃśatistava*, 3. *Vandanā*, 4. *Pratikramaṇa*, 5. *Vainayika*, 6. *Kṛti-karma*, 7. *Daśavaikālika*, 8. *Uttarādhyayana*, 9. *Kalpavyavahāra*, 10. *Kalpākalpika*, 11. *Mahākalpika*, 12. *Puṇḍarīka*, 13. *Mahāpuṇḍarīka* and 14. *Niśīthikā*.

The *Śvetāmbaras*, however, claim that most of these texts are well preserved in the *Aṅgabāhya* ("standing outside the *Aṅgas*") or *Anaṅgapaviṭṭha* ("not belonging to the *Aṅgas*") independent texts or their sections or chapters.

In addition to the two works, *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgamā* and *Kasāyapāhuḍa* the Digambaras accept later works composed by eminent Digambara writers as authoritative. They describe these works forming a "substitute canon" as "the four Vedas". These works are classified into four groups :

- (1) *Prathamānuyoga*, legendary works, to which belong the *Purāṇas* (*Padma-*, *Harivaṃśa-*, *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-*, *Mahā-* and *Uttara-* *Purāṇa*);
- (2) *Karaṇānuyoga*, cosmological works : *Sūryaprajñāpti*, *Candraprajñāpti* and *Jayadhavalā*;
- (3) *Dravyānuyoga*, philosophical works of *Kundakunda*, *Umāsvāti's*/*Umāsvāmi's*

- Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* with the commentaries of Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka, Vidyānanda, etc., and Samantabhadra's *Āptamīmāṃsā* with the commentaries of Akalaṅka, Vidyānanda, etc., and
- (4) *Caranānuyoga*, ritual works; Vatṭakera's *Mūlācāra* and *Trivarnācāra* and Samantabhadra's *Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvākācāra*.

Both the sects, the Śvetāmbaras ("Those clad in white) and the Digambaras ("Sky-clad" or naked") are however unanimous in calling the eleven (or twelve) aṅgas, i.e., "limbs" (of the body of Śrutapurūṣa) the first and most important part of their canon. The eleven aṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon are the oldest part of the canon. The redaction of the canon took place under Devarddhigaṇi in 980 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (A. D. 454). Before that time the sacred texts were handed down by oral transmission (without being committed to writing). The language of the Canon is a Prakrit which is known as 'Ārṣa' or *Ardhamāgadhi*. Mahāvīra himself preached in this language of the masses. The sacred texts are of different origin and age so they differ in character. Some are in prose, some in verse, some in prose and verse. The older prose works are diffuse and repetitive; some contain succinct rules, some contain lengthy descriptions as well as systematic expositions of different dogmatic problems. The most archaic language is to be found in the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, and next to it, in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtra* and the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*. The language of the non-Canonical Jain texts of the Śvetāmbara authors is known as Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and of the Digambara authors as Jain Śaurasenī.

A large literature of the nature of glosses, expository treatises, commentaries has grown up round the more important texts of the Canon. The earliest commentaries, the Niryuktis, consist of very concise explanations in Āryā verses and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. They served as an aid to the memory of the teachers in their oral interpretation of the sacred texts. In some instances they are very closely interwoven with the *sūtras* or they even supplanted the latter. The *Pinḍa-Niryukti* appears in the Canon itself. At a later date these Niryuktis were extended to form exhaustive commentaries in Prakrit (Bhāṣyas and Cūrṇis). These in their turn formed the foundation for the Sanskrit commentaries (Tīkāś, Vṛttis, Avacūrṇis) which were compiled between the 8th and 12th centuries A. D. These commentaries serve as a repository of many ancient, historical or semi-historical traditions and a great mass of popular narrative themes. The Jain monks delighted in adorning their sermons with the telling of stories, in converting worldly stories into legends of saints, in

elucidating Jain doctrines by means of examples. They exploited the inborn Indian love for stories in order to win over adherents for their religion. The narrative literature imbedded in the commentaries contains many popular themes. It contains some themes which occur also in other Indian and non-Indian literatures, and form part of the common treasury of universal literature. The commentaries on the *Uttarādhyayana* are remarkable for their wealth of narrative themes. The most important of these commentaries are those by Śānti Sūri and Devendragañin. In his commentary called *Śiṣyahitā* Śānti Sūri retells the narratives in quite a short form. Devendragañin, however, tells these stories in a leisurely manner. One of the most charming romances which Devendra has preserved for posterity is that of Mūladeva and the courtesan Devadattā.

(iii) Counterparts of *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* (and *Harivaṁśa*)

The Jains did not rest content with adopting popular epic themes such as the story of Kṛṣṇa, the story of Draupadī, and others into their sacred literature and the commentaries on some of the sacred works, but they also wrote whole *kāvya*s on the story of Rāma and of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, which were stories immensely popular among the Vedic Hindus. The oldest Jain Prakrit *Kāvya* (perhaps of the 4th century A. D. or even later), the *Paūmacariya* (*Padmacarita*) by the poet Vimala Sūri is a Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is in pure Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and in the *gāthā* metre. The life of Padma—Padma is another name of Rāma—is told in 118 cantos; they are only in partial agreement with Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. From the contents of this Prakrit epic it is evident that Vimala Sūri knew Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. He finds fault with Vālmīki for misrepresenting the true narrative of Rāma and claims that his version is a faithful representation. Vimala's work served as a model for most of the Jain versions of the story of Rāma presented in later works such as *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa³ (678 A. D.), *Paūmacariu* of Svayambhu (middle of the 8th century A. D.), *Cauppannamahāpurisacariya* of Śilācārya (868 A. D.), *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (965 A. D.), *Kahāvalī* of Bhadreśvara (11th century A. D.) *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra (latter half of the 12th century A. D.) and others. Some salient features of the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s may be mentioned here : Whereas the hero of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* moves in an entirely Vedic Hindu atmosphere, in the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s the religion of the Jina is very much to the fore. The Tīrthaṅkara Rṣabha is glorified. The Vedic animal sacrifices are denounced and so too the priestly class. The kings are generally pious laymen who retire from the world in their old age and become Jain monks. The stories of the previous births of the heroes are told with a great wealth of detail. Sermons are inserted on the dreadful consequences of killing and of the eating

of meat with a description of hells added. The Rākṣasas are not man-eating demons with fearful and hideous appearances. Nor are the Vānaras animals having long tails living on fruits etc., and using their nails and teeth as weapons. They are a race of the Vidyādharas,—a class of beings endowed with many supernatural qualities, though not human beings in the correct sense of the term. They are depicted as having been highly civilized adherents to the vow of Ahimsā. The dynasty of Vidyādharas of Laṅkā came to be called Rākṣasas after the great and celebrated Vidyādharma hero named Rākṣasa, and also because they guarded the islands. The Vidyādharas of Kiṣkindhipura received the name of Vānaras because of their custom of wearing the pictures of monkeys as symbols or totems on their banners and crowns. Rāvaṇa's epithet Daśamukha is explained in a realistic way : Rāvaṇa's mother hangs around his neck a wondrous necklace of *ratnas*, in which his face is reflected nine times, hence his epithet Daśamukha—"The man with ten faces". The characters of Kaikeyī, Rāvaṇa, Vālin, are elevated. Almost all the principal characters are represented as pious Jain laymen who retire from the world at the end and become Jain monks and attain to heaven or liberation.

The version of Saṅghadāsa as presented in *Vasudevahiṇḍi* is, generally speaking, more in agreement with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki or the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata* than with *Paūmacariya*. Guṇabhadra's version as found in *Uttarapurāṇa* (9th century A. D.) is largely dependent on Vālmīki. It contains some features which have their parallels in the *Daśarathajātaka* and the version of Saṅghadāsa and some traits peculiar to the Jain forms of the story of Rāma. This conglomeration of different elements gives Guṇabhadra's version a new look and form. As this version of Guṇabhadra has many important divergencies with *Paūmacariya* it is regarded as forming another independent version.

The Jains have their own version of the *Mahābhārata* (and the *Harivaṁśa*) as well. The earliest version that has come down to us is the *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* in 66 *sargas* by Jinasena (783 A. D.). In this Purāṇa not only are the stories of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma told in a Jain setting, but Gautama, the pupil of Mahāvīra, is made the narrator of the story, and in many places sermons on the Jain doctrine are inserted. The legend of Rṣabha, the first Tīrthāṅkara, is told by way of introduction, and, connected with the story of Kṛṣṇa, the story of Ariṣṭanemi, Kṛṣṇa's cousin, is presented. The story of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas and the descendants of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa is also told. The Kauravas (and Karṇa) are converted to Jainism. Finally, the Pāṇḍavas also become ascetics and like Ariṣṭanemi, attain to liberation.

In early Jain works Pāṇḍavas are not given the prominence and importance which is accorded to them in the *Mahābhārata*; nor Kṛṣṇa is deified as in the *Mahābhārata*; he is presented as a brave and noble Kṣatriya hero only. The Ardhmāgadhī Canon of the Śvetāmbaras gives some information about Kṛṣṇa and his clan and the Pāṇḍavas. The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (not later than A. D. 609) which deals with the wanderings and adventures of Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, gives us only at the beginning a few facts of the story of *Harivaṁśa*.

In a sense, the earliest complete account of the whole of *Harivaṁśa* is to be found in the *Cauppanamahāpurisacarīya* of Śīlāṅka also known as Śīlācārya. The work was composed in A. D. 968. It deals with all the great men (*mahāpurisa*'), later known as 'Śalākāpuruṣas' and is a precursor of the later and more famous *Triṣaṭṣalākāpuruṣacarita* of the great Hemacandra (A. D. 1088-1172). Śīlāṅka relates the story of Ariṣṭanemi, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva; Baladeva (and the Pāṇḍavas), i.e., the *Harivaṁśa* of the Jains which is a kind of their counterpart to both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* of the Vedic Hindus. Śīlāṅka relates the story of the *Harivaṁśa* in its fully developed form, putting together the numerous incidents and events known from earlier sources. In him we observe that much of *Vāsudevahiṇḍī* is briefly referred to, while most of the story of the Pāṇḍavas is left out. Maladhārin Hemacandra Sūri (beginning of the 12th century) wrote his *Bhavābhāvanā* with its commentary in A. D. 1113. The first part of the work contains a detailed life of Nemi in 4042 *gāthās* and relates the whole story of the *Harivaṁśa*. The great Hemacandra follows Maladhārin Hemacandra in his treatment of the narrative but gives more space to the lives of the Pāṇḍavas and includes the life of Nala and Damayantī in the *Vasudevacarita*.

In about 1200 A. D. the Maladhārin Devaprabha Sūri wrote a *Pāṇḍavacarita* in 18 *sargas*, in which the contents of the 18 Parvas of the *Mahābhārata* are given in a concise form, although remodelled in many of their details. The 6th *sarga* contains the story of the game of dice and the Nala Episode (*Upākhyāna*)—it is here called "Story of Nala and Kubara", the latter being the name of Nala's brother—is related by Vidura as a warning example. The 16th *sarga* tells the story of the Jina Ariṣṭanemi and the 18th *sarga* relates how Baladeva attains to heaven and Ariṣṭanemi and the Pāṇḍavas attain to liberation. In the 15th century Sakalakīrti and his pupil Jinadāsa wrote their *Harivaṁśa* in 39 *sargas*. Hiralal's Catalogue (pp. 715 f., 760 ff, 768) also mentions *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* by Raviṣeṇa, Śrībhūṣaṇa Dharmakīrti and Rāmacandra. These epics are in Sanskrit. Śubhacandra wrote his *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (also known as Jain *Mahābhārata*) in 1551 A. D. In 1603 A. D.

Devavijaya Gaṇin rendered Devaprabha's epic into prose with inserted verses. Among the verses many have been taken literally from Devaprabha's epic, while many others belong to the gnomic poetry and are known from other sources. There is also a *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* in 18 *sargas* by Vādicandra.

(iv) *Caritas*, *Purāṇas* and *Mahāpurāṇas* of 63 *Śalākāpuruṣas*

The two *Ārṣa mahākāvya*s, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Purāṇas* of the Vedic Hindus have their counterparts among the lives of 63 'Śalākāpuruṣas' (Great Men) that is to say the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, and their contemporaries, the 12 Cakravartins (rulers of the world) and 27 heroes of antiquity, viz. 9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas. The earlier Jain tradition as recorded in *Samavāyāṅgasūtra* knows only 54 "excellent men" (*uttamapurisa*). It does not count the 9 Prativāsudevas as "excellent men". The works treating of the lives of these great men are usually called 'Caritas' by the Śvetāmbaras while among the Digambaras they go by the name of 'Purāṇas'. Among the earliest of these Purāṇas is the *Triṣaṣṭīlakṣaṇa-Mahāpurāṇa* (The Great Purāṇa of 63 Eminent or Excellent or Great Men) by Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (9th century), containing the lives of all the 63 men. It consists of the *Ādipurāṇa* (dealing with the life of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, and of the first Cakravartin) and of the *Uttarapurāṇa* (describing the lives of all the remaining Great Men). The work in addition gives a "history of the world" and presents at the same time an encyclopaedia of all that is edifying to the pious Jain and that is worthy of his knowledge. Thus it describes, for instance, the Saṃskāras (which accompany the individual from his conception to his death), the interpretation of dreams, town-planning, the duties of the warrior and the art of governing (*Nīti*). One of the favourite stories in the *Uttarapurāṇa* is that of Jīvandhara, which has also been told several times by later poets. The story of the twins Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā, the children of the courtesan Kuberasenā is a kind of Oedipus tragedy. Side by side with such stories there are also purely Jain legends, some of which read like historical or biographical accounts.

The *Caritas* which relate the life of individual Tīrthaṅkaras are quite numerous. Among these, Ṛṣabha Śāntinātha, Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha, Pārśva and Mahāvīra are especially honoured by the Jains and their lives are among the most popular themes of Jain narrative poetry.

Guṇacandra Gaṇin wrote his *Mahāvīracariyam* (in Prakrit) in 1082 A. D. Hemacandra's *Mahāvīracarita* (in Sanskrit) forms the 10th Parvan of his voluminous work *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*.

The life of Rṣabha is told in the introductory sections of the Rāma epics. The lives of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, the contemporaries of the Tīrthānkara Neminātha, are told in the Jain counterparts of the *Mahābhārata*. We have more than a dozen life-stories of Neminātha.

The number of poetical lifestories of Pārśvanātha is very great. Jinasena, the author of *Ādipurāna*, wrote his *Pārśvābhyudaya* in the 9th century A. D. It incorporates the entire *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa by inserting one or two lines from it in each verse. It serves as an example of *Samasyāpūraṇa* (a poetical exercise consisting of one or two lines of a stanza being given and the completion of it by the poet). The *Pārśvanāthacaritra* by Bhāvadeva Sūri was composed in 1255 A. D. It tells with a wealth of detail not only the lifestory of Pārśvanātha in his last birth but also his previous nine births. The poet inserts in the narrative numerous stories, fables and fairytales. He also adds many gnomic sayings both on morality and on worldly wisdom.

A *Śāntināthacaritra* in Sanskrit verses was composed by Deva Sūri in 1282 A. D.

Somaprabha (latter half of the 12th century A. D.) wrote his *Sumatinātha-carita* in Prakrit. The work treats of the life of the 5th Jina.

Some of the *Caritas* by the Śvetāmbara poets describe the lives of individual Jinas while some others treat of the lives of all the 63 'śalākā puruṣas' together. The *Cauppanamahāpurisacariya* of Śilāṅka, mentioned above, relates the lifestories of 54 great men and the 9 Prativāsudevas together in one volume.

Another important work of this type is the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* by the celebrated Jain Ācārya Hemacandra (latter half of the 12th century A. D.). It consists of ten *Parvans* in simple and unaffected Sanskrit. Hemacandra himself describes the work as a *mahākāvya*. The main purpose of the work is, however, instruction and edification. The narrative is often interrupted by long instructive discourses on the subjects of *dharma* (religion) and morality. The doctrine of karma is illustrated by describing the destinies in the former births of each one of the *śalākāpuruṣas*. In the first *parvan* we have the life of Rṣabha, the first Tīrthānkara in his previous births. The tenth *parvan* relates the Life of Mahāvīra. It is of some significance from the historical point of view as it supplies detailed data regarding King Śreṇika Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Mahāvīra and Buddha. Hemacandra also describes in the form of a prophecy of Mahāvīra the ideal reign of his pious pupil King Kumārapāla.

The *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* or *Sthavirāvalicarita* i.e., "Appendix-Section" or

“Lives of the Series of the Elders” which forms the appendix to the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* has a profusion of fairytales and stories of all kinds. While with the exception of the last two Tīrthaṅkaras, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, the personages of the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* belong to mythology, the *Sthavirāvalīcarita* contains the life-stories of the Sthaviras or Theras (Elders), i.e., the disciples of Mahāvīra. There are many interesting parallels to be found among the stories of the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* not only to familiar stories from other Indian works but also to stories forming part of universal literature of the life of the 5th Jina.

Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇin composed a voluminous Prakrit poem *Supāsaṇāha-cariyam* in 1143 A. D. It deals with the life of the 7th Jina.

Like the Tīrthaṅkaras other holy men too have been glorified in *caritras*. Dharmakumāra’s epic *Śālibhadra-carita* (1277 A. D.) is an instance in point. It treats of Śālibhadra, a famous legendary hero, a contemporary of Mahāvīra and King Śreṇika. The work calls itself a ‘Dānadharmā-kathā’ and also a ‘Dānāvadāna’ (story of notable deeds of alms-giving).

The Mahāpurāṇas, Purāṇas and Caritas, are, as a rule, purely legendary and belong to the realm of mythology. The lives of Pārśva and Mahāvīra which present many historical elements are exceptions.

(v) Counterpart of Bṛhatkathā

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsa mentioned above, represents the Jain counterpart of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, a work which ranked beside the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as one of the great storehouses of Indian literary art. It is a very extensive prose work interspersed with verses. It is less popularly styled as *Vasudevacarīya*. It deals mainly with the wanderings and adventures of Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa. At the beginning of the work we get a few facts of the story of *Harivaṁśa*. It is a great storehouse of a number of heroic legends, popular stories, edifying narratives extended over many births, and sectarian and didactic tales. Many of the narratives, such as those of Cārudatta, Aḡaḡadatta, Pippalāda, Sagara-princes, Nārada, Parvata and Vasu, etc., which are repeated over and over again in later literature are to be found in this work almost in the same form.

(vi) Quasi-historical Prabandhas

The *Prabandhas* which deal with historical personages are also no real biographies or history. These *Prabandhas* contain the “life-stories” or rather stories, legends, and anecdotes associated with historical and literary

personages—prominent patriarchs, saints, authors, royal patrons and merchant princes who helped the cause of Jains and Jainism in different contexts and centuries. Although they should not be rejected outright as unreliable historical sources they could be used only with great caution and circumspection. The *Prabhāvākacārīta*, “Life of the Prominent” composed by Prabhācandra or Candraprabha and revised by Pradyumna Sūri in 1277 A. D., the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* “Wishing-jewel of Stories” by Merutuṅga (1306 A. D.) and the *Prabandhakośa* “Treasury of Stories” by Rājaśekhara (1349 A. D.) are the typical examples of quasi-historical-biographical works.

Another semi-historical work is the *Tīrtha-Kalpa* by Jinaprabha Sūri (between) 1326 and 1331 A. D.). It gives a description of the Jain places of pilgrimage together with the names of their founders, the kings by whom they were restored, and also the dates. It contains a lot of legendary matter but possesses some slight historical significance as it is based on earlier sources and in part deals with events belonging to the author’s own period.

(vii) *Dharmakathās*

The ‘dharma-kathās’ (religious romances/novels and romantic epics) of the Jain authors and poets introduce a new genre in Indian literature. These romances are never intended for giving mere pleasure or delight. They give pleasure and at the same time provide religious instruction and enlightenment. The earliest *dharmakathā* was *Taraṅgavatī* by Pādalipta Sūri (2nd or 3rd century A. D.). The original has not come down to us but a later recasting of it, *Taraṅgalolā*, has been preserved. This *Taraṅgavatī* most probably served as a model for Haribhadra’s *Samarāiccakahā* (8th century A. D.), a magnificent religious romance. Haribhadra’s literary glory primarily rests on this work. The poet traces the fate of a hero and his opponent through nine births. The dominant idea underlying the main narrative and most of the tales inserted in it is *nidāna*, a special phase of karma (Bartering away one’s austerities for sensual pleasures in a future birth, which are denied to him in the present one, or for revenging oneself for insults or personal injuries in the subsequent births). In the numerous stories and fairy tales and parables inserted, we come across some which we find in Indian narrative literature, and a few which belong to universal literature.

Uddyotanasūri, a disciple of Haribhadrasūri of *Samarāiccakahā* fame wrote his *Kuvalayamālā*, a ‘*dharmakathā*’ or rather a ‘*Saṅkīrṇakathā*,’ in A. D. 779. The *Samarāiccakahā* is centred round the motif of karma and transmigration used as a literary device : the story follows the fates of two ‘*Jīvas*’

(souls) connected by a *nidāna* through nine 'bhavas' (births). Uddyotana has outdone his Guru by increasing the number of Jīvas, whose histories are marked by vicissitudes in the course of various births, to five. As these histories are not connected at the beginning of the story but interlace only at a later stage and as these are not told in a systematic manner or chronological order, the plot as a whole becomes highly involved and so very difficult to follow. But for this serious defect the literary merit of *Kuvalayamālā* is very high. It ranks high among the masterpieces of the vast Kathā literature of the Jains. It presents us with valuable specimens of a number of Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Paiśācī dialects. It gives a vivid and graphic picture of Indian life in the eighth century. It is important also from the point of view of the basic ethical values and its wealth of cultural data.

This genre, the *dharmakathā*, reaches its culmination in *Upamitibhava-prapañcā Kathā*, an allegorical Sanskrit romance which presents the manifoldness of existence in a parable. It was composed by Siddharṣi in 906 A. D. The poet introduces many stories and sermons in the narrative. He informs us that he chose the allegory in order to attract the readers and that he wrote in Sanskrit with a view to winning over the educated to the Jain doctrine. His language is smooth and clear. His writing reveals Prakritisms and popular expressions. This work enjoyed great popularity among the Jains.

An unknown poet has worked up in his *Malayasundarīkathā* popular fairy tale themes into a Jain legend. The work is of the nature of a romantic epic.

(viii) *Campūs*

Distinct from these religious romances and romantic epics are the *Campūs* in prose and verse imitating the style of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. Foremost among these is the *Yaśastilakacampū* by the Digambara poet Somadeva Sūri written in about 959 A. D. Poems of the same category are *Tilakamañjarī* by the Śvetāmbara poet Dhanapāla who wrote about 970 A. D., and *Gadya-cintāmaṇi* by the Digambara poet Odeyadeva Vādībhasīmha (beginning of the 11th century A. D.). The work deals with the famous legend of Jīvandhara. This very legend forms the subjectmatter of *Jīvandharacampū* by the Digambara poet Haricandra.

(ix) Ornate Poems

Like the legends of the Tirthaṅkaras, other legends and fairy tale themes, also have been worked up into ornate epics. The *Yaśodharacarita* by Vādirāja is an epic in four cantos. It is based on *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra. Another *Yaśodharacarita* by Māṇikyā Sūri is based on Haribhadra's *Samarāiccakahā*.

Dhaneśvara's *Surasundarīcarīyam* (end of the eleventh century A. D.) is a voluminous romantic epic in Prakrit. Maladhārin Devaprabha's *Mṛgāvātī-caritra* containing one of the versions of the legend of Udayana and his two queens Vāsavadattā and Padmāvātī is another fairy tale epic. Caritrasundara's *Mahīpāla-caritra* (middle of the 15th century A. D.) is an ornate epic in 14 cantos.

We have a few *Kathānakas* (lit., little stories) developed into independent works or ornate poems. The *Kālakācāryakathānaka* is probably based on an old tradition and possibly contains an historical nucleus. It is the story of the King's son Kālaka, who is converted to Jainism. His younger sister was abducted by Gardabhilla, ruler of Ujjayinī. Kālaka incites rulers of Śakakula to go to war against Gardabhilla and conquer Ujjayinī. Another noteworthy work of the *Kathānaka* type is the *Campakāśreṣṭhikathānaka* (Story of the merchant Campaka) by Jinakīrti (middle of the 15th century A. D.). It presents the tale of the lucky child that is saved from destruction by the fatal letter exchanged at the last moment. This tale is widely known both in the East and the West.

(x) *Kathākośas*

The Jains, who are unsurpassed in the art of story-telling, compiled various books of stories (*Kathākośas*) in later times. They are in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa languages. Some of the compilers of these stories are known while others are unknown. Some *Kathākośas* are already published, some others lie in the form of MSS in Jain *Bhāṇḍāras*. Most of them are noted in the *Jīnaratnakośa*. A few of these *Kathākośas* may be noticed here : A *Kathākośa* (Treasury of Stories) collected by an unknown compiler is a vertiable mine of tales, some of which also belong to universal literature. The language of the tales is bad Sanskrit with verses in Prakrit. Everywhere there is a strong Jinistic tendency. For example, a seafarer's story full of wonderful adventures is transformed into a Jain legend. The last story in the *Kathākośa* is a curious Jain adaptation of the Nala-episode of the *Mahābhārata*. Hariṣeṇa's (*Brhat*) *Kathākośa* (931-32 A. D.) presents a series of tales which illustrate the allusions found in the *Bhagavatīārādhanā*. The text contains over 150 stories in Sanskrit. The chief object of most of these tales is to glorify Jainism and impress on the minds of the readers the greatness of Jainism and thus propagate in the Society the religio-moral ideals upheld by Jainism. Devabhadra composed his *Kathākośa* (*Kathāratnakośa*) in 1101 A. D. Religious and ethical instruction through stories is the main purpose of this composition. Śubhaśīla wrote his *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha* "Book of 500 stories serving to awaken the Faith" in 1464 A. D. In spite of the title the work contains nearly 600 stories, anecdote, legends, fables,

fairy tales, etc., some of which allude to historical personages, kings and authors of both ancient and modern times, such as Nanda, Sātavāhana, Bhartṛhari, Bhoja, Kumārapāla, Hemasūri and others. Devendra composed his *Kathāmaṇikośa* (*Ākhyānāmaṇikośa*) in Prakrit verses (latter half of the 11th century A. D.). Jineśvara composed his *Kathānakakośa* in the second quarter of the 11th century. Somacandra composed his *Kathāmahodadhi* "The great ocean of stories" in 1448 A. D. Rājaśekhara wrote his *Antarakathāsamgraha* "Collection of various narratives" in the 14th century. The stories are written in simple Sanskrit prose, quite in a conversational style, the expression being often contaminated with vernacularisms. In many cases, the style, format and contents remind us of the *Pañcatantra*. Some of the stories are primarily meant for instruction, ethical and religious, and others for amusement by their wit and humour. In 1600 Hemavijaya Sūri wrote his *Kathāratnakośa* "Treasury of Stories". The author informs us that some of the stories are traditional, some are imaginary, some are compiled from other sources, and some are taken from scriptures. There are 258 stories distributed over ten Taraṅgas. Most of them are written in simple Sanskrit prose. Some are written in elaborate Sanskrit prose; and only a few are metrical narratives. "Most of the narratives are similar to those in the *Pañcatantra* and other books of stories of this kind, tales of the artfulness of women, tales of rogues, tales of fools, fable and fairy tales, anecdotes of all descriptions, including some which hold up Brāhmanas and other holy men to scorn". As in the *Pañcatantra* the tales are interspersed with numerous wise sayings. The tales are, however, loosely strung together.

The Jain narratives are very precious as they go beyond the kings and the priests and give a picture of the real life of the Indian society in all its different classes.

Salient characteristics of Jain Narrative Literature :

In the various types of works, excepting some of the semi-historical works (*prabandhas*) certain traits arrest our attention as they are hardly noticed in other branches of Indian literature : "(i) Pages after pages are devoted to the past and future births; (ii) the inexorable law of karma plays a very conspicuous role, (iii) Sermons with dogmatic details are introduced; (iv) Parables and illustrative tales are added here and there". "The spirit of asceticism is writ large throughout the text; and almost as a rule every hero retires from the world to attain better status in the next life".

(xi) Stotras

Like the poets of other sects, the Jain poets have composed a large

number of hymns (*Stutis*, *Stotras*) in praise of the Jinas and ancient Jain teachers, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Some of these hymns are written for particular cults; some others are meant to be appreciated as lyrical poems too. Many of the hymns are short and some are of considerable length. One of the most famous *Stotras* is the *Bhaktāmarastotra* in 44 verses by Mānatuṅga, an early poet, claimed by both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras as belonging to their own sect. It is an ornate poem extolling the first Jina (Rṣabha) as the incomparable saint and divinity and his name is invoked as a protection in all calamities. Another famous *stotra* is *Kalyānamandīrastotra* of Siddhasena Divākara who is also claimed by both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras as belonging to their sect. It is a hymn, in 44 stanzas, to Pārśvanātha. It abounds in 'Śleṣas' and is quite artificial. Siddhasena is credited with the writing of *Dvātrīṃśad-Dvātrīṃśikā* "32 Sets of 32 verses each". Samantabhadra wrote his *Bṛhatsvayambhūstotra* or *Caturvīṃśatījinastavana*, a hymn in praise of all the 24 Jinas, beginning with the praise of the first Jina who is here called Svayambhū (the Self-existent). There are a number of *stotras* in which all the 24 Jinas are praised. The most famous is the "Śobhana *stuti*" (Hymn of Śobhana' or alternatively 'Beautiful hymn') by the poet Śobhana (2nd half of the 10th century A. D.). Dhanapāla, Śobhana's brother wrote his *Rṣabha-Pañcāśikā*, a hymn in honour of Rṣabha, in 50 Prakrit stanzas. Though the style is artificial it does not lack in warmth and beautiful metaphors. Another noteworthy *Stotra* is the *Vītarāgastotra* (A poem in praise of the Vītarāga, i.e., the Passionless one" viz., Mahāvīra). It consists of 20 short *Stavas* or *Prakāśas* (Sections) generally of 8 or 9 *ślokas* each. The language of this poem is exceptionally simple and lucid.

The Jain *stotras* exhibit the same form, style and characteristics as are found in the Hindu and the Buddhist *stotras*. Some of the Jain *stotras* are popular on account of religious interest but only a few are noteworthy for their religious interest as well as for their literary merit. As the glorification of Jinas and Saints does not admit of much variation in subjectmatter some *stotras* are artificially constructed to show tricks of language in the use of Yamaka and other figures of speech in the regular *kāvya* style.

(xii) Didactic poems

Didactic poetry is instructive and mainly deals with the well-known themes of *Nīti* (practical sagacity) and *Vairāgya* (the mood which is based on the realisation of the futility of human effort and which leads to noble reflections on the sorrows of life). It gives poetical expression to traditional wisdom or to wisdom springing from close observation of men and manners. One of the

earliest non-canonical didactic poems is *Praśnottara-Ratnamālā* (The Jewel-Garland of Questions and Answers), which has its Brāhmaṇical counterpart ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya himself. It is written in *ślokas* in the very simple and lucid style. The morality taught here is the general human morality. Another early work is *Uvaesamālā* "Garland of Instructions". It consists of 540 verses containing moral instructions for laymen and monks by the poet Dharmadāśa (before 9th century A. D.).

The didactic poems of the Digambara poet, Amitagati are highly popular among the Jains. His *Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha* (994. A. D.) "The Collections of Gems of Beautiful Aphorisms" deals with the entire ethics of the Digambara Jains, giving rules of conduct for both householders and monks. His second great work, *Dharmaparīkṣā*—"Examination of the Religion"—is a dogmatic-polemical work. It aims at instructing and converting as well as entertaining at the expense of adherents of other religions. His third book, *Yogasāra* treats of various aspects of religion but it mainly consists of moral instructions. His *Dvātrimśikā* (a poem in 32 stanzas) is of high ethical value. The *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra (2nd half of the 12th century) is one of the most important didactic poems of the Jains. "Yoga does not mean merely "meditation" or "absorption" but "religious exercise" in general, the whole "effort" which the picus must make. The work contains a complete doctrine of duties." Somaprabha's *Kumārapālpratibodha* (1184 A. D.) "Awakening of Kumārapāla" is also an important didactic poem and a collection of tales, in verse and prose, for the most part in Prakrit, but also partly in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa. It shows how Hemacandra converted king Kumārapāla to Jainism.

(xiii) Anthologies

The Jains have composed Anthologies which include the Subhāṣitas concerned with the three goals of human life, viz. dharma (morality or righteousness), *artha* (worldly success) and *kāma* (pursuit of worldly pleasures). *Vajjālagga* by Jayavallabha (later than 750 A. D.) a Śvetāmbara author, is of a general character and not specifically Jinistic. The *Gāthā-Kośa* by Muncandra Sūri (died 1122) is a book of Prakrit verses containing remarkable sayings. *Gāthāsahasrī* by Samayasundara (1630) is a comprehensive anthology. All of these "thousand stanzas" partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit are compiled from the earlier works by Haribhadra, Devendra and others. *Bhavavairāgyaśataka* "A Collection of a hundred verses on complete indifference to worldly objects" is an anthology of Prakrit verses. It treats of vanity of existence, the inconstancy of all worldly goods, the wretchedness of *samsāra*,

etc., and recommends the Jain Dharma as the sole remedy against them.

(xiv) Dramas

As poets the Jains have contributed their share to the literature of the Drama. Only a few of these dramas can be described as actually Jinistic. Rāmacandra (12th Century A. D.), the pupil of Hemacandra wrote eleven plays. Only four of them are so far published. They are : (1) *Nalavilāsa*, (2) *Satyahariścandra*, (3) *Nirbhayabhīmayāyoga* and *Kaumudīmitrāṇanda*. These plays are of moderate merit. Vijayapāla (a contemporary of Kumārapāla) wrote a drama called *Draupadīsvayamvara*. In South India towards the end of the 13th century Hastimalla wrote several plays including *Vikrāntakaurava* in six acts and *Maithilikalyāṇa* (a Rāma-Sītā-drama) in five acts. Yaśaścandra (first half of the twelfth century A. D.) wrote his drama called *MudritaKumudacandra-Prakarāṇa*—"The Drama of Kumudacandra who was silenced", in five acts. It is a genuine Jinistic drama. It describes the defeat of the Digambara teacher Kumudacandra by the Śvetāmbara teacher Devasūri in a controversy. The Jain poet Jayasīmha Sūri wrote in the 13th century his play *Hammīramadamardana* (The Breaking of the Pride of Hammīra). This play depicts in five acts Vīradhavalā's conflicts with the Mleccha ruler Hammīra (Amir Shikar), Vastupāla's skill in diplomacy and the repulsion of the Muslim invasion of Gujarat. The main incident is historical. In this play the playwright makes a sustained attempt to write a drama of martial and political strategy. The drama as a whole is however of mediocre merit.

Yaśaḥpāla wrote an allegorical drama (between 1229 and 1232 A. D.) *MohaRājaParājaya*, "The Defeat of King Delusion", in five acts in which the conversion of King Kumārapāla to Jainism by the famous Ācārya Hemacandra and the King's marriage with Kṛpāsundarī, a real personage who is depicted as the incarnation of Beautiful Compassion are presented. The title of the play itself indicates the influence of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya* ("The Moonrise of True Knowledge"). There is some historical interest in the delineation of the activities of Jainism and Kumārapāla's beneficent regulations. Its literary merit is, however, not high. Rāmabhadra Muni wrote a *Prakarāṇa* called *Prabuddha-Rauhiṇeya* (end of 12th century or the 13th century). In six acts it dramatises the Jain story of the misdeeds, incarceration and penitence of a robber, named Rauhiṇeya. The plot, however, is meagre and the play is wholly undramatic.

(xv) Jain Philosophy

The number of the purely erudite works on the dogmas of Jainism, on

philosophy, and on logic is indeed great. Here some of the more important and popular works only are briefly surveyed. The Jains play a significant part in the history of Indian philosophy with their doctrines of Anekāntavāda and, its corollaries, Syādvāda and Nayavāda which are found in germ in the canonical literature. The *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, "The Manual for the Understanding of the True Nature of Things", of Umāsvāti, according to the Śvetāmbaras, or Umāsvāmin, according to the Digambaras, treats of the dogmas, logic, psychology, cosmography, ontology and ethics of the Jains in a systematic *sūtra*-style in Sanskrit and serves to date as an excellent summary of Jain dogmatics. These topics are explained by him in his own Bhāṣya on it. The Śvetāmbaras as well as the Digambaras claim the author as their own, a fact which indicates that he belongs to a period when the gulf between the two sects was not wide. The work has been commented upon by both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. The large number of commentaries including those of eminent teachers like Siddhasena, Pūjyapāda Devanandin, Akalaṅka and Vidyānanda bear testimony to the great popularity of the work.

Kundakunda (2nd half of the 1st century BC according to tradition but latest researches of modern scholars place him later than Umāsvāti who is assigned to 3rd or 4th century A. D.) is credited with the authorship of many texts. If Umāsvāti was the first writer to compose his *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* in Sanskrit and in the *sūtra* style, Kundakunda was the first writer to compose all his works in Prakrit in the argumentative style. To him goes the credit of supplying the Digambaras, the long-felt need for a Secondary or Substitute Canon. Three of his most important works viz. *Pañcāstikāya*, *Pravacanasāra* and *Samayasāra* are, on the analogy of the *Prasthānatrayī* of the Vedāntins, known as *Prābhṛtatrayī* or *Nāṭaka-trayī*, "Trilogy of Treatises or Dramas". The first consists of two parts. The first one contains an exposition of the five 'astikāya's (Magnitudes) 1. Jīva (souls), 2. Pudgala (Matter), 3. and 4. Principles of Motion and Rest and 5. Ākāśa (Space). The second one treats of the path to salvation (*mokṣa*). *Pravacanasāra* is a much prized book and contains an "Exposition of the truth as to Knowledge, as to the Knowable and hints on Conduct. *Samayasāra* deals with the "Kernel or Essence of the Doctrine". This work is studied with devotion by Digambaras, Śvetāmbaras and Sthānakavāsins alike. *Niyamasāra* is a work on the discipline to which the seeker after liberation must submit himself. It gives an exposition of and discussion on three jewels which necessarily form the path of liberation.

Vaṭṭakera (of an early age) wrote his Prakrit works *Mūlācāra* (The Conduct of Jain monks) and *Trivarnācāra* (The conduct of pious Jains).

According to his commentator it was the intention of Vattakera to give in his work a brief summary of *Ācāraṅga* for his pupils.

Kārttikeya Svāmin (of an early age) wrote *Karttikeyānupreksā* treating in twelve chapters of the twelve *Anupreksās* (meditations), to which both the layman and the monk must devote themselves in order to get rid of Karma. These are reflections on the transitoriness of all things, the helplessness of all beings and other topics. In Chapter 12 the author sets forth the duties of laymen and monks. The work enjoys a great reputation among the Jains.

Siddhasena Divākara, like Umāsvāti, is claimed by both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras as one of their own. He is said to have written 32 *Dvātrīṃśikās* (sets of 32 verses each), 21 of which are available. Logic was combined with metaphysics and religion in the ancient writing of the Jains as in those of other religions in India. He is the first Jain writer on Pure Logic; the work is called *Nyāyavatāra*. He is the famous author of *Sanmati* or *Sammatitarkasūtra*, which is a Prakrit work on Philosophy mainly dealing with the various *nayas*, *Anekāntavāda* and the problem of the difference and sameness of *jñāna* and *darśana* and the principles of logic. Samantabhadra's work is entitled *Āptamīmāṃsā* in which the doctrine of *Syādvāda* is explained. His *Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvākācāra* is a manual of conduct for the householder, in 150 Sanskrit verses. Next to him, Akalaṅka wrote his commentary "Tattvārtharāja-vārttika" on *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* and *Aṣṭaśatī* a commentary on *Āptamīmāṃsā*. He is also the author of works on logic, *Nyāyaviniścaya*, *Laghyastraya* and *Svarūpasambodhana*. Akalaṅka ably refuted the great Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti and his pupils Dharmottara and Prajñākara and firmly established the Jain view of the two *pramāṇas* : *pratyakṣa* and *parokṣa*. Vidyānanda wrote his commentary *Aṣṭasahasrī* on *Aṣṭaśatī* and *Tattvārthasloka-vārttika* on Umāsvāti's work. *Pramāṇaparīkṣā* and *Āptaparīkṣā* are his independent works. Māṇikyanandin wrote his *Parīkṣāmukha*, a work on logic and Prabhācandra wrote his famous work on logic, *Prameyakamalamārtanda*, a commentary on *Parīkṣāmukha*.

Among the Śvetāmbaras, besides Umāsvāti, mention must be made of the celebrated Haribhadra who wrote many works on general philosophy and the Jain doctrine. In his *Saddarśanasamuccaya* he treats of the six philosophical systems of Buddhism, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Jaimini and Cārvāka and devotes only one short section to Jain metaphysics. In *Lokatattvanirṇaya* he undertakes investigation of the True Nature of the World. He wrote a commentary on Dignāga's *Nyāyapraveśa*. His two works—*Yogabindu* and *Yogaḍṛṣṭisamuccaya*—contain an exposition of the Jain doctrine of Yoga. The

Anekāntajayapatākā and the *Śāstravārttāsamuccaya* are perhaps the most important of his works.

Amṛtacandra wrote some independent works on philosophy and commentaries on Kundakunda's works (beginning of the 10th century). In 933 A. D. Devasena wrote two works *Darśanasāra* (A manual of the Digambara faith) and *Śrāvakācāra* (A manual of rules of life for the householder). These works are written in Prakrit verses. Nemicandra, a very learned Digambara writer, wrote his *Dravyasaṅgraha* in Prakrit verses. It deals with *jīva*, *ajīva*, *mokṣa*, *meditation*, etc. *Gommaṭasāra* is a voluminous work giving an exposition of the Essence of Jainism for Gommatārāya (better known as Cāmuṇḍārāya, the famous minister and general of the Ganga, princes, 10th century A. D.). The great Hemacandra (12th century A. D.) wrote his *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā*⁴ an excellent text on logic and Dialectics. Vādidevasūri's *Syādvādaratnākara* is also a noteworthy contribution to Jain Logic and Philosophy. Another valuable contribution to this subject is Malliṣeṇa's *Syādvādamahāñjarī* written in chaste Sanskrit. It frequently levels criticism at other philosophical systems. Finally we must make a mention of Yaśovijaya (1624-1688 A. D.), a prominent Jain teacher, reformer and author. The credit of presenting Jain doctrines (*Anekāntavāda* and others) in *navya-nyāya* style goes to this great and gifted scholar.

To sum up, "There is in fact, hardly any branch of Sanskrit literature which is not enriched by the Jains. They have composed grammars, lexicons, works on poetics, dramaturgy, metrics, mathematics and poems and plays, stories and *stotras*, *campūs*, *caritas*, *purāṇas* and *mahāpurāṇas*. In the sphere of Nyāya literature they have produced eminent Nyāya works either as commentaries or independent treatises giving exposition of Jain doctrines in the context of contemporary controversies both in the Southern and Western India. They specially preserved and developed the Prakrit (and Apabhraṃśa) languages and literature. They also cultivated and promoted the development of Tamil, Telugu, and Kannada, and also enriched Gujarati, Hindi and Marvari. The achievements of the Jains in the secular *śāstras* are indeed glorious especially when we remember that they form a small minority in the whole of India. They occupy, all would agree, an important position in the history of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature and Indian thought".

THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM

(i) The World Uncreated

The Jain God is only the highest, the noblest, and the fullest manifestation

of all the powers which lie latent in one's soul—the embodiment of infinite *darśana* (right faith, vision) *jñāna* (Knowledge), *vīrya* (Energy) and *sukha* (Bliss). It does not accept the popular notion of God as one who creates, protects and destroys the world, who bestows reward and gives punishment and thus intervenes in the affairs of the world. The world is eternal without a beginning or an end. It is made up of six *dravyas* (substances) which are uncreated and indestructible. These are : (1) *jīva* (Soul) characterised by consciousness (2) *pudgala* (Matter) which is devoid of consciousness and which can be touched, tasted, seen, and smelt (3) *dharma* (Principle of Motion) (4) *adharmā* (Principle of Rest) (5) *ākāśa* (Space) which includes our universe and the Beyond (*loka and aloka*). The five substances are found in the universe only. (6) *Kāla* (time) is the cause or circumstance of the modification of soul and other substances.

(ii) The Five *Astikāyas*

Of these, the first five are called *astikāyas* (Magnitudes) having constituent parts. Time is the only continuous substance which does not consist of many *pradeśas* (space-points). It has only one *pradeśa*. Hence it is not included among the *astikāyas* (Magnitudes).

(iii) Eight Kinds of *Karma*

The most important among these magnitudes are the following two : Soul and Matter. The other four *dravyas* are a sort of setting for these two. Matter is moulded by the soul. The connection of these two is material and beginningless, and it is caused by the soul's activity. The *karma* binds the soul to the *saṃsāra*. The eight kinds of karma are : (1) *Jñānāvaraṇīya*, that which obscures knowledge (2) *Darśanāvaraṇīya*, that which obscures faith or intuition (3) *Antarāya*—, that which obstructs the inborn energy of the soul (4) *Mohanīya*—, that which deludes or infatuates. These four are called *ghāti-karmas* (destructive karmas). (5) *Nāma*—, determines the character of one's body, one's size, complexion height, etc., (6) *Āyuh*—, determines the duration of existence (7) *Gotra*—, determines the high or low family and nationality (8) *Vedanīya*—, produces pain or pleasure. The last four are called *aghāti* (non-destructive) *karmas*.

(iv) *Leśyās*

Another doctrine connected with the karma-theory is that of the six *leśyās*. The karmic influx into the soul gives it a colour or tint which cannot be perceived by our eyes. There are six such colours : black, blue, grey, red, lotuspink and white. They have a moral bearing for the *leśyā* indicates the character of the individual who owns it. The first three belong to bad characters

and the last three to good characters.

(v) The Seven *Tattvas* (Principles)

The seven principles of Jainism are : (1) the soul (*jīva*) (2) non-soul (*ajīva*), (3) influx of karma (*āsrava*), (4) bondage of karma (*bandha*), (5) stoppage of karma (*saṁvara*), (6) shedding of karma (*nirjarā*), and (7) liberation (*mokṣa*). When the soul, which is tied to the *saṁsāra*, stops the karmic influx by practising self-control (*saṁyama*), and destroys the already accumulated karma by means of *tapas* and finally sheds off all kinds of karma and is completely freed from karma, it attains the highest goal of *mokṣa*. In the condition of *mokṣa* the soul attains to its natural condition and enjoys perfect faith, knowledge, power and bliss.

(vi) The Nine *Padārthas* (Categories)

The above seven *tattvas* together with merit (*puṇya*), and demerit (*pāpa*) constitute the nine *Padārthas* (Categories) of Jainism. *Puṇya* is meritorious deed and *pāpa*, sinful deed.

JAIN LOGIC

According to the Vedic Hindus Being is permanent, absolute and uniform. The Buddhists on the other hand insisted on the transitoriness of all things and regarded existence as a mere succession of originating and perishing. The Vedic Hindus and the Buddhists entertained opposite opinions on the problems of Being because they approached it from two different standpoints. The Jains maintain a distinct position apart from both the rival systems : Being is connected with origination, annihilation and continuation or stability or permanence. They call their theory the theory of non-absolutism (*anekāntavāda*) in contradistinction to the theory of permanency of the Vedic Hindus and to the theory of transitoriness of the Buddhists. The Jain view comes to this : existent things are permanent and unchanging only as regards their substance; but their qualities and modifications originate and perish. A material thing continues to exist for ever as matter; but this matter may assume any modification and quality. Thus clay as substance may be regarded as permanent, but the form of a jar of clay, or its colour may come into existence and go out of existence. To take another instance, the atoms of which gold is made are permanent and unchanging, but its form as a chain or a ring or a bangle originates and perishes. This is the case with everything that exists.

The significance of this doctrine comes out more clearly when we regard it in relation to the doctrines of *Syādvāda* and the *Nayas*.

The idea underlying the *Syādvāda* is briefly this : Since the nature of Being is intrinsically many-sided and made up of the contradictory attributes of origination, annihilation and permanence any proposition about the existing thing must somehow reflect only one of the many modes of Being. In other words, any metaphysical proposition is right from one point of view, and the contrary proposition is also right from another. We must however bear in mind that according to the Jain logic the doctrine of *Syādvāda* is not applicable to absolute non-entities such as the sky-flower and rabbit's horns but only to existing reals. There are, according to this doctrine, seven forms of metaphysical propositions, and to emphasize this fact of relative predication the word 'syāt' which means 'may be' 'somehow' (*kathamcit*) or 'from one point of view' is prefixed to the predication. In order to speak of something in relation to its own substance, locality, time or mode, *asti* (affirmation) is needed, while in relation to another substance, locality, time or mode *nāsti* (negation) is needed. If both the aspects are to be spoken of, then both *asti* and *nāsti* are to be used, but one after another. Again, if both the aspects, affirmative and negative, in the same predication, are to be expressed, it becomes inexpressible (*avaktavya*). These are the four initial modes of predication in *saptabhaṅgī*. By attaching the fourth term *avaktavya* to each of first three, we arrive at the seven modes of predication : *asti*, *nāsti*, *asti-nāsti*, *avaktavya*, *asti-avaktavya*, *nāsti-avaktavya*, and *asti-nāsti-avaktavya*. Thus a man is the father, and is not the father, and is both, are perfectly intelligible statements if we understand the point of view from which they are made. In relation to a particular boy he is the father; in relation to another boy he is not the father; in relation to both the boys taken together he is the father and is not the father. Since both ideas cannot be conveyed in words at the same time he may be called indescribable; still he is the father and is indescribable and so on.

The purpose of these seeming truisms is to guard against *ekāntavāda*, to accommodate in a harmonious manner different points of view of different perceiving minds and thus to promote an attitude of genuine tolerance and openmindedness.

There is yet another approach to the proper understanding of things; and it is that of *nayas*. The *nayas* are ways of expressing the nature of things; all these ways of judgment are, according to the Jains, one-sided and partially true. There are seven *nayas*. The reason for this variety is that 'Sat' (Being) is not simple but is of complicated nature. Therefore every statement and every denotation of a thing is necessarily incomplete and one-sided. There are the following seven *nayas* described by the Jains : (1) *naigama-naya* takes a co-ordinated view of things, (2) *saṅgraha-naya* is concerned with generalisation; (3) *Vyavahāra-naya* is

concerned with particularization; (4) *rjusūtra-naya* is concerned with a specific point or period of time; (5) *śabda-naya* is concerned with the usage of language and grammar; (6) *samabhirūḍhanaya* ignores derivative significance of words and deals with conventional meaning; and lastly, (7) *evambhūtanaya* is concerned with the derivative sense and significance of words.

Of these, the first three are grouped under *dravya-naya*, and the last four under *paryāya-naya*.

JAIN ETHICS

Jain ethics has for its end the realization of *mokṣa* (liberation). Right faith, right knowledge and right conduct, known as *ratna-traya* (the three jewels) together constitute the path leading to liberation. According to Jain ethics, there are two courses of conduct or moral discipline, one prescribed for the householder and the other for the homeless monk. Five *aṇuvratas*, three *gṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas*, in all 12 constitute the chief vows of a householder. The five vows of the Jains are : 1. *ahiṃsā* (not to kill), 2. *satya* (not to lie), 3. *asteya* (not to steal), 4. *brahmacarya* (to abstain from sexual intercourse), and 5. *aparigraha* (to renounce all interest in worldly things, especially not to possess property). Householders are to observe these vows as far as their conditions permit. That is why they are called *aṇuvratas* (minor vows). Thus for instance *ahiṃsā* is to be observed thoroughly without any exception or concession by a Jain monk; but a Jain householder refrains only from *intentionally* killing living beings, whether for food, pleasure, gain or any such purpose. And so it is also with the other four vows. Their rigour is considerably less severe in the case of householders. The three *gṇavratas* are special vows relating to the limitation and determination of his daily work, food, and enjoyment : (1) *digvirati* : he may limit the distance up to which he will go in this or that direction (2) *anarthadaṇḍavirati* : he may abstain from engaging in anything that does not strictly concern him, and (3) *upabhoga-paribhoga-parimāṇa* : he may set a limit to his food, drink, and the things he enjoys, besides avoiding gross enjoyments. The four *śikṣā-vratas* (disciplinary vows) are : (1) *deśavirati*, reducing the area in which one will move (2) *sāmāyika*, self-contemplation and purification of one's ideas and emotions by sitting down motionless and meditating on holy things (3) *pauṣadhōpavāsa* observing fast on the 8th, 14th or 15th day of the lunar fortnight, at least once a month and (4) *atithisamvibhāga*, sharing food with guests, including providing the monks with what they need. Most of these vows for householders are intended to be practised in a measure and for some time without obliging them to renounce the world altogether. The state of a householder was preliminary and preparatory to the state of a homeless monk as would be evident from the similarity of their religious

duties, differing not in kind, but in degree. The five *aṇuvratas* are preparatory as they are meant to prepare him for observing *mahāvratas*. The discipline laid down for the householder is intended to liberate him from the domestic ties which bind him to his wife and children to his land and wealth. After completing the period of probation as it were, he quits the house, embarks upon the *mahāvratas* which he observes strictly without any exception or concession. He disciplines his body and mind by overcoming 22 *parīśahas* (troubles and sufferings, such as hunger, thirst, cold, heat, etc.). He observes five *samitis*, carefulness in walking (*īryā*-for example, he avoids injury even to insects), in speech (*bhāṣā*, for instance, he avoids censure of others, self-praise, talk about women, etc.); while on his begging tour (*eṣanā samiti*) he accepts food free from all impurities; he observes carefulness in taking up and placing his things (*ādāna-nikṣepaṇa*) and in answering call of nature (*uccāra-prasavaṇa*). He cultivates 28 *mūlaguṇas*, fundamental qualities, as are expected of a monk, and goes through 14 *guṇasthānas* (stages of spiritual progress) and ultimately becomes a *siddha*, a soul liberated from the cycle of birth and death for all times⁸.

Now, regarding the present anthology of selections from Jain texts :

The Sahitya Akademi asked me to compile and edit a selection from Jain texts. As the Jain literature is vast and varied and the Jain texts are composed in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa languages, I wrote to the Sahitya Akademi seeking elucidation as to the scope for my anthology. I was informed that in the Sahitya Akademi Anthology Series, the Kāvya, Nāṭaka and Subhāṣita volumes include selections from poems, plays and Subhāṣitas from Jain writers and therefore I might leave out poems, plays, Alaṅkāra and Nāṭya works and also general Nīti and didactic works and that I might also leave out technical works like Mathematics, and that I might deal with Prakrit and Sanskrit Jain texts in Āgama, Logic and Metaphysics, religious discipline, Purāṇic Literature on Tīrthankaras and so on.

Keeping the above guidelines in mind an attempt has been made in this anthology, to select the extracts in such a way as to cover some of the most important Jain texts in Prakrit and Sanskrit languages both of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, the two principal sects of the Jains. The passages picked out are not necessarily the best but it is hoped that they very well illustrate the quality and variety of the Jain literature briefly surveyed in the Introduction.

In conclusion, I tender grateful thanks to Prof. Dalsukhabhai D. Malvania for his valuable suggestions regarding the general plan of the anthology and to the authorities of the Sahitya Akademi for giving me an opportunity to compile this Anthology and for publishing it.

Notes and References :

1. Tava-niyama-nāṇa-rukkham ārūḍho kevalī amiyanānī |
To muyai nāṇa-vuṭṭhim bhaviya-jaṇa-vibohaṇaṭṭhāe ||
Taṃ buddhimaṇa paḍeṇa gaṇaharā giṇhiuṃ niravasesaṃ |
Titthayara-bhāsiyāim gaṃthaṃti tao pavayaṇaṭṭhā ||
Atthaṃ bhāṣai arahā suttaṃ gaṃthaṃti gaṇaharā niuṇaṃ |
Sāsaṇassa hiyaṭṭhāe tao suttaṃ pavattai || —*Āvaśyaka-niryukti* : 89-90, 192.
2. The Sthānakavāsīṇs, a recent sect of the Śvetāmbaras accept 11 *aṅgas* and 21 *aṅgabāhya* texts as authoritative. For details of these 21 texts vide *Āgama-yuga Kā Jain Darśana*, (p.25) by Pt. Dalsukha Malvania.
3. In fact, *Padmapurāṇa* is merely an enlarged recension of *Paūmacariya* in Sanskrit, agreeing with it in all essential points.
4. Besides this work he wrote a complete Sanskrit and a Prakrit grammar, two Sanskrit Dictionaries (*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* and *Anekārthakośa*), a Dictionary of peculiar Prakrit words (*Deśināmamālā*), manuals of Poetics and Metrics (*Kāvyaṇuśāsana* and *Chandaṇuśāsana*), An Exposition of Ethics and of Yoga (*Yogasāstra*). The counterpart of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* (*Triṣaṣṭi-salākāpuruṣa-carita*) and a number of minor treatises. In addition he composed detailed commentaries on most of these works and illustrated his theoretical rules in two poems, a Sanskrit and a Prakrit one, both called *Dvyāśrayakāvya*. Hemacandra's strength lies in encyclopaedical work. He has preserved enormous mass of varied information which he gathered from original sources, mostly lost to us. This circumstance makes his works highly valuable for philological and historical research.
5. In writing this Introduction I have made free use of the works of the authors mentioned herebelow and I gratefully acknowledge my deep indebtedness to them :
 - (i) *A History of Indian Literature* by M. Winternitz. Vol. II, published by the University of Calcutta, 1933.
 - (ii) *Studies In Jainism* by Dr. H. Jacobi, ed. by Jina Vijaya Muni, Gurjar Grantharatna Karyalaya, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad, 1946 A. D.
 - (iii) *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. I. The Rāmakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1958.
 - (iv) *Outlines of Jainism* by J. Jaini, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1940.
 - (v) *H. Jacobi's article on Jainism in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII.
 - (vi) *Brhat Kathakośa of Ācārya Hariṣeṇa* ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Pub. by Bharatiya Vidyā bhavan, Bombay, 1943.
 - (vii) *Kahāṇaya-Tigam (A Prakrit Reader)*, ed. by Dr. A. M. Ghatage, Pub. by Bharata Book Stall, Kolhapur, 1951.
 - (viii) *Jain Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa (Pūrva-Pīthikā)* by Pt. Kailashchandra, Varanasi, 1963.



INDIAN NARRATIVE LITERATURE : A STUDY

Keith in his well-known work, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, deals with the *kathā* literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit. In chapter XI he treats of the didactic fable (the *Pañcatantra*, its derivative forms and the *Hitopadeśa*); in chapter XII on the *Bṛhatkathā* and its descendants (*Bṛhatkathā-ślokaśamgraha* of *Budhasvāmin*, the Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā*, *Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and *Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara*); in chapter XIII, of the romantic and the didactic tale—the former touching upon the *Vetāla-pāncavimśikā*, the *Śukasaptati* and the *Simhāsanaadvātrimśikā*, and the latter mentioning the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* a supplement to his epic *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-carita* by *Hemacandra*, the *Upamitibhavaprapaṅcā kathā* of *Siddharṣi*, the *Campakaśreṣṭhikathānaka* and the *Pālagopālakathānaka* of *Jinakīrti*; in chapter XIV of the great romances covering the *Daśakumāracarita* of *Daṇḍin*, the *Vāsavadattā* of *Subandhu*, the *Harṣacarita*, the model of an *ākhyāyikā* and the *Kādambarī*, the model of a *kathā*, the two famous works of *Bāṇa*; and in chapter XV, of the later romances—*Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī* and *Vādibhasimha's Gadyacintāmaṇi* (and *campūs*)

Early writers on poetics deal with the salient features of a *kathā* and an *ākhyāyikā*, two principal types of prose works but do not take note of other types of prose writing. It is only later *ālaṅkārikas* like *Abhinavagupta*, *Bhoja*, *Hemacandra*, etc., who define and illustrate *upākhyāna*, *ākhyāna*, *nidarśana*, etc., and sub-varieties of *kathā* like *khaṇḍakathā*, *sakalakathā*, etc.

Ānandavardhana and *Abhinavagupta*, it would seem, take note of only two types of Prakrit *kathās* : *Khaṇḍakathā* and *sakalakathā*. Prakrit writers like *Haribhadra*, *Uddyotanasūri* treat of some more types of *kathās* in Prakrit.

Leaving aside great works like *Bṛhatkathā* and its descendants and well-known works of *Daṇḍin*, *Subandhu* and *Bāṇa* we notice herebelow the descriptions or definitions of the various types of *kathās* noted by Prakrit writers of eminence and Sanskrit writers on poetics.

(A) Kathā and its varieties as given in Prakṛit Works

According to the *Sthānāṅga-Sūtra*¹, *kathā* has three varieties : 1. *arthakathā*, 2. *dharmakathā* and 3. *kāmakathā*, whereas *vikathā* has four : 1. *strī-kathā*, 2. *bhaktakathā*, 3. *deśakathā* and 4. *rājakathā*. Each of these four is further sub-divided into four varieties². Further on, *sūtra* 569 declares that there are seven *vikathās* and adds to the above four varieties the following three *vikathās* : 5. *mṛdukārunikā*, 6. *darśana-bhedinī* and 7. *cāritra-bhedinī*³.

Sthānāṅga (*sūtra* 282) divides *kathā* (or better *dharmakathā*) into four sub-varieties : 1. *ākṣepaṇī* (*ākṣepinī*), 2. *vikṣepaṇī* (*vi-kṣepinī*) 3. *saṁvegaṇī* (or *saṁvejanī*) and 4. *nirvejanī* (or *nirvedanī*)⁴.

According to the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* the *kathā* is twofold : 1. *carita* (narrative based on tradition, biography, life) and 2. *kalpita* (work of imagination, fiction, invention). *Carita* is twofold : narrative of life of a woman or of a man. *Carita* is : whatever is seen, heard or experienced with regard to the achievement in the field of the three ends of human life, (*dharma* (virtue, sacred law or duty), 2. *artha* (wealth) and 3. *kāma* (pleasure). But whatever is opposite of this, i.e., whatever is invented by the poet or story-teller and added to what has been told by the wise is called *kalpita*. Men and women are known to be : 1. *uttama* (exalted, excellent). 2. *madhyama* (middlemost) and 3. *nikṛṣṭa* (low or vile or debased). Narratives based on their lives (*caritas*) too are of the same kind⁵.

Haribhadrasūri in his Introduction (*bhūmikā*) to his own *Samarādityakathā* informs us that according to the view of the ancient *ācāryas* the subjectmatter of a story may relate to (1) only divine characters or (2) divine and human characters together or (3) all human characters⁶. A story in general could have four : (1) wealth (*artha*)—playing a predominant role, or (2) love (*kāma*)—playing a predominant role, or (3) religion—virtue, duty—(*dharma*)—playing a predominant role. A mixed (*miśra* or *saṁkirṇa*) story is the fourth type⁷.

A wealth story is one which has wealth as its predominant subjectmatter and which deals with war-fare, sending of letters, agriculture, trading and mechanical arts, the use of alchemy, making of alloys, etc., the use of expedients like conciliation (*sāma*), dissension (*bheda*), bribery (*upapradāna*) and punishment (*daṇḍa*)⁸.

A love story treats of beautiful forms, proficiency in arts, which has for its essence respectful reception and union accompanied with horripilation caused by love, and which describes the activities of (maiden messengers or) go-betweens, amours and propitiation etc⁹.

A religion (virtue, duty) story is one which has *dharma* for its principal theme, which treats of virtues like forgiveness, humility, straightforwardness, freedom from greed, self-control, truthfulness, purity, non-possession, celibacy and other religious matters like the five lesser vows, etc.¹⁰.

A mixed (*saṃkīrṇa*) story is one which deals with all the three human ends of life—*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* in *sūtras* and *kāvya*s and is told in public (while reciting *Rāmāyaṇa* etc.) in Vedas (in the course of performing a sacrifice) and in *samaya* (*Taraṅgavatī*, etc.) and which is accompanied with illustrations and cause-effect relations¹¹.

As distinguished from *kathā* there is *vikathā*. It is so called because it is devoid of the distinguishing features of the *kathā* (story) or because it is opposed to the *kathā* and deserves to be shunned. (*sūtra* 282)

The four types of *vikathā*, as listed in *Sthānāṅga* (*sūtra* 282), are quite easy to follow; a story or talk about (1) women, their charms, etc., (2) food—‘how delicious’ ! ‘how tasty the food is’, etc., (3) country or region or place—‘how lovely’ ! ‘how beautiful it is !’, etc., and (4) about the king or ruler of the land. The additional three, mentioned in *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* (569), mean : (5) a *vikathā* which is marked by tenderness and pity or compassion. (6) a *vikathā* which adversely affects one’s right faith and (7) a *vikathā* which adversely affects one’s right conduct.

The *Daśavaikālikasūtra-niryukti* (*gāthā* no. 207) lists the following *vikathās* : 1. *strīkathā*, 2. *bhakta-kathā*, 3. *rājakathā*, 4. *cora-janapadakathā*, 5. *naṭa-nartaka-jalla-muṣṭika-kathā*. The first three types have already been explained. 4. talk about a thief—‘a thief was caught today’, ‘he was thus hurt or oppressed’; talk about a *janapada*—that a particular region or place is so lovely, etc. and 5. talk about an actor, a rope-walker or (a person doing tight rope-walking) a rope dancer, or a wrestler.

Uddyotanasūri (in his *Kuvalayamālā*, 779 A. D.) lists five types of stories : 1. *sakalakathā*, 2. *khaṇḍakathā*, 3. *ullāpakathā*, 4. *parihāsakathā* and 5. *saṃkīrṇakathā*.

The *sakalakathā* (‘entire story’) follows its hero through a series of lives. The working out of actions and their results through several lives of the hero forms its subjectmatter. It is, as the name suggests, of very great length. Hemacandra gives Haribhadrāsūri’s *Samarādityakathā* (8th century) as its example. The *khaṇḍakathā* (‘short story’) narrates an episode from a long narrative which is already known through some other work. Hemacandra gives

Indumatī as its example. This work, however, is not extant.

Both these types of *kathā* are known to be written in Prakrit only. The *Ullāpakathā* deals with a voyage or love between a young man and a young woman which demands adventures on their part.

The *parihāsakathā* is 'an amusing story'

The *saṃkīrṇakathā* is one which is distinguished by the characteristics of all the types of *kathā*, which is charming with its erotic sentiment, which has its various constituent parts well-knit and which delights (the readers) with the display of knowledge of various arts.

Uddyotanasūri declares that this *saṃkīrṇakathā* is threefold : 1. *dharmakathā*, 2. *arthakathā* and 3. *kāmakathā*. The *saṃkīrṇakathā* is marked by all distinguishing features and, shows at the end the attainment of all the three ends of human life (*trivarga* : *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*). It deserves notice that as against the *Daśavaikālika-niryukti* which gives all the four *dharma-kathā*, etc., as the four types of *kathā*, the *Kuvalayamālā* gives the three *dharma-artha* and *kāma-kathās* as the three kinds of the *saṃkīrṇakathā*¹². Like Haribhadrāsūri Uddyotansūri too gives the four sub-types or sub-varieties of the *dharmakathā* and briefly yet lucidly explains them. *Tatra akkhevaṇī mano'nukūlā, vikkhevaṇī manopaḍīkūlā, saṃveyajanaṇī nāṇupattikāraṇam, ṇiveyajanaṇī puṇa veragguppattī/*

"Of the four varieties, the first *ākṣepaṇī* is pleasant or agreeable to the mind, the second *vikṣepaṇī*, unpleasant or disagreeable to the mind, the third *saṃveyajanaṇī* is the mother of, that is, the source or cause of right knowledge and the fourth *nirvedaṇaṇī* is the mother of that is, the cause of *vairāgya*, indifference to worldly objects and to life.

(B) *Kathā* and its Varieties as given in Sanskrit Works on Poetics.

We are not here interested in the main literary forms—*ākhyāyikā* (Biography, e.g. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*), *kathā* (Novel, e.g., Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and *campū* (a literary composition in mixed prose and verse, e.g., Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa's *nalacampū*) but *kathā* (short story) used in the general sense. Hence it would be proper for us to leave out of consideration here the great *Bṛhatkathā* of *Guṇāḍhya*. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Chapter Eleven) and Hemacandra, following Bhoja almost word for word, in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* speak of the following sub-varieties of *kathā*.

1. *upākhyāna*,
 2. *ākhyānaka* (or *ākhyāna*),
 3. *nidarśana*,
 4. *pravahlikā*,
 5. *manthulli* (or *manthallikā*)
 6. *maṇikulyā*,
 7. *parikathā*,
 8. *khaṇḍakathā*
 9. *upakathā*.
10. Bhoja has omitted *sakalakathā* but Hemacandra has added it.

Of these ten varieties, *upākhyāna* and *ākhyāna* really belong to Tradition (History-*Itihāsa*). Since Bhoja and Hemacandra have mentioned them as varieties of *śravya kāvya* (*kathā*), all these ten varieties may briefly be treated here :

1. *Upākhyāna* (an episode) :

That which occurs in the midst of a long literary composition and gives an account for enlightening some one else is called *upākhyāna*. For example, the *Nalopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata*.

2. *Ākhyāna* :

The *upākhyāna* gets the name *ākhyāna* when a reciter (*granthika*) relates or narrates or expounds it by reciting, acting / gesticulating, and singing. *Govindākhyāna* is an example.

3. *Nidarśana* :

(Which literarily means 'illustration', 'example', or 'lesson') is a 'didactic fiction either direct or couched in parable'. It teaches through the actions or behaviour of animals or of men what is proper or improper to be done. (It is predominantly in prose). Its examples are the famous *Pañcatantra*, *Dhūrtaviṭa* (*saṁvāda*), *Kuṭṭanīmata* and the like.

4. *Pravahlikā* :

Is that composition which is presented in an assembly as a dialogue between two persons in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit discussing the merits etc. of the hero (*pradhāna*). Its example is *Cetaka*—which is no longer extant.

5. *Manhulli* (or *Manthallikā*) :

Is a *kṣudrakathā* (short story) in *Māhārāṣṭrī* Prakrit as exemplified by two such stories (now lost), called *Gorocanā* and *Anaṅgavatī*. The titles are possibly the names of their heroines. Or, it may be a humorous story making fun of priests, ministers and hermits who undertake something but do not succeed in carrying it out.

6. *Maṅikulyā* :

Is a story with mystery, the secret of which is revealed at the end. Its example is *Matsyahasita* (the laughter of a fish, or 'A laughing fish'). No work of this name is available or extant. V. Raghavan observes : "...*Maṅikulyā*, which is a mystery story, on the face of which one may not be able to see anything...it (*matsyahasita*) is the name of a story in a work or rather or a theme or motif." He further refers to two 'laughing fish' stories in other works : "Both are concerned with a secret affair of a queen, exposed by a clever person who penetrates the meaning of the laughter of a dead fish provoked by the absurdity of human behaviour (see e.g. *Kathāsaritsāgara* I, *tarāṅga* 5; 14ff)"¹³.

7. *Parikathā* :

Is a new type of story heard for the first time in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* (III.7. *Vṛtti*, p.325).

Ānandavardhana is of the opinion that in regard to the composition of *parikathā* there is no specific rule regarding its *saṁghaṭana*—(texture, collocation). The simple reason behind this freedom is : in *parikathā* there is just a narration of the story and no intention at all of depicting sentiment. Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* (p.324) defines it as follows :

"*Parikathā* is the narration of numerous anecdotes one after another in a variety of ways to inculcate one of the four *puruṣārthas*, *dharma* (virtue) and the like¹⁴." Bhoja defines it as follows : "That is called *parikathā* wherein "experts in narrating stories compete in the art one after another desiring to outshine each other by narrating a story each¹⁵." Its example is a story called *Śūdraka*. This *Śūdraka* (*parikathā*) is lost. Nor any other work of the type of *parikathā* is now available. With reference to Keith's statement "He (*Śūdraka*) is later the hero of a *parikathā* (*The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 129, f.n.4)", V. Raghavan remarks : "Dr. Keith says...that *Śūdraka* is later the hero of a *parikathā*, the *Śūdrakavadha* on the authority of an article on Rāyamukūṭa... All the rare *kāvya*s mentioned by Rāyamukūṭa are borrowed from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. Therefore the name *Śūdrakavadha* is wrong. It should be *Śūdrakakathā*. *Śūdraka* was not killed (*vadha*); he himself entered fire 'शूद्रकोऽग्निं प्रविष्टः' as the prologue to the *Mrcchakatika* says"¹⁶. The definitions of *parikathā* given by Abhinavagupta and Bhoja somewhat differ. 'Putting Bhoja and Abhinavagupta together', Hemacandra says on p. 464 of his *Kāvyānuśāsana* :

एकं धर्मादिपुरुषार्थमुद्दिश्य प्रकारवैचित्र्येणानन्तवृत्तान्तवर्णनप्रधाना शूद्रकादिवत् परिकथा ।

V. Raghavan observes : "The meaning of '*Paryāya*', which constitutes an

enlargement of 'pari' and is taken as the differentia of this type of *kathā*, is different in Bhoja and Abhinavagupta. One thing is common to both and that is that the *parikathā* is a series of stories.¹⁷

Regarding its language Abhinavagupta says in his *Locana* (iii. 7, p. 324) that it may be in any language (Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa). Bhoja's commentator, Ratneśvara, however, says in the course of his commentary (*Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharāṇa II. 17, v.6*) :

“खण्डकथापर (रि)कथादौ उत्तमादेशि प्राकृतमेव ।

Incidentally, we may note that Namisādhu while commenting on Rudraṭa (*Kāvyaśālikā* XVI.36, p.172, N.S.edn.) defines *parikathā* in a strikingly different way :

बहूनां छन्दसामेकवाक्यत्वे तद्वाक्यानां च समूहावस्थाने परिकथा ।

8. *Khaṇḍakathā* :

In the history of Sanskrit poetics it is Rudraṭa (earlier part of the ninth century) who for the first time, gives description of the nature of a *khaṇḍakathā* : “It is a minor or short story. In it a happy hero meets with a disaster. There are other characters in it like the *Brāhmaṇas*, servants and traders. The *rasa* that is depicted may be *karuṇa*, or *pravāsaśṛṅgāra* or *prathamānurāga*—all of them of the *vipralambha* type. The story, however ends happily with the success of the hero¹⁸.

Ānandavardhana informs us that the *khaṇḍakathā* and the *sakalakathā* are well known in Prakrit literature and abound in *kulakas* (*kulaka* meaning a number of verses ranging from five to fifteen and the whole forming one sentence) thus suggesting that both of them are mixed in prose and verse. Bhoja and following him Hemacandra define *khaṇḍakathā* as follows : That in which an episode (or series of events) from a bigger story well known in or through another work, either from the middle or from near to the end, is described, is known as *khaṇḍakathā* (in other words, it is one episode from a very popular work retold separately or independently-) e.g., *Indumatī*. This work, however, is not extant¹⁹.

Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* defines it thus : *khaṇḍakathā* is the narration or description of a part of the bigger story²⁰.

Śrīdhara in his commentary on *Kāvyaśālikā* (p.121) identifies Vākpati's work in Prakrit, called *Madhumathavijaya* (now lost), as a *Khaṇḍakathā*²¹. From the title however it would seem that it was an epic poem like *Rāvaṇavijaya* and *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena. In one of his introductory verses to his *Gauḍavaḥo*

Vākpati refers to it thus :

महुमहविअपउत्ता वाआ कह णाम मउलउ इमम्मि । पढम-कुसुमाहि तलिणं पच्छकुसुमं
वणलआणं ॥²³ —v.69

9. *Upakathā* :

Bhoja and, following him, Hemacandra define *upakathā* as follows : “An *upakathā* is what is very well known by that name, a sub-story coming up in the middle of a main story”. The *upakathā* thus resembles the *upākhyāna*. Bhoja cites *Citrālekḥā* as an example. It is not known whether *Citrālekḥā* is a separate composition or a chapter or section of another work. The latter is probable.”²³ Further on p. 821 V. Raghavan refers to it as ‘a variety of a small story’, and ‘a tale which is introduced as an off-shoot of some well-known story’.

A. K. Warder simply says : “The *upakathā* is apparently a supplement or sequel to a well-known older work”.²⁴

10. *Sakalakathā* :

Paryāya-(the same as *paryā*-) *bandha*, *parikathā* and *sakalakathā*—these new types of composition are met with for the first time in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* (III. 7. *Vṛtti*, p. 323). Ānandavardhana combines *khaṇḍakathā* and *sakalakathā* together in *dvandva* compound. Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* explains : “Since these two types of *kathā* are well known as written in Prakrit he has combined them together in a *dvandva* compound.

Ānandavardhana continues in the same *Vṛtti*, regarding *saṃghaṭanā* ..

परिकथायां कामचारः । तत्रेतिवृत्तमात्रोपन्यासेन नात्यन्तं रसबन्धाभिनवेशात् । खण्डकथासकलकथयोस्तु
प्राकृतप्रसिद्धयोः कुलकादिनिबन्धभूयस्त्वाद् दीर्घसमासायामपि न विरोधः ।

From these observations it is clear that (i) the *khaṇḍakathā* and the *sakalakathā* were well known in Prakrit literature; (ii) they abounded in *kulakas*, etc; (iii) there is no objection or harm if in composing them the poets adopt the *saṃghaṭanā* involving long compounds; and (iv) since *kulakas* are mentioned we can assert that these two types were both in prose and verse.

Ānandavardhana says that “in *parikathā*; the real interest is in the story only. “V. Raghavan opines that it is also to be taken that this applies to the *khaṇḍakathā* and *sakalakathā* too.”²⁵

Abhinavagupta defines *sakalakathā* as follows : The narrative which ends with the attainment of all the desired aims is to be known as *sakalakathā*²⁶. Bhoja has omitted this type. Hemacandra reproduces the above definition given

by Abhinavagupta and adds by way of example *Samarādityādivat*²⁷.

Hemacandra who follows Bhoja in describing various types of composition in Sanskrit, Prakrit, etc., occasionally expands Bhoja's definitions or descriptions of a few types. For example, the reader's attention may be drawn to Bhoja's description of the nature of *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā* in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Vol.II, p. 469) and Hemacandra's description in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (pp. 462-463).

Regarding *khaṇḍakathā*, *sakalakathā*, *upakathā* and *br̥hatkathā* he observes :

एते च कथाप्रभेदा एवेति न पृथग् लक्षिताः । —(p. 465)

Again in contradistinction to Abhinavagupta's naming one of the types of composition as '*pariyābandha*' (*Locana*, p. 324) Hemacandra names it as *pariyā*²⁸. The *Kalpalatāviveka* (p. 171) supports this reading. In Prakrit we have the term 'vajjā'. Its Sanskrit equivalent is given as *vrajyā* (= *paddhati*). It is perhaps possible that the word is derived from '*pariyā*' (*pajjā-vajjā*); but, they say, phonetically the initial 'pa' of a Sanskrit word is never changed to 'va' in Prakrit.

With this information about the nature and definition of the different types of *kathā* we now turn to the Jain *kathā* literature for a very brief survey. For it is most pertinent to the subject of *Jain Treasury of Tales*.

A Brief Survey of Jain Narrative Literature²⁹

The narrative literature of the Śvetāmbaras is a veritable storehouse of folktales, fairy tales, beast fables, parables, illustrative examples, apologues, allegories, legends, novels, funny stories and anecdotes. A large number of such tales and parables and legends occur in the Jain Canon itself : and the number of tales occurring in the commentaries on the canon is legion ! The Jain writers have created new stories and legends of their own, no doubt. But generally speaking they relate the old stories as have been handed down to them by literary or popular tradition. The only significant addition they make is the sermon of the *kevalin* (accomplished monk, possessor of the perfect knowledge, the completely enlightened) at the end of the story explaining the cause or causes for the misfortunes suffered or prosperity enjoyed by the characters in the story. The Jain monks were very shrewd and practical-minded. They exploited the Indian people's inborn love for stories for the propagation of their *Dharma*.

The Jain stories, folk tales, animal fables, parables, etc. are of great importance for a solution of the problem of migration of stories and for a

comparative study of fairy tale lore. Eminent scholars have shown in their studies that some of the stories in the canon and in the commentaries on the canon contain many popular themes and that some of them occur in other Indian and non-Indian literatures and that they form part of the common treasury of universal literature³⁰. The Jain stories are also of great importance as they go beyond the kings and their body of courtiers and court-intrigues and describe the real life and manners of the various classes of the people.

Jain narrative literature may conveniently be divided into ten broad types as follows : Narratives embodied in (i) canonical works, (2) commentaries on canonical works, (iii) counterparts of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, (iv) *caritas*, *purāṇas* and *mahāpurāṇas*, (v) counterpart of *Bṛhatkathā*, (vi) quasi-historical *Prabandhas*, (vii) *dharmakathās*, (viii) *campūs*, (ix) ornate poems and (x) *kathākośas*.

(i) Canonical Works

*Ācārāṅga*³¹ and *Kalpasūtra* describe in a graphic manner the ascetic life of Mahāvīra and *Bhagavatī* presents the dogmatics of Jainism. It gives a vivid picture of the life and work of Mahāvīra, his relationship to his disciples and contemporaries and his personality. The parable of the Lotus in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* suggests the importance of royal patronage for the propagation of *dharma*. *Nāyādhammakahāo* consists of two parts. Part I consists of 21 chapters, each containing an independent narrative. Most of these narratives or stories, lay more emphasis on some parable incorporated in them rather than on the story itself. Some of them e.g., the 7th chapter on *Rohiṇī*, are just parables spun out and enlarged to form narratives. Side by side with stories and parables of this nature we also come across novelettes, tales of travellers' adventures, mariner's fairy tales, robber tales and the like. Chapter 8 relates the legend of Malli, the only female *tīrthāṅkara*; she is a princess of Mithilā and of wondrous beauty. An artist has painted a portrait of this princess, after he had seen only her big toe. Seeing this portrait one prince falls in love with her. This picture motif reminds one of the Buddhist stories of famous artists like Kusa, the son of King Okkaka. The story of Jināpālita and Jinarakṣita, two sea faring sons of the *sārthavāha* (merchant) called Mākandī is indeed an excellent example of mariners' fairy tale. In this mariner's fairy tale the parable only appears in the form of a moral clumsily tacked on to the end. Incidentally, it may be noted that as in one *Jātaka* (*Valāhassa Jātaka*, No.196) in this tale also a winged horse occurs. Chapter 16 relates the story of Draupadī, in the form of a story of rebirth. Winternitz observes :...This is a monkish corruption of the legend from the *Mahābhārata* of

Draupadī's marriage to the five brothers."³² The text *Upāsakadaśāḥ* (The Ten Chapters on the duties of the Householder) relates legends of ten pious householders, most of them wealthy merchants. The legends are all told after a stereotyped pattern in the most monotonous manner imaginable, so much so that in the later stories there is often only a catchword given by way of allusion to the earlier stories."³³ The story of Ānanda, given in chapter 1, and in all details, claims our interest for he is, a model householder. The story of Saddālaputra, a wealthy potter and follower of Gośāla, leader of the *Ājīvika* sect, has equal claim on our interest. He deserts Gośāla and joins the ranks of Mahāvīra's followers when convinced of the truth of Mahāvīra's doctrine. The eighth *aṅga*, *Antakṛd-daśāḥ* (The ten chapters on the pious ascetics who have made an end to *saṃsāra*), relates the story of Gajasukumāra which is quite interesting and edifying. Kṛṣṇa also figures in this story. Regarding this *aṅga* Winternitz remarks : "This *aṅga* is of importance from the point of view of Indian mythology and history of religion, because it embodies the Kṛṣṇa legend in a corrupted Jain version, related so as to suit Jain requirements. The story of the downfall of the city of Dvāravatī and the death of Kṛṣṇa is told as in the *Mahābhārata*, only Kṛṣṇa is made into a pious Jain."³⁴

There is another story of Arjunaka, a gardener and his wife Bandhumatī who were both devotees of a semi-divine *yakṣa* by name Mudgarapāṇi. It was originally a folk tale but effecting a few changes it has been used to establish the superiority of Mahāvīra's followers over the *Yakṣa*, the village deity.

The eleventh *aṅga*, *Vipākaśrutam* (the text of the ripening of karma-actions) contains stories on the unhappy and happy consequences of wicked and pious deeds respectively. Gauṭama Indrabhūti sees various unhappy people, and at his request Mahāvīra explains the causes—their evil deeds in a former birth have been responsible for their misfortune. Similarly good deeds in a former birth bring their reward, namely their happiness and good fortune.

The *Uttarādhyayana*, a *mūla-sūtra* contains among other things, parables, similes, examples, dialogues and ballads, and legends. Chapter 7 consists mainly of parables. Here we meet with the parable of the ram (*edaka*) and the parable of the three merchants, taken from common life. When applied to the *Dharma* it conveys : The capital is human life, the gain is heaven; the loss of that capital means birth as a denizen of hell or a brute animal. The leaf of the tree (chapter 10) is a discourse on the evanescent nature of human life and worldly pleasures. The wicked bullocks (Chapter XXVII) is a simple but biting criticism against quarrelsome pupils who are a nuisance to the teacher. In Chapter 9 we come across the beautiful *Itihāsa*-dialogue of King Nami. It

commends (=praises) the ideal of asceticism as against that of the *kṣatriya* (warrior) ruler. In Chapter 12 we have a lively dialogue between a proud *Brāhmaṇa* and *Harikeśa*, a despised ascetic, a *cāṇḍāla* by caste; it glorifies self-control and the virtuous life of the pious monks and severely criticises the Vedic sacrifice and the vaingloriousness of the superiority of the *Brāhmaṇas*. In Chapter 14 we have the vivacious dialogue between the Purohita and his sons in which the ascetic ideal is shown to be superior to the *Brāhmaṇa* ideal. This dialogue is met with also in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and *Jātaka* (no. 509). The story of Citta and Sambhūta (Chapter 13) belongs to the great cycle of legends about King Brahmadata and is a common property of the Vedic Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains. In chapter 22 we have the legend of Rathanemi (and Princess *Rājimatī* and *Ariṣṭanemi*). It is connected with the Kṛṣṇa legend and it effectively portrays the following events : the bridegroom's great compassion towards many animals which were to be slaughtered for his marriage-feast; his resolve to take the vow of an ascetic, *Rājimatī* the bride on learning of it resolves to become a nun. Once drenched in rain she takes refuge in a cave, undresses herself in order to dry her garments; Rathanemi, *Ariṣṭanemi*'s elder brother had already taken refuge in the same cave. On seeing her naked beauty he is seized by passion and makes advances to her; she reproves him and enlightens him by her forceful speech. Rathanemi is thus steadied in *dharma*.

(ii) Commentaries on Canonical Works.

Various learned *ācāryas* (teachers) have written commentaries on *āgama* texts. These commentaries are varied in their character. They are variously named : *Nijjuttis* (*niryuktis*), *cūrṇis*, *laghubhāṣya*, *mahābhāṣya*, *vṛttis*, *tīkās*, *avacūrṇis*, *pañjikā*, *dīpikā*, *tippana* (= *tippana*, *tippanaka*, *tippani*, *tippani*) *viṣamapadaparyāya*, etc. Some of these names need to be explained. The *niryuktis* are concise metrical explanations of certain parts to the canon; they "consist of very concise explanations in *āryā* verses and Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī*. They are probably memorial verses which served as an aid to the memory of the teachers in their oral interpretation of the sacred texts. At a later date, these *niryuktis* were extended to form exhaustive commentaries in Prakrit (*bhāṣyas* and *cūrṇis*). These in their turn formed the foundation for the Sanskrit commentaries (*tīkās*, *vṛttis*, *avacūrṇis*), which were compiled between the 11th and 12th centuries A. D."³⁵ *Pañjikā* is a commentary which analyses and explains words—hard or difficult to understand³⁶.

Tradition names Bhadrabāhu as the author of *niryuktis* on ten works of

the āgama : 1. Ācārāṅga, 2. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 3. Sūryaprajñapti, 4. Uttarādhyayana, 5. Āvaśyaka, 6. Daśavaikālika, 7. Daśāśrutaskandha, 8. Kalpasūtra, 9. Vyavahāra and 10. Ṛṣibhāṣita-sūtra. Of these ten, the *niryuktis* on *Sūryaprajñapti* and *Ṛṣibhāṣita-sūtra* are not extant. Besides the *niryuktis* mentioned above, there are two more *niryuktis*—*Pinḍa-niryukti* and *Ogha-niryukti*. They are independent, no doubt, but according to Muni Puṇyavijayaji, they originally formed part of the *Daśavaikālika-niryukti* and *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, respectively.

These *niryuktis* sometimes mention proper names or give some catch-words. By themselves they are unintelligible. The observations of Dr. Ghatage regarding the *Daśavaikālika-niryukti* are more or less true in the case of other *niryuktis*. "This *niryukti* contains the usual topics of such a commentary, but in addition it knows a large number of stories, which were closely associated with the verses of the *Uttarādhyayana* in its own days. The peculiar method in which the details of the stories are summarised by the author of the *niryukti* leaves no doubt that they (the stories) already existed before him in a fuller form, either in an oral or a written tradition; for, without such traditional information, the verses of the *niryukti* are quite unintelligible."³⁷

Bhāṣyas and Mahābhāṣyas :

Sanghadāsa-gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa wrote *Kalpalaghubbhāṣya* and *Pañcalkalpa* and Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa wrote *Viśeṣāvaśyakamahābhāṣya*. Five other works of this type are *Kalpabrhad-bhāṣya*, *Vyavahāra-bhāṣya*, *Niśīthabhāṣya*, *Jitakalpa bhāṣya* and *Oghaniryukti-mahābhāṣya*. The authors of these works are however unknown. Some of the *bhāṣyas* are written keeping in view the original text as there were no *niryuktis* written on them.

Cūrṇis :

Cūrṇis on several āgama texts are available today, for example, on *Ācārāṅga*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, *Bhagavatī*, *Āvaśyaka*, *Daśavaikālika*, *Uttarādhyayana*, etc. On *Daśavaikālika* we have two *cūrṇis*, one by *sthavira* Agastyasimha and another by an unknown author. Some of these *cūrṇis* are extensive. The names of the authors of all the *cūrṇis* are not known. Besides Agastyasimha, we have the names of Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (on *Āṅgulapada* in *Anuyogadvāra*) and Śivanandi-vācaka (on *Jyotiskaraṇḍaka*) as *cūrṇikāras*.

Like the *niryuktis* the *cūrṇis* too are commentaries in Prakrit. Dr. Ghatage's description of the *cūrṇi* on *Uttarādhyayana* might give a good idea of the nature of a *cūrṇi* as a commentary : "The stories of the *cūrṇi* are brief and in Prakrit prose, giving the main details of each and avoiding all elaboration, told in a very

terse language and often merely indicating the topics to be included in the fully told story.³⁸ This *cūrṇi*, as pointed out by Dr. Ghatage³⁹ generally follows the lead of the *niryukti*, sometimes merely elaborates the details hinted at in the *niryukti* and at times makes real additions to the stories and occasionally supplies a few details to the statement of the *niryukti*. Regarding the parables in chapter seven the *Cūrṇi* calls them *kappiyam udāharanam* (*kalpitamudāharanam*) and *vavahāriyaditthanta* (*vyavahāridṛṣṭānta*) indicating thereby that they are no stories in the real sense of the word.

Vṛttis :

In the 8th century (c. 705-775 A. D.). Haribhadrasūri, the most distinguished and prolific Jain writer, wrote his commentaries to the canon in Sanskrit. Among his *Vṛttis*, those on *Āvaśyakasūtra* and *Daśavaikālika* are available. While utilising the old Prakrit commentaries, he retained the *Kathānakas* (stories, narratives) in their original Prakrit form. Muni Puṇyavijayaji observes Haribhadrasūri “has composed *vṛttis* (commentaries in Sanskrit) on the following sacred texts of the Jains, viz., *Āvaśyaka*, *Nandi*, *Anuyogadvāra*, *Daśavaikālika*, *Prajñāpanā*, *Jivābhigama* and *Piṇḍaniryukti*, which are incomparable and original.”⁴⁰

Śīlāṅkācārya (2nd half of the 9th century A. D.) wrote commentaries on the *Ācārāṅga* and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*. Śāntisūri (11th century A. D.) wrote his exhaustive commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* called *Śiṣyāhitā* or *Bṛhadvṛtti*. The illustrative stories of the commentary are “a verbal reproduction of the text of the *Cūrṇi* without any change, which Śāntyācārya has simply copied; and the commentary adds nothing to our knowledge of the stories more than what is found in the *Cūrṇi*.”⁴¹ This commentary “possesses merits which lie outside the field of narratives associated with the text. It is the foundation source of all the later commentaries on this text”—thus observes Muni Puṇyavijayaji.

Devendra (11th century) wrote his comprehensive commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* called *Sukhabodhā* (Easy of understanding). It is also known by the name *Laghuvṛtti* with a view to distinguishing it from the more learned commentary *Bṛhadvṛtti* (= *Śiṣyāhitā*) of his predecessor Śāntisūri (or Śāntyācārya). Devendra informs us at the beginning of his work that his commentary is based on Śāntyācārya’s commentary and that with a view to making it easy of understanding he has deliberately left out all variant readings and various interpretations, the whole of *niryukti* and its explanation. But his great merit is “Unlike Śāntyācārya he has added to his commentary many stories, told in full and often of great charm and interest. In this he draws his

material from the larger stock of narratives available to him. He thus enriched the story tradition of the *Uttarādhyayana* still more, though it was already formed in essentials long before him.”⁴² Abhayadevasūri (2nd half of the 11th century A. D.) wrote his commentaries on nine *aṅgas* (sacred texts) like *Sthānāṅga*. He is therefore wellknown as '*Navāṅga-Vṛttikāra*'. Maladhāri Hemacandrasūri (beginning of the 12th century A. D.) wrote his commentaries on *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, and on Haribhadrasūri's *Vṛtti on the Āvaśyaka* and on the *Viśeṣāvaśyakamahābhāṣya*. He was known for his great knowledge of the Jain *āgama* texts. Ācārya Malayagiri (2nd half of 12th century and first half of 13th century A. D.) wrote *Vṛttis—Commentaries—*on several canonical works like *Nandisūtra*, *Rājapraśnīya*, *Prajñāpanā*, *Āvaśyaka*, *Vyavahārasūtra*, etc. Muni Puṇyaviḷayaji observes in his essay "*Jain āgamadhārā Aura Prakrit Vaṇmaya*" :

“Among the commentators he stands at the top.”⁴³

The *niryuktis*, *bhāṣyas*, *mahābhāṣyas*, *cūrṇis* and *ṭīkās* are a treasure house of folk tales or popular stories, parables, fables, fairy tales, romantic and adventurous tales, mariners' fairy tales and legends.

The remaining types (iii) Counterparts of *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* (and *Harivaṁśa*) to (x) *Kathakośas* have already been dealt with under “A Brief Survey of Jain Literature” preceding this article. So they have been skipped over here with a view to avoding repetition.

The Jain narratives are very precious as they go beyond the kings and the priests and give a picture of the real life of the Indian society in all its different classes.

Salient characteristics of Jain Narrative Literature :

In the various types of works, excepting some of the semi-historical works (*prabandhas*) certain traits arrest our attention as they are hardly noticed in other branches of Indian literature :

(1) “Pages after pages are devoted to the past and future births; (ii) the inexorable law of karma plays a very conspicuous role; (iii) Sermons with dogmatic details are introduced; (iv) Parables and illustrative tales are added here and there. The spirit of asceticism is writ large throughout the text; and almost as a rule every hero retires from the world to attain better status in the next life”. A. N. Upadhye

(The following comments come from my friend and colleague, Prof. G. S. Bedagkar, a non-Sanskritist, one who had not been exposed to any of the

Indological traditions of thought and feeling. They have been suggested by years of reading in Western literature. I am appending them to my introductory note because I thought it might help a review of our literature in the light of modern scholarship. These views struck me as most revealing at times even shocking but always stimulating.)

We would like the reader to respond to whatever situation the following stories describe sympathetically because they are all genuinely human even when a certain story goes on to condemn in outright terms the common human weakness to submit to the pleasures of the senses or be willing to be carried away by worldly happenings and the feelings they arouse or when it highlights passions that hold the mind and soul of man in their tight grip, or when it openly recommends a path of self-abnegation. These stories present saintly characters caught up in moments of temptation as well as men and women of weaker mettle that would like to give up pleasures and live a life of simplicity and purity, but really can't. They also tell us of how very difficult it is to give up pleasures but to give up desire for them is just impossible. Brahmadratta is a long drawn story of an unfortunate prince who has failed to achieve what his friend has succeeded in achieving. The story however has chosen for treatment a theme that is daringly modern, chosen from the same branch of knowledge from which the French novelist Emil Zola chose his themes—Heredity. The story becomes a painful yet fascinating account of a tremendous human bondage.

Many of the stories here are based on the typical Indian metaphysics of which karma is the *sine qua non*. This inevitably confines human life in a deterministic framework. Every such story spreads over an enormous time span that easily covers a couple of life times, and relies on Rebirth.

Rebirth need not be dismissed as a form of Indian absurdity. It is possible to see here the gropings of the captive Indian soul towards not only freedom but a better way of life ahead in future. To modern readers rebirth may look as a prologue to the bigger theme of evolution. The other important assumption of this theory is long time scale; on this the Indian story operates. The story of Sanatkumāra should illustrate the final reward of the enlarged perspective. His personality becomes well organized and he deserves the pleasures that come to him.

It need not be therefore concluded that the Indian story looks down on the ephemeral happenings and passing moments. There are at least four stories here that describe to us how a man suddenly develops the wisdom of the Buddha through a casual event like the sight of a faded garland or of an old bull that was once a very picture of virility and youth. It causes enlightenment. A passing

moment transforms itself into a moment of discovery and a common man into a Near Buddha.

The Story of the Mākandī brothers' voyage should find a worthy place in the voyage literature of the world, by the side of Haklyut's voyages and many other Spanish and Italian accounts. The Indian woman mentioned in this story, the terrible woman who charms sailors by her beauty and youth but destroys them by her demands has her counterpart in Homer's Circe. The story also works up a fabulous atmosphere which clearly sends ripples of Arabian Nights in our minds.

This collection of stories should prove how very inadequate it is to describe Prakrit writings as merely didactic and religious. It may mainly be so but not entirely. It presents quite a variety of situations that should remind readers of Boccaccio or Balzac. Read for instance the story called Water from the Roof. The story of Mūladeva and the courtesan Devadattā is equally secular and sympathetically human. The story of Rohiṇī that offers comments on the basic human types should not be read only as a defence of the Varna system in Indian sociology. The criminals that appear in some of the stories bring in a landscape that is rich in psychologically meaningful symbols such as underground dwellings, dilapidated temples, deep wells and beautiful but wicked women. Other stories describe retail traders that are not very scrupulous with simple minded villagers, cheats, unfaithful husbands and equally dishonest women...the whole lot of humanity has crowded up in this panorama of life and the Indian story literature has tried to capture for us the kaleidoscopic and elusive beauty that we call human nature. Two other women, besides Rohiṇī stand out prominently in this display of the complex pattern of human contradiction. One of them is the poor young woman whom a king marries. She becomes an object of satire of the other queens in the palace in spite of the dignity with which she conducts herself. But she is never lost to what she considers the basic reality of her life—everyday she spends some time in the privacy of her room and puts on once again the same old rags in which the king had picked her up, stands in front of her mirror and reminds herself of the transitoriness of the surrounding pomp and glory and of the reality of the poverty in which she was born. The other remarkable lady is the famous Princess Mallī who has the distinction of becoming the only female Tīrthaṅkara. She too has a firm hold on reality which teaches her that the golden sheen of the outside of the body very much depends on the unhampered, unrepressed and unhibited functioning of the internals. Her suitors were misguided as much as most of us. Actually she is a fully integrated personality for which, as Carl Jung would approvingly suggest, gold is the right symbol. No wonder Mallī leaves behind her statue of gold, with no element of corrupt materials."

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Notes and References :

1. तिविहा कहा पत्रता, तं जहा - अत्थकहा, धम्मकहा, कामकहा ।
—स्थानाङ्गसूत्र, अध्ययन ३, उद्देशक- ३, सूत्र १९४, पृ० ७७
2. चत्तारि विकहाओ पत्रताओ, तं जहा-इत्थिकहा, भत्तकहा, देसकहा, रायकहा । इत्थिकहा चउव्विहा पत्रता, तं जहा-इत्थीणं जाइकहा, इत्थीणं कुलकहा, इत्थीणं रूवकहा, इत्थीणं णेवत्थकहा । भत्तकहा चउव्विहा पत्रता, तं जहा-भत्तस्स आवावकहा, भत्तस्स णिव्वावकहा, भत्तस्स आरंभकहा, भत्तस्स निट्ठाणकहा । देसकहा चउव्विहा पत्रता, तं जहा- देसविहिकहा, देसविकप्पकहा, देसच्छंदकहा, देसनेवत्थकहा । रायकहा चउव्विहा पत्रता, तं जहा.... स्त्रो अतिताणकहा स्त्रो निज्जाणकहा, स्त्रो बलवाहणकहा, स्त्रो कोसकोट्टागारकहा ।
—स्थानाङ्गसूत्र, अध्ययन ४, उद्देशक २, सूत्र २८२ पृ. १११-११२
3. सत्त विकहाओ पत्रताओ, तं जहा- इत्थिकहा, भत्तकहा, देसकहा, रायकहा, मिठकालुणिता, दंसणभेयणी चरितभेद (?य)णी ।
4. These varieties and sub-varieties are duly explained in the discussion that follows.
5. दुविहा कहा- चरिया य कप्पिया य । तत्थ चरिया दुविहा- इत्थीए पुरिसस्स वा । धम्मत्थकामकज्जेसु दिट्ठं सुयमणुभूयं चरियं ति वुच्चति । जं पुण विवज्जासियं कुसलेहि उवदेसियपुव्वं समतीए जुज्जमाणं कहिज्जइ तं कप्पिया पुरिसा इत्थीओ य तिविहावबुद्धसु-उत्तिमा मज्झिमा णिकिट्ठा य, तेसि चरियाणि वि तव्विहाणि । ततो सो एवं वोत्तुण चरियकप्पियाणि अक्खणयाणि... वण्णेति ।
—*Vasudevahindi, Lambha X, Bhavnagar, 1931, pp. 208-209.*
6. तत्थ य 'तिविहं कहावत्थुं' ति पुव्वायरियपवाओ । तं जहा-दिव्वं दिव्वमाणुसं माणुसं च । तत्थ दिव्वं नाम जत्थ केवलमेव दिव्वचरियं वण्णिज्जइ, दिव्वमाणुसं पुण जत्थ दोहं पि दिव्वमाणुसाणं, माणुसं तु जत्थ केवलं माणुसचरियं ति ।
—*Samarādityakathā, Bhūmikā.*
7. एत्थ सामन्नओ चत्तारि कहाओ हवंति । तं जहा-अत्थकहा, कामकहा, धम्मकहा, संकिण्णकहा य । —*ibid.*
8. जा अत्थोवायाणपडिबद्धा असि-मसि-कसि-वाणिज्ज-सिप्प-संगया विचित्तधारुवायाइपमुहमहोवायसंपउत्ता साम-भेय-उवप्पयाण-दंडाइ-पयत्थ-विरइया सा अत्थकह ति भण्णइ । —*ibid*
9. जा उण कामोवायाणविसया चित्त-वपुव्वय-कला-दक्खिण्ण-परिया अणुराय-पुलइय-पडिवत्ति-जोयसार दूई-वावार-रमियभावाणुवत्तणाइ-पयत्थ-संगया सा कामकह ति भण्णइ । —*ibid*
10. जा उण धम्मोवायाणगोयरा खमा-महवज्जव-मुत्ति-तव-संजम-सच्च-सोयाकिचण्ण-बंधेच-पहाणा अणुव्वय-दिसिदेसाणत्थदंड-विरई-सामाइय-पोसहोववासोवभोग-परिभोगातिहि-संविभाग-कलिया-अणुकंपाकाम-निज्जराइपयत्थ-संपउत्ता सा धम्मकह ति । —*ibid*
11. जा उण तिवग्गोवायाणसंबद्धा कव्वकहागंथत्थवित्थर-विरइया लोइयवेयसमयपसिद्धा उयाहरण-हेउ-कारणोववेया सा संकिण्णकह ति वुच्चइ ।

Incidentally it may be noted that in the *Dasaveyāliyanijjuttī* we find that the *saṃkīrṇa-kathā* is named there as *miśra*. The following *gāthās* may be read by way of comparison :

अत्थकहा कामकहा धम्मकहा चेव मीसिया य कहा ।
एत्तो एकेक्का वि य णेगविहा होइ णायव्वा ॥
विज्जासिप्पमुवाओ अणिवेओ संचओ य दक्खत्तं ।
सामं दंडो भेओ उवप्पयाणं च अत्थकहा ॥
रूवं वओ य वेसो दक्खत्तं सिक्खियं च विसएसुं ।
दिट्ठं सुयमणुभूयं च संथवो चेव कामकहा ॥

धम्मकहा बोद्धव्वा चउव्विहा धीरपुरिसपन्नता ।
 अक्खेवणि विक्खेवणि संवेगे चेव निव्वेए ॥
 धम्मो अत्थो कामो उवइसइ जत्थ सुत्तकव्वेसुं ।
 लोगे वेए समए सा उ कहा मीसिया णाम ॥

—II *gāthās*. 188, 189, 192, 193, 206.

12. ताओ पुण पंच कहाओ ! तं जहा-सयलकहा, खंडकहा, उल्लावकहा, परिहासकहा तहावरा कहिय त्ति । एयाओ सव्वाओ वि एत्थ पसिद्धाओ सुंदरकहाओ । एयाण लक्खणधरा संकिण्णकह त्ति णायव्वा ॥
 ..पुणो सा वि त्तिविहा । तं जहा-धम्मकहा, अत्थकहा कामकहा । पुणो सव्वलक्खणा संपाइयत्तिवग्गा संकिण्ण त्ति । ता एसा धम्मकहा वि होऊण कामत्थसंभवे संकिण्णत्तणं पत्ता ।
13. *Indian Kāvya Literature* by A. K. Warder, Vol. I, paragraph 455, p. 196.
14. एकं धर्मादिपुरुषार्थमुद्दिश्य प्रकारखैचित्र्येणानन्तवृत्तान्तवर्णनप्रकार परिकथा ।
15. पर्यायेण बहूनां यत्र प्रतियोगिनां कथाः कुशलैः ।
 श्रूयन्ते कथ्यन्ते शूद्रकवत् जिगीषुभिः परिकथा सा तु ॥
 Vide *Śrngāraprakāśa* (Mysore edn., Ch. XI, p, 469 and Hemacandra's *Kāvyañusāsana* (Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964, edn., p. 464)
16. *Bhoja's Śrngāra Prakāśa* by V. Raghavan, pp. 819-820.
17. Ibid, p. 624; on p. 819 he says : 'a round of tales', in place of 'a series of stories'.
18. कुर्यात् क्षुद्रे काव्ये खण्डकथायां च नायकं सुखिनम् ।
 आपद्गतं च भूयो द्विजसेवकसार्थवाहादिम् ॥
 अत्र रसं करुणं वा कुर्यादथवा प्रवासशृङ्गारम् ।
 प्रथमानुशगमथवा पुनरन्ते नायकाभ्युदयम् ॥
 —*Kāvyañamkāra*, XVI. 33-34.
19. ग्रन्थान्तरप्रसिद्धं यस्यामितिवृत्तमुच्यते विबुधैः ।
 मध्यादुपान्ततो वा सा खण्डकथा यथेन्दुमती ॥
 —*Śrngāraprakāśa* XI, p. 469.
20. एकदेशवर्णना खण्डकथा ॥
 —Dhv. Locana III. 7, p. 324.
21. *Kāvyañamkāśa* with Śrīdhara's commentary *Viveka* ed. by S. P. Bhattacharya and pub. as Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series VII, two parts, 1959, 1961.
22. मधुमथविजयप्रयुक्ता वाक् कथं नाम मुकुलयत्वस्मिन् ।
 प्रथमकुसुमात्तलिनं पश्चात्कुसुमं वनलतानाम् ॥ —इति च्छाया
23. *Bhoja's Śrngāra Prakāśa* by V. Raghavan, p. 625.
24. *Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol. I paragraph 446, p. 193.
25. *Bhojas's Śrngāra Prakāśa* by V. Raghavan, p. 612.
26. समस्तफलान्तेतिवृत्तवर्णना सकलकथा । *Locana*, p. 324.
27. Haribhadrasūri's *Samarādityakathā* (Pk. : *Samarāiccakahā*) is a famous *kathā* in Prakrit literature. He lived in the period 700-770 A. D. He calls his work a '*dharmakathā*'. Hemacandra's description of it as *sakalakathā* is also justifiable.
28. मुक्तकानामेकप्रघट्टकोपनिबन्धःपर्या । अवान्तरवाक्यसमासावपि वसन्ताद्येकवर्णनीयोद्देशेन मुक्तकानामुपनिबन्धःपर्या ।
 सा कोशेषु प्रचुरं दृश्यते ।
 —*Kāvyañusāsana*, p. 466.
29. This survey mainly confines itself to the story literature of the Śvetāmbaras only as all

the tales in the present volume are drawn from it. In the introduction to another volume we intend to take a similar survey of the story literature of the Dīgambaras.

30. For example, See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Volume II, University of Calcutta, 1933, pp 484, 545, and Dr. Hertel : *On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat*, 1922, pp. 11f.
31. This survey is mainly based on *A History of Indian Literature* by Winternitz Volume II, Calcutta 1933, Introduction to *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Ācārya Hariṣeṇa by A. N. Upadhye and on Muni Puṇyavijayajī's essay "Jain Āgamadhara aura Prakrit Vāṇmaya" pub. in Muni Sri-hajārimal Smṛtigrantha.
32. *Ibid*, p. 448.
33. *Ibid*, p. 449.
34. *Ibid*, p. 451.
35. *Ibid*, p. 483.
36. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* explains the names of some of these :
 तत्र सूत्रणात् सूत्रम् ।... सूत्राणां सकलसारविवरणं वृत्तिः । सूत्रवृत्तिविवेचनं पद्धतिः । आक्षिप्य भाषणाद् भाष्यम् ।
 अन्तर्भाष्यं समीक्षा । अवान्तरार्थाविच्छेदश्च सा । यथासंभावनमर्थस्य टीकनं टीका । विषमपदभङ्गिका पञ्जिका ।
 अर्थप्रदर्शनकारिका कारिका । उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तचिन्ता वार्त्तिकमिति शास्त्रभेदाः ।
 Obviously, while explaining the terms Rājaśekhara has before his mind's eye the works on *vyākaraṇa-sāstra*.
 —GOS edn., Baroda, 1934, Ch. 3, p.5, II. 1-8.
37. *Kahānaya-Tigam*, A Prakrit Reader, ed. by Dr. A. M. Ghatage, & pub. by Bharat Book Stall, Kolhapur, 1950, p. 25.
38. *Ibid*, pp. 28-29.
39. *Ibid*. p. 30.
40. *Jain Āgamadhara aura Prakrit Vāṇmaya*, pub. in *Muni Śrī Hajārimala Smṛtigrantha*, p. 723.
41. *Kahānaya-Tigam*, A Prakrit Reader, ed by A. M. Ghatage, and pub. by Bharat Book Stall, Kolhapur, 1950, Introduction, p. 29.
42. *Ibid*, pp. 29-30.
43. "व्याख्याकारों में इनका स्थान सर्वोत्कृष्ट है" (पृ० ७३९) —Muni Puṇyavijayajī
44. In fact, *Padmapurāṇa* is merely an enlarged recension of *Paūmacariya* in Sanskrit, agreeing with it in all essential points.



JINEŚVARASŪRI'S GĀHĀRAYAᅇAKOSA★

Ancient Indian poets, as a class, were extremely reticent about their personal history, education, environment, the influences that shaped them, their family life, their successes and failures. Poets like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa hardly speak of anything about themselves. This suicidal indifference on the part of ancient Sanskrit and Prakrit poets and authors was most probably due to their strong belief that what really mattered was their poetic creation and not their own personality. The thought, idea or feeling embodied in a poem alone was important and not the poet who wrote it or the time when he composed it. Ālamkārikas too held identical views as is clear from their works wherein they dealt with the poetic products as created and finished facts never bothering themselves about their authors. It is this colossal indifference which is responsible for not preserving the authentic names of poets or their works in the anthologies of Hāla (*Sattasāi* or *Saptaśatakam* or *Gāthāsaptaśatī*), Jayavallabha (*Vajjālaggam*), Chappaᅇᅇaya (*Chappaᅇᅇayagāhāo*) or Jineśvarasūri (*Gāhārayaᅇakosa*). We should, however, be grateful to these anthologists for preserving at least some of the finest and highly poetic and *subhāᅇita*-like verses of many unknown poets who are totally forgotten by posterity. All these Prakrit *Kośas* are compilations of stanzas of other poets barring, of course, a few stanzas of the anthologists themselves.

The L. D. Institute of Indology (Ahmedabad) has recently brought out an unpublished *Gāhārayaᅇakosa*. This is compiled by Jineśvarasūri towards the close of the 12th Century A. D. In a short Preface Pt. Dalsukh Malvania, the Director of the Institute, points out the importance of the present volume which presents three *gāthāsaᅇgrahas*, published for the first time and thanks the joint Editors Pt. Amritlal M. Bhojak and Dr. Nagin J. Shah who have taken great pains to make the edition useful and have tried to present the text as flawlessly as possible.

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- ★ Jineśvarasūri's *Gāhārayaᅇakośa* : edited by Pt. Amritlal M. Bhojak and Dr. Nagin J. Shah, Published by Pt. Dalsukh Malvania, Director, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad 9, 1975. Price Rs. 12/-

In their brief but valuable introduction the Editors first give a description of MSS. They then dwell on the importance of *subhāṣitasan̄grahas* : Such anthologies rescued from the oblivion a large number of floating verses. They proved of help to religious teachers and preachers in their didactic works or lectures in clarifying and corroborating the point of discourse. The *subhāṣitas* had great appeal to the common mind. They constituted the strength or power of language. Looking to their usefulness scholars of olden days collected, carefully arranged and classified them subjectwise. Thus they produced anthologies.

The Editors then note the glory of Prakrit *subhāṣitas* : Sanskrit was the language of the *śiṣtas*, Prakrit was the language of the people. Prakrit writers were in close contact with the people. They naturally felt the pulse of the people, identified themselves with their joys and sorrows and reflected them in their verses. These verses have a spirit of closeness to life and common realities which we often miss in Sanskrit poetry. The Editors show on the authority of Uddyotanasūri (the author of *Kuvalayamālā*) how in old days the verses from Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī* were recited even by farmers when ploughing their fields. For the importance and the general theme of the Prakrit *subhāṣitas* the Editors refer readers to the Introductions to the *Gāthā-Saptasatī* (ed. by Dr. Parmanand Shastri, Merath, 1965), the *Vajjālagga* (ed. by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad 9, 1969) and (*Saptasatīsāra* with *Bhāvadīpikā* of Vema Bhūpāla, along with) *Chappañṇaya-Gāhāo* (ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Shivaji University, Kolhapur, 1970). They, then very briefly deal with *Gāhāraṇakosa* pointing out that though the compiler was a Jain there is nothing Jīnistic about the work except the first section devoted to the prayer of Jina. This prayer is followed by that of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, and Sarasvatī respectively. They further point out how *Gāhāraṇakosa* contains material, arrangement and division of subjects similar to those of most other Sanskrit and Prakrit anthologies.

According to the compiler's own statement the present Kośa contains 800 *gāthās*. The Editors, however, point out that their lone MS contains 822 *gāthās* and conclude that these 22 *gāthās* are later additions.

Finally, they describe Jineśvarasūri's spiritual lineage and give a few other details about him (pp. 8-11). Pages 12 to 14 set forth the table of contents in Sanskrit. Then follows the text of *Gāhāraṇakosa* (pp. 1-66), arranged according to the 58 different topics. They deal with a variety of topics such as Invocations, poetry, the ocean, the sub-marine Fire, Kṛṣṇa, the Good, the Wicked, the Master, Lakṣmī, Charity, the miser, poverty, politics or statesmanship, the clever or shrewd, riddles, harlots, eroticism, eyes (glances), affection, female messenger,

love, jealous anger, lovers' flattery, *mānini* (a woman offended with her husband), separation, the sunset, the Cakravāka bird, the glow-worm, the moon, night-lotus, dawn, the sunrise, day-lotus, bee and Mālatī flower (or creeper), the cycle of seasons, unchaste women, various trees, mountains, lion, elephant, camel, the excellent bull, miscellaneous things and finally Śānta *rasa* (the mood of quietude). More than 30 topics out of the 58 are common to *Vajjālagga*, and as pointed out by the Editors 'Nearly one hundred *gāthās* are common to this *Gāhārayaᅇakosa* and the *Vajjālagga*'.

After this Kośa the Editors present two, hitherto unpublished tiny collections of *gāthās*, each based on a single MS. They bear the titles : *Subhāsiyagāhāsaᅇgaho* (pp. 67-74) and *Subhāsiyapajjasāᅇgaho* (pp. 75-82).

They then add *gāthā*-index of all three anthologies separately (pp. 83-98). Index No. 1 records over 35 Deśī words that occur in these three anthologies and are rather difficult and of rare frequency along with their meanings in Sanskrit or Gujarati (pp 99-100).

Index No. II gives a Table of *gāthās* that are common to *Gāhārayaᅇakosa* and *Vajjālagga* (pp. 101-102). At the end they give a list of corrections (pp. 103-104).

The Director of the Institute and, especially, the Joint Editors of this volume deserve warmest congratulations on their bringing out this excellent edition. It is no doubt a welcome addition to the existing anthologies in Prakrit. Having regard to the fact that the edition is based on a rare MS all would agree with this reviewer that the performance of the Editors is excellent.

By adding Indexes the Editors have made the edition more useful. One, however, feels that the scope of the glossary could have been extended to accommodate a considerable number of other difficult and double-meaning words. As regards the second appendix, it passes one's comprehension why the order of serial number of *gāthās* is disturbed in their Comparative Table. A few of the *gāthās* which are common to *Vajjālagga* are left out inadvertently as will be seen presently.

A Kośa (Treasure) by its very nature contains stanzas picked up from different works. Whenever the MS presents doubtful readings or gaps it is possible for us to hunt the sources of these stanzas and restore the original readings. The present edition contains about 1040 *gāthās*. Most of them present no difficulties. Still a fair number of *gāthās* contain doubtful readings (indicated with a question-mark by the Editors) or gaps. These make a careful reader

restless. He is anxious to get at the correct reading. It is too much to expect of the Editors to trace the sources of such *gāthās* and restore the readings, especially when the anthologists have nowhere indicated their sources. As the Editors have pointed out about 100 verses are common to *Gāhārayaṇakosa* and *Vajjālagga*. A comparison with Hāla's *Gāthāsaptaśatī* would show that 55 *gāthās* are common to *Gāhārayaṇakosa*. This comparison would help us to restore some doubtful readings. For correcting the rest of the doubtful readings or filling in the gaps we will have to go to the very sources of these *gāthās* of course, wherever possible. This kind of study would also reveal to us how far the anthologists themselves were well read and their power of selection and appreciation. It would also enable the readers to understand these *gāthās* better with the help of commentaries on these sources or their translations in English or regional Indian languages. The scope of this review article does not permit a thorough or comprehensive or exhaustive study of this kind. What follows will indicate to the readers merely the direction in this regard.

The following tables give verses that are common to *Gāhārayaṇakosa* and *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, *Vajjālagga* (verses not included in the Table given in Appendix II). *Gaiḍavaho*, *Līlavai* and *Kumārapālapratibodha* :

TABLE I

<i>Gāhārayaṇakosa</i> <i>Gāthā No.</i>	...	<i>Gāthāsaptaśatī</i> <i>Gāthā No.</i>
14	...	I. 1
135	...	792 (Weber's edition)
266	...	II. 73
293	...	954 (Weber's edition)
303	...	III. 7
332	...	V. 21
334	...	I. 99
337	...	III. 100
338	...	IV. 6
339	...	IV. 24
342	...	I. 100
355	...	II. 99
358	...	I. 25
361	...	IV. 41

363	...	VI. 6
390	...	I. 91
391	...	II. 82
404	...	II. 6
409	...	I-53
410	...	III-4
411	...	II-24
419	...	II-42
420	...	I-10
446	...	I-74
447	...	II. 44
451	...	I-27
453	...	VI. 64
455	...	II. 92
456	...	VI. 21
467	...	VII. 15
468	...	I. 85
469	...	VII. 65
470	...	V. 89
471	...	903 (Weber's edition)
473	...	IV. 76
475	...	V. 51
480	...	941 (Weber's edition)
483	...	II. 47
485	...	I. 48
494	...	IV. 97
499	...	837 (Weber's edition)
504	...	I. 29
505	...	II. 53
506	...	III. 22
507	...	IV. 63
508	...	IV. 77
509	...	VI. 2

630	...	II. 39
683	...	VI. 42
698	...	III. 29
705	...	II. 64
724	...	No. 1004 (Jogalekar's edition)
728	...	VI. 77
741	...	No. 1005 (Jogalekar's edition)
783	...	III. 17

This table shows that the total number of common *gāthās* comes to 55.

TABLE II

<i>Gāhārayaṇakosa</i> <i>Gāthā No.</i>		<i>Vajjālagga</i> (Not included in the <i>Gāthā No.</i> printed Table)
27	...	18
54	...	605* 1
74	...	35
92	...	118
P. 13 f. n. No. 1	...	133
155	...	581
178	...	175
270	...	617
272	...	616
283	...	567
702	...	511
746	...	159
751	...	195
759	...	225
782	...	67

The total number of common, but not identified, *gāthās* is 15.

TABLE III

<i>Gāhārayaṇakosa</i> <i>Gāthā No.</i>		<i>Gaṇḍavaho of Vākpatirāja</i> <i>Gāthā No.</i>
5	...	3
6	...	1

9	...	18
10	...	6
16	...	87
127	...	931
173	...	976
281	...	959
593	...	1182

This table shows that the total number of *gāthās* common to these two works comes to 9.

TABLE IV

<i>Gāhārayaᅇakosa</i> <i>Gāthā No.</i>		<i>Līlavai</i> <i>Gāthā No.</i>
71	...	60
81	...	13
104	...	16
329	...	423
373	...	222
501	...	571
519	...	262
520	...	516
521	...	438
522	...	442
523	...	443
524	...	446
525	...	448
526	...	439
528	...	451
529	...	1071
557	...	31
558	...	470
559	...	526
560	...	528
581	...	1086

582	...	1090
584	...	1091
585	...	1092
590	...	675
607	...	472
681	...	74* 1
684	...	87

The total number of *gāthās* common to *Gāhārayaṇakosa* and *Līlavāi* comes to 28.

TABLE V

<i>Gāhārayaṇakosa</i> Gāthā No.		<i>Kumārapālapratibodha</i> Page No. (Verse No.)
24	...	1 (9)
65	...	77
66	...	4 (41)
150	...	237
214	...	365
215	...	305
224	...	23
225	...	84
226	...	255
231	...	116
307	...	249
556	...	9

The total number of *gāthās* common to *Gāhārayaṇakosa* and *Kumārapālapratibodha* comes to 12.

A few more *gāthās* are identified with stray *gāthās* :

- v. 12 This *gāthā* is simply a Māhārāṣṭrī version of the Cūlikā-Paiśācī verse which occurs at the beginning of *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. The Cūlikā-Paiśācī passage is well preserved in Siddha-hema IV 326-327.
- v. 166 This *Gāthā* is first cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* II (p. 262).

- v. 418 This occurs in *Surasundarīcariya* (II-V. 172) with minor variant readings :
 अइवल्लहं पि वीसरइ माणूसं देस-काल-अंतरियं ।
 वल्लीसमं हि पिम्मं जं आसन्नं तर्हि चडइ ॥
- v. 428 This *gāthā* belongs to *Ratnāvalī*, the well-known play of Harṣa. It occurs at II. v. 1
- v. 443 This *gāthā* is cited in *Kāvyaṣṭakāśa* (IV. v. 66, p. 141, Jhalakikar's edition).
- v. 477 This *gāthā* is cited in *Kāvyaṣṭakāśa* (III. v. 16, p. 75, Jhalakikar's edition).
- v. 703 This *gāthā* is cited in *Dhvanyāloka* (III. p. 352, Banaras Ed. with *Bālapriyā* commentary).
- v. 707 This *gāthā* is cited in *Dhvanyāloka* (I. p. 76).
- v. 786 This *gāthā* is cited by Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvitā* (I. v. 20)
- v. 236 } These two *gāthās* are found also in *Chappannāya-gāhās* as *gāthā*
 v. 238 } No. 74 (with variant readings) and *gāthā* No. 48 respectively.

This comparative study helps us to correct some of the doubtful readings indicated with a question-mark by the editors.

- P. 2 v. 5 This *gāthā* which is drawn from *Gauḍavaho* (v. 3) needs to be corrected. Even the correction noted in the list of corrections does not help. The *gāthā* should read :

तं पणमह तिगिच्छि-च्छलेण णिवसइ णिवेस-कमलम्मि ।
 जस्स परमाणु-णिवहो व्व भुवण-णिम्माण-पडिवण्णो ॥

[तं प्रणमत पद्मरजच्छलेन निवसति निवेश-कमले ।
 यस्य परमाणु-निवह इव भुवन-निर्माण-प्रतिपन्नः ॥]

- P. 2. v. 6 Vākpatirāja commences his work with this *gāthā* paying homage to the Self-born god (Brahmā). The third quarter of this opening verse of *Gauḍavaho* should be corrected to :

हरि-जठर-णिग्गमुक्खित्त-(णाल-सुत्तं पिव सयंभुं)
 [हरि-जठर-निर्गमोत्क्षित्त-(नालसूत्रमिव स्वयंभुवम्)]

- P 2 v. 9 This *gāthā* belongs to *Gauḍavaho* (v. 18). Our text differs from the printed text of *Gauḍavaho* as far as *ya-śruti* is concerned.

- P 2. v. 10 This verse occurs in *Gauḍavaho* (v. 6). The second half should be corrected as :
हरिणो हरिण-च्छाअं विलास-परिसंठिअं जअइ ॥
[हेर्हरिणच्छायं विलास-परिसंस्थितं जयति ॥]
- P. 6 v. 54 The reading उव्वूढ preserved in *Vajjālagga* (v. 605 * 1) is far superior to उय ऊढ.
- P. 6 v. 55 (As pointed out by the editors) this *gāthā* occurs in *Vajjālagga* (No. 600). The words वि and साहियं must be read together as विसाहियं (Sk. 1. विशाखिकां-विशाखां-name of a cowherdess, २. विषाधिकं)
- P. 6 v. 56 This *gāthā*, as pointed out by the Editors, occurs in *Vajjālagga* (v. 598). The second quarter of this *gāthā* presents much more convincing reading than what we find in *Vajjālagga*. With these readings (विसाहिया किर विसाहिया कण्ह) there is no need to emend the text of *Vajjālagga* as proposed by Prof. Patwardhan (vide his notes to (598), p. 546). The third quarter in *Vajjālagga*, however, presents better reading (संते वि विणयतणए Sk सत्यपि विनता-तनये) than the corresponding quarter in the present *Kośa* does. साहीणविणयपणओ is most probably a corruption of साहीण-विणअ-तणओ (स्वाधीनविनतातनयः)
- P. 6 v. 59 This *gāthā* occurs, as pointed out by the editors, in *Vajjālagga* (v. 747). The second half of this *gāthā* presents a far more satisfactory reading than what we find in the present *Kośa* :
तेण पुण तस्स ठाणे न याणिमो को परिद्धविओ ।
[तेन पुनस्तस्य स्थाने न जानीमः कः प्रतिष्ठपितः ।]
This line must be the original one for it also occurs in *Rayanāyara-vajjā* itself in *gāthā* No. 756 with reference to another *ratna* (the moon) churned out of the ocean.
- P. 8 v. 91 This *gāthā* is, as noted by the editors, common to *Vajjālagga* (No. 115). The reading "तत्थेव वड्ढिओ" in *Vajjālagga* is much better than our reading न (? नो) चेव पसरिओ.
- P. 8 v. 92 The reading "मत्थे" is obviously a printer's devil. It should read मज्झे (Sk. मध्ये).
- P. 11 v. 127 This *gāthā* belongs to *Gauḍavaho* (No. 931). There the second quarter reads :
"गुण ति एअं परिद्धिअं चेअ". The reading in our *Kośa* stands thus :

“गुणसत्तिपयं परिद्विअं लोए”. “गुणसत्तिपयं” is patently a corrupt reading and hardly makes any sense.

- p. 12 v. 139 The reading ‘नइंद’ is obviously a printing mistake for नरिंद. As it is not indicated in the list of corrections it is noted here.
- P. 15 v. 173 This *gāthā* belongs to *Gāḍavaho* (No. 976). There we have the reading “गरुअत्तणेण विहडंति” instead of “गरुयत्तणे न विहडंति” in the present *Kosa*.
- p. 16 v. 193 The original reading दलइ (√ दल् to expand, bloom, open) suits the context all right as a bed or assemblage of lotuses blooms at sunrise. The editor’s emendation ढलइ neither suits the context nor is happy.
- p. 17 v. 213 The *gāthā*, as it stands, does not construe well. With slight emendations if it is rewritten, it yields good sense:

लच्छीए गाढमालिगिओ ति (? सि) इय चित्तिऊण कित्तीए (? कित्तीअ) ।
ईसाउरेव पेच्छसु नरिंद भुवणे परिब्भमइ ॥

“Lakṣmī and Kīrti are looked upon as King’s two wives. Kīrti thinks that the king is embraced by Lakṣmī; naturally, she is full of jealousy, as it were, (and out of jealousy, anger) she wanders over the whole earth. O King, look.” It is a fine instance of Vyājastuti (helped by Utpreksā).

- p. 19 v. 236 The *gāthā*, as presented here, does not yield a happy sense. The *Kosa* called *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo* presents it somewhat differently. We may profitably compare their text.

तिसु जे अवुत्थपुव्वा रायकुले महियले य सेवासु ।
विण्णाण-नाण-लट्टतणाण ते बाहिरा पुरिसा ॥ *Gāhārayanākosa*

तिसु जे अदिद्वपुव्वा रायकुले गुरुकुले य वेसासु ।
विन्नाण-नाण-लडहत्तणाण ते बाहिरा होंति ॥ *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo*

The three things, 1. Vijñāna. 2. Jñāna and 3. Saundarya are generally associated with rājakula, gurukula and Veśyās respectively. We will have to correct the text accordingly.

- p. 23 v. 285 The reading पणवहूण is non-sensical. Probably, it is a corruption of or a printing mistake for णववहूण.
- p. 23 v. 293 The reading तदियसकयाहाया makes no sense. Many works such as *Saptaśatisāra* (V. 417, *Kalpalatāviveka* (p. 18), *Śṛṅgārāprakāśa* (p.

818), *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 237, N. S. Ed.) contains this *gāthā*. Weber too includes it in his edition of *Gāthāsaptasatī* (No. 954).

अणुदिअह-कआभोआ जह जह थणआ विणिणति कुमरीए / बालाए ।
तह तह लद्धोआसो / लद्धावासो व्व वम्महो हिअअमाविसइ ॥

- p. 26 v. 329 This *gāthā* belongs to *Līlavāī* (No. 423). There it opens with the words “तो तस्स मियंकस्स” whereas here it opens with “सा तस्स मियंकस्स”. The reading वाउल्लिय व्व (Sk पुत्तलिका, cf/Mar. बाहुली) is perfectly all right and the emendation “वा(धी)-उल्लियव्व” is uncalled for.
- p. 27 v. 338 The reading अंघोअहूयं is unintelligible. The reading given in the footnote too is equally unintelligible. *Gāthāsaptasatī* (IV. 6) preserves the correct reading : अब्बो अणुणअसुहं
- p. 27 v. 339 There is no need to emend the text as जणो [? ऽ]जणो. Read in this connection the gloss of Mathuranath Shastri on G. S. VI. 24... “स एव जनः (प्रियजनः) उदासीनजनो जातः ।” NS ed. p. 268.
- p. 27 v. 342 The reading in the present Kosa (दइयनह) दूसियाण needs to be corrected to (दइयनह) दूमियाण in accordance with the original reading in *Gāthāsaptasatī*.
- p. 28 v. 355 In *Gāthāsaptasatī* (II. 99) as well as in *Sarasvatīkanthābharana* (p. 373) we have the reading ‘जह तुमं दिद्धे’ whereas here we have “जह अहं दिद्धे”. The reading अहं would mean the *nāyaka* himself is the speaker whereas the reading तुमं would mean that the speaker is a female messenger pleading the cause of *nāyikā*.
- p. 29 v. 363 As stated above (Note to p. 27 v. 339) there is no need to emend the text as जणो [? ऽ]जणो here also.
- p. 30 v. 383 *Raṇaraṇayarujjaduccalaehim* (?)- This *gāthā* is cited in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (p. 1067). But there the text shows some gaps and presents a few incorrect readings. A comparison of these two texts helps us in restoring the original *gāthā*. The reading “*raṇaraṇaarajja dovvala...*” in ŚP gives us a clue to correct the doubtful reading in the present Kośa as ‘*raṇaraṇaya-rujja-dubbalaehim.*’
- p. 31 v. 390 The editors proposed emendation well agrees with the corresponding reading in *Gāthāsaptasatī* (णूमैति).
- p. 34 v. 430 The reading in *Vajjālagga* (v. 346) is दिद्धे अणालवंतेण in place of “तह

अत्रजुवइनेहेण" in the present Kosa.

- p. 35 v. 450 This *gāthā* occurs in *Gāthāsaptasatī* (VI. 18). There the text reads 'bāhohabharīa' and the reading 'bāhulla-phurīa' is recorded in the footnotes. The latter part of the second half in GS reads : 'Savahāvattam gaam pemmam.' The Editors of the present Kosa read 'Sātahāvattam mae pimme' and add a question-mark. The SP (p. 1211) correctly reads: 'Savahāvattam gae pemme.'
- p. 39 v 499 The opening words of this *gāthā* present corrupt readings. The editors' emendation जं पि य [? पिय] मंगलवासणाए too is not helpful. We should read with Weber (No. 837) : जं पीअं मंगलवासणाए. "चिद्दुइ" in the second half of this *gāthā* is obviously a misreading or misprint or scribal error for "चिद्दुइ".
- p. 39 v. 501 The second half of this *gāthā* reads differently in *Lilāvai* from where this *gāthā* is picked up :
जाणं चिय पियविरहो जाणसु दुक्खीण ते पढमा ।
It is, of course, more meaningful.
- p. 39 v. 505 *Gāthāsaptasatī* (No. II 53) presents somewhat different readings :
विरह-करवत्त-दूसह-फालिज्जंतम्मि तीअ हिअअम्मि ।
अंसू कज्जलमइलं पमाणसुत्तं व्व पडिहाइ ॥
These readings make better sense.
- p. 40 v. 516 The first half of these two *gāthās* presents different readings :
and पच्छअमुहो वि विथइ पहरहओ अंबरं पि मोत्तूण ।
p. 72 v. 73 पच्छअभिमुहो वच्चइ पहरहओ अंबरं विमोत्तूण ॥
The first half needs to be corrected as;
पच्छअभिमुहो वच्चइ पहरहओ अंबरं पि मोत्तूण ।
- p. 41 v. 519 [वा ?]सं should be corrected as : सेसं
v. 521 ज(? उ)ण वल्लहो should be corrected as जणवल्लहो
v. 522 "सलिलपाय[? रय]" " " " " सलिल-पायडिय.
v. 522 संचलणमासला " " " संगलणमासला
v. 524 The first half should be read as :
मुह-घडिय-वियड-रवि-कणय-पिड-भारोणायग-भाएण ।
v. 525 मोलाय(यं)तम्मि should be corrected to मउलायंतम्मि

- v. 526 'पसरियं' should be corrected to परिसर-परिसेस-पलहय-मऊहं
Note : All these corrections are based on the source *Līlāvāī*.
- p. 43 v. 545 The expression नहनिवाओ is rather unusual. The present gāthā is quoted in *Alamkārakaustubha* (p. 36). There we have the reading पहणिहाओ (Sk नखनिघातो) in place of नहनिवाओ (Sk नखनिपात). The svopajñacommentary of Viśveśvara elucidates नखनिघातपदमर्ध-चन्द्राख्यनखक्षतपरम् ।
Viśveśvara's reading seems to be preferable.
- p. 44 v. 557 The reading चंदुच्चतावयंसं needs to be corrected to चंदुज्जुयावयंसं (Sk चन्द्रोद्योतावतंसं)
- p. 46 v. 584 *Līlāvāī* (No. 1091) reads पच्चूसं instead of दिवसमुह in our *Kośa*.
- p. 46 v. 590 *Līlāvāī* (No. 675) reads णलिणोयर for कमलोयर and विहडंतो for विउडितो
- p. 46 v. 593 The text as printed in our *Kosa*, is corrupt, *Gāḍavaho* (No. 1182) reads :
इटा-चुण्णं व किरंतमुद्धमरुणाअवं परिप्फुरइ ।
रविणो गअणासि-णिसाण-चक्क-वलओवमं बिबं ॥
[इष्टका-चूर्णमिव किरदूर्ध्वमरुणातपं परिस्फुरति ।
खेर्गगनासिनिशानचक्रवलयोपमं बिम्बम् ॥]
- p. 48 v. 617 छप्पह should be corrected to छप्पय.
- p. 49 v. 625 The reading संठियं found in *Vajjālagga* (v. 252) is far superior to संचिय in the present *Kosa*.
- p. 49 v. 630 *Gāthāsaptasatī* (II.39) reads the second quarter thus : जं किर सो महइ महुअरो पाउं ।
- p. 49 v. 635 The third quarter in *Vajjālagga* is somewhat different 'नलिणीण जेण कड्डइ' (Sk 'नलिनीनां येन कर्षति')
- p. 53 v. 680 The list of corrections advises us to correct समावहो to समोहवो. Most probably, it is a printing mistake for समाहवो.
- p. 58 v. 741 The reading निव्वूढ found in Jogalekar's edition of *Gāthāsaptasatī* (No. 1005) yields much better sense than the reading निगूढ in the present edition.
- p. 58 v. 746 *Vajjālagga* (v. 159) reads विहुरसहाया in place of विहुरसहावा of our *Kosa*.
- p. 59 v. 760 The reading "नीससिय" in the present *Kosa* is not happy as it

offends symmetry. The reading नीसससि in *Vajjālagga* (No. 226. 3) must be the genuine reading.

p. 61 v. 782 The fourth quarter presents difficulties. The emendation proposed by the editors hardly helps. *Vajjālagga* (No. 67) reads the quarter correctly. 'आवइ आवट्टए पढमं' ('आपदि आवर्तते प्रथमम्')

To trace the sources of the rest of the *gāthās* in the present Kosa would prove an interesting and illuminating study, It would improve some doubtful or wrong readings. One would have to take into account some important Prakrit Māhārāṣṭrī/Jain Māhārāṣṭrī) works composed entirely in the *gāthā* metre or works in prose and verse (containing *gāthās*) or other Kośas like Chappañayagāhāo which were composed before the close of the 12th Century A. D.

One would like to agree with the Editors' view that 'Prakrit language and Prakrit writers had the opportunity to be in close contact with the people. The vista which was almost closed to Sanskrit language and Sanskrit writers was open to Prakrit language and Prakrit writers. This is the reason why those elements that capture the hearts of common man predominate in Prakrit literary works.' This view, however, cannot claim to be universally true. If we take into consideration the topmost Prakrit poets and their Prakrit works, for instance, Pravarasena and his *Setubandha*, Vākpatirāja and his *Gaiḍavaho*, we have no alternative but to admit that long portions of these poems written in an ornate, pompous style full of long compounds, are all Sanskrit turned into Prakrit by the poets. These poets thought in Sanskrit, first put their ideas in a Sanskrit draft and then presented them in the form of Prakrit verses. Common people apart, even well educated post-graduate students of Prakrit languages and literatures would not properly and fully understand and appreciate these erudite, difficult portions without the help of Sanskrit commentaries or translations in English or a modern Indian language. The editors' view holds good in the case of poets like Hāla Sātavāhana, Jayavallabha and their works *Gāthāsaptaśatī* and *Vajjālagga*.

Notwithstanding few deficiencies and differences of opinion on a point or two, all lovers of Prakrit language and literature will welcome this valuable publication and extend very warm congratulations to the Director of the Institute and the joint editors for presenting to the world of scholars of Prakrit language and literature this treasury of the gems of the *subhāṣitas*.



TĀRĀYAᅇA (Tārāgaᅇa) : An Anthology of Bappabhaᅇi*

The Jain tradition claims Bappabhaᅇi to have been an eminent Prakrit Poet. His *Subhaᅇitakoᅇa*, *Tārāyaᅇa (Tārāgaᅇa)* was known to be his very important poetic work from references made to it by Dhanapāla, Vādijaᅇghāla and Prabhācandra. The credit of bringing it to light with a masterly, although anonymous commentary goes to Prakrit Text Society. Dr. H. C. Bhayani, a veteran Indologist has ably edited it on the basis of its only available MS. He has added, below each *gāthā* and its commentary, lucid English translation and prefaced the edition with a valuable Introduction.

In his 17 page Introduction Dr. Bhayani gives a description of the Manuscript and briefly deals with the life and literary activity of the poet Bappabhaᅇi Sūri. Regarding the anthology he notes the literary references and gives information about its compiler (Śaᅇkuka), its general structure, its listing device, its subjectmatter and finally dwells upon its style and literary merit.

Dr. Bhayani does not agree, and rightly so, with the scholars who disregard and denounce the traditional Jain accounts as unreliable. Making allowance for exaggerations, errors, their legendary and motivated nature he shows how the traditional account of Bappabhaᅇi preserves some facts and how the discovery of *Tārāyaᅇa* bears out the Jain account on such points as Bappabhaᅇi's poetic powers and his close association with king Amma alias Nāgāvaloka as an eminent poet at the latter's court.

★ *Tārāyaᅇa (Tārāgaᅇa)* : An Anthology of Bappabhaᅇi's Prakrit Gāthās, Compiled by Śaᅇkuka, with an anonymous Sanskrit commentary, edited by H. C. Bhayani, published by Dalsukh Malvania, Secretary, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad, 1987, pp. 8+79. Price. Rs. 20/-

The general neglect in which Bappabhaṭṭi has fallen, which to Dr. Bhayani is rather a mystery may be explained by his being what Dr. Bhayani calls 'a *vidagdha* poet' (a *paṇḍita*-poet or scholar poet)—a scholar who has spoilt his lucidity by his wide-ranging allusiveness : "In several verses the idea is complex and the use of *śleṣa* makes it further complicated". These verses would not have become intelligible but for the anonymous commentary which "meticulously explains various compound expressions", clarifies both the meanings of double-meaning expressions" and "brings out the precise meaning and purport of the verses."

In style and diction Bappabhaṭṭi is closely akin to Sarvasena (?), Pravarasena and Vākpati-rāja and diametrically opposed to Hāla. The difficulty of his writing is perhaps responsible for his remaining in obscurity for several centuries past. He was not, however, totally forgotten or ignored by later writers. Dr. Bhayani has pointed out how Bappabhaṭṭi's ideas contained in two of his verses are borrowed by Vīra, the author of *Jambūśāmicariya*, an Apabhraṃśa text and one more verse has been cited, anonymously, by Bhoja, a standard authority on *Alaṃkāraśāstra*, in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. In this context it may be pointed out here that there are quite a few other citations of Bappabhaṭṭi's verses in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Ś'P) and *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharāṇa* (SK) and in Jineśvarasūri's *Gāhārayaṇakosa*:

The *gāthā* opening with "कह मा झिज्जउ मज्झे" (Tg v 131) is cited by Bhoja in Ś'P Vol II, p. 458 v4, again Vol III, p. 619 V1 and once again, Vol IV p. 1175 v.6. Further, 'it is also cited by him in SK Ch IV p. 498 v 155, and again Ch V, p 679 v 354.

There is still another *gāthā* cited by Bhoja in his Ś'P Vol IV p 1091 v3. The corrupt text of this *gāthā* when restored closely agrees with Tg v 161. It is very interesting to note that the said citation in ŚP closely resembles GS (W). 840. On the authority of Śāṅkuka who unhesitatingly attributes it to Gajapati (a nom de plume a pseudonym of Bappabhaṭṭi). We may be justified in saying that Bhoja has drawn upon Bappabhaṭṭi's *muktakas*.

Compared with Bhoja Jineśvarasūri who compiled his GRK in VS. 1251, draws heavily on Bappabhaṭṭi's *muktaka* verses. On scrutiny we find that Jineśvarasūri has taken over from TG the following fifteen *gāthās* :

The Pratīka of the verse	Tg Page-S.no	GRK Page-S.no
१. गयणच्छिणो गलंतस्स	१५.३२	५२.६६६
२. तुह रिउणो णाह सुहत्थिणो	२०.४२	१७.२०४
३. पणईण देव दितो	२२.४५	१७.२१६
४. बहुलक्खएण बहुसो	२४.४८	१६.१९४
५. संपुण्ण-कोस-दंडं	२५.५०	१६.१९३; ४६.५९२
६. नूणं धणुम्मि तुह पहु	२७.५४	१६.१९२
७. बहुसोहग्गाउ अविहवाओ	२८.५५	१७.२०५
८. उव्वहसि कीस गव्वं	३०.६१	१६.१९१
९. फुरिय-पयावस्स तुहं	३२.६४	४६.५९१
१०. तं परिवड्ढंति दढं	३२.६५	८.८२
११. तइयच्छि-सिहि-सिहा भा०	३९.७८	२५.३१७
१२. सुहउ त्ति जियइ विद्धो	४०.७९	२९.३७०
१३. जियउ त्ति पय-सणाहं	४५.८९	३१.३९५
१४. आलोय-मित्त-वियंसत	६१.१५१	४७.६०३
१५. रोवंतु नाम तं जणमं	६४.१५६	३९.५०२

In the light of these citations one may venture to hazard a guess that a few more verses from the last portion of *Tārāyaṇa* may have been cited by Bhoja in his two works on *alamkāra*, *ŚP* and *SK* and by Jineśvarasūri in his *GRK*. This guess finds a sort of support in that Jineśvarasūri cites the following *gāthā* (v.140) :

जे केइ पहु महिमंडलम्मि ते उच्छुदंडसारिच्छ ।
सरसा जडीण मज्जे विसमा पत्तेसु दीसंति ॥

—Which forms part of the seven *gāthās* said to be sent by Bappabhaṭṭi as part of retort to Amma's verses....It is quite likely that these *gāthās* also were included in the *Tārāyaṇa* and figured in that portion which is now lost (see p. 10)" (Introduction *Tārāyaṇa*, pp. 7-8)

Incidentally, the text of *Tārāyaṇa* helps us to restore the missing words, corrupt readings in the corresponding verses taken over by Jineśvarasūri;

S.No	P.V.	GRK	P.V.	Tg
१.	८.८२	तं परिवडुंति खणं	३२.६५	तं परिवडुंति दढे
२.	१६.१९१	नखइ महिलासच्चा(?त्था) वि	३०.६१	नखर महिला सच्चावि
३.	१६.१९३	द(?ढ) लइ कमलवणं	२५.५०	दलइ कमलवणं
	४६.५९२	दलइ कमलवणं		

Note : The Editors have corrected the emended reading ढलई to दलई in the Errata they have added at the end of GRK.

4) 52.666 GRK reads.

गयणच्छिणो गलंतस्स कालिमापिहिय[तार]तारस्स ।
देइ सरओ सियब्भं [?—]पयडपडलं व ॥

15.32 TG however reads :

गयणच्छिणो गलंतस्स कालिया-नीलि-पिहिय-तारस्स ।
देइ सरओ सियब्भं पयगब्भं रूय-पडलं व ॥

5) 17.205 अंते उरीओ [] 28.55 किं अंतेउरियाओ

6. 29.370 तहच्छिबाणे हि 40.79 तुहच्छि-बाणेहि

It is an unfortunate fact which is very obvious that almost every page of this otherwise excellent edition has been disfigured by errors in printing. Not much purpose can be served by commenting on the number of such errors. Most of the books of the nature of *Tārāyaṇa* which needs knowledge of two or three scripts and languages and of diacritical marks suffer from such misfortune inspite of a lot of care the printing press and the author who usually is the proof-reader take. To avoid such mistakes much better organization is needed than can be possible in our publication world. All that one can say at this stage is 'Bear with us.'

Finally all lovers of Prakrit and Sanskrit poetry will warmly welcome this unique work and congratulate the Prakrit Text Society and Dr. H. C. Bhayani for presenting to the world of scholars "the sole preserved specimen of the Prakrit *Muktaka* Poetry of a known author, who flourished in the long interval between Hāla Sātavāhana the author of *Saptasātaka* or *Gāthā-Kośa* and Jayavallabha, the author of *Vajjālagga*."

PS I am happy to add that there is still one more *gāthā* from *Tārāgaṇa* which has been cited by Bhoja in *ŚP* (vol III, p 636, v.3). When restoring the

Prakrit verses from *ŚP* I had left it as it is adding the remark ‘This verse / *gāthā* is highly corrupt and therefore obscure. Bhoja’s text reads :

छेआइ मुद्धदिअरस्स लआतहविलाणि विलासा ।
संदो त्ति-हरि.....ण जहजणेण ॥

Tārāgaṇa, verse 171 (p. 70) helps us to restore the corrupt text and render it intelligible.

छेयाएँ मुद्ध-दियरस्स लाइया तह विलासिणि-विलासा ।
संदो त्ति परिहरिज्जइ कण्णादाने जह जणेण ॥

[छेकया मुग्ध-देवरस्य लागिता (न्यस्ता) स्तथा विलासिनीविलासाः ।
षण्ड इति परिह्रियते कन्यादाने यथा जनेन ॥]

□ □ □

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES-I*

The volume under review is a collection of 33 papers and articles pertaining to the areas of Literary and Performing Arts and of Prakrit and Apabhramśa studies by Dr. H. C. Bhayani (Bhayani). These papers and articles were published from time to time during the last four decades in various Oriental Research Journals. Part I deals with 14 topics relating to Literary and Performing Arts (pp. 3-126) and Part II with 19 topics concerning Prakrit and Apabhramśa studies (pp. 129-356). Pages 357 to 360 give us detailed information regarding their first publication. The Index added at the end covers pp. 361 to 365.

As a scholar of Indology Bhayani has won international repute. His interests are varied. A mere glance at the Table of Contents is enough to give an idea of the range of his interests in the various branches of learning : the languages Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Old Gujarati and their literatures, Sanskrit Poetics, Lexicography, Metrics and Grammar. This collection easily bears testimony to his profound and wideranging scholarship and critical ability of a high order. By his comparative and critical study he sheds new light on the topics chosen for study. Each and every paper is important in its own way. All readers may not find all papers of equal interest. Whatever papers however they choose, according to their own interest, predilection, for careful reading, are bound to enjoy them and enrich their knowledge.

Some of the papers are of general interest and appealing to every reader. For instance, Kṛṣṇa's early life and his childhood exploits, are of perennial interest. Bhayani's three papers, Part. II. 7, 8 and 9 dealing with the childhood exploits of Kṛṣṇa, his unique relationship with his three less known sweethearts –Pālī, Dhanyā and Cārukeśī, and the sources of two of his puranic episodes 1. *Gopīvastraharaṇa*

★ *INDOLOGICAL STUDIES-I* (Literary and Performing Arts, Prakrit and Apabhramśa Studies) H. C. BHAYANI, published by Parshva Prakashan, Nisha Pole Naka, Jhaverivad, Relief Road, Ahmedabad- 380 001, 1993, pp. 3-365, Rs. 250.

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(Kṛṣṇa steals Gopīs' clothes) and 2. *Kṛṣṇānveṣaṇa* (Gopīs' wanderings in the woodland in search of Kṛṣṇa) respectively deserve special mention in this respect.

Now, Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and some other *Rāmāyaṇas* are wellknown throughout the world. Bhayani's paper "the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa *Rāmāyaṇas*," introduces the reader to the less known *Rāmāyaṇas* especially the Jain versions of the story of Rāma. Although less known, they present some interesting variations—modifications and innovations.

Kālidāsa's famous lyrical poem, called *Meghadūta* or *Meghasandēśa* is universally known. But there is no unanimity among scholars and writers on Poetics regarding the type of *kāvya* (poetry) to which it belongs, Bhoja cites it as an example of the type called *Samghāta*. It is thus defined : "Samghāta is a group of self-contained stanzas relating to a single theme and of single authorship like the *Vṛndāvana* and the *Meghadūta*." (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Vol. II, p. 470, Mysore edn. 1963). Hemacandra follows Bhoja and models his definition on Bhoja's definition and reproduces the same two illustrations (*Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964 edn. p. 466). Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, however calls it a *Khandakāvya* : *Khandakāvyaṃ bhavet kāvyasyaikadeśānusāri ca yathā megha-dūtādīḥ !*

—VI. 329.

(Tr. That poem which partly follows the type named *Kāvya* is called *Khandakāvya*.)

It is not possible to bring out the importance of each and every paper in the collection in a review like this. Suffice to say that each and every paper adds to our knowledge.

We warmly congratulate Dr. Bhayani for making these papers easily available to interested scholars by collecting them in this volume and for his valuable contribution to different branches of learning.



INDOLOGICAL STUDIES–II★

Dr. H. C. Bhayani (Bhayani) is one of the topmost indologists in the century today. His first volume of *Indological Studies* was published in 1993. Now, the second volume is being presented to the world of Indological students. It contains Bhayani's research papers and notes relating to Prakrit, Apabhramśa, Gujarati, etc. They deal mostly with some historical problems, lexicological and exegetical matter and etymologies, and were published during the long period of 1945 to 1997. A few of the notes are translated from Gujarati. The paper, "The Prakrit of the Early Jain Canonical commentaries" aims at demonstrating how for the history of the Prakrit language, the early stratum of commentaries on the Jain Canon can provide us with quite valuable data. In this paper on "The Prakrit of the *Nāṇapamcamīkahā*" Bhayani observes that the flexibility of the language of Jain Prakrit works imparts them a sort of fresh and living touch which is generally missed in other Prakrit works. Of all the papers his paper on the sources of Prakrit illustrations of Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar is most outstanding. It attests to his profound scholarship, diligence, industry and careful application to his chosen work. His three papers relating to Apabhramśa language along with his small book *Apabhramśa Language and Literature*, B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1989 constitute his invaluable contribution to Apabhramśa studies.

His note on Interpretation of some passages of *Gāṇḍavaho* deserves our special attention. He writes : "N. G. Suru has rendered a great service to the students of Prakrit literature by giving a careful English translation along with explanatory notes, of the highly important but equally difficult *mahākāvya*, the *Gāṇḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja written about 730 A.C. He then discusses interpretation of eight of its verses and offers alternative renderings which are at once appropriate and convincing. Readers' attention may here be drawn to p. 142 (8)

★ **INDOLOGICAL STUDIES–II** (Literary and Performing Arts, Prakrit and Apabhramśa Studies) Volume 2, H. C. Bhayani, published by Parshva Publication, Nisha Pole Naka, Jhaverivad, Relief Road, Ahmedabad-380001, 1998, pp. 243, Rs. 250/-

v.495. The sense of the verse is not correctly grasped by Suru. Goūra=Gopura means 'the city-gate', not 'balcony'. Nīsāmaṇṇa means 'unique', not 'generality'. *Parihā* = Parikhā means 'moat' (around the city), not 'rampart'...

In a brief review it is not possible to dwell on the merits of each and every paper. So also there are many interesting notes on various words from some Prakrit and Sanskrit Texts. By way of example we may refer to two or three such notes.

(1) 'Caitya' (pp. 186-87)- In Prakrit *caitya* (*ceia*) is widely used in the sense of a temple in general. But Hemacandra notes in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* that 'caitya' and 'vihāra' signify a Jain temple. Now this is a quite significant change of meaning when we consider that this meaning developed possibly after the disappearance of Buddhism from India.

(2) 'Bhadanta' (pp. 206-207) : In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* the expression 'bhadrām te' occurs as a formula of blessing, of averting evil or formal greeting..... Bhadanta is quite well known in Pāli as a term of respectable address or adjective with respect to a Buddhist mendicant, monk, etc. Its contracted form 'bhamte' (for bhaddamte) is frequently used similarly in the Jain Āgamas..... The address thereby expresses his or her reverence and good wishes 'Bless you' ! 'Let no evil visit you'.

(3) 'Paradī' : Upper garment (pp. 197-199) V. 238 in Hāla's *Saptaśataka* in translation means : "The farmer buys a bull in exchange of his upper garment during the month of Māgha, keeping in view the breasts of his charming young wife that were veritable smokeless fire of rice-husks."

Bhayani examines the occurrence of the Prakrit word in the various *gāthās* cited by the various *ālamkārikas* and concludes that the correct form of the word is 'pāraḍī', derived from the Sanskrit word 'Prāvāra' (p. 198).

One regrets this otherwise excellent work is disfigured by misprints. Scholars of Prakrit and Apabhramśa would congratulate with the reviewer, Bhayani for making these research papers and notes easily accessible by collecting them in this volume.



SAPTAŚATĪSĀRA WITH BHĀVADĪPIKĀ★

ALL students of Prakrit Literature and Sanskrit Poetics will welcome this volume. Dr Upadhye, the eminent Prakritist and Master Editor has critically edited the text of *Saptaśatīsāra* along with the commentary *Bhāvadīpikā*. In his valuable Introduction Dr. Upadhye treats of the relevant topics : 1. MSS Material And Text-Constitution, 2. Mukataka Poetry, 3. *Kośas* or Anthologies, 4. King Hāla, 5. Hāla's *Sattasāī*, 6. Commentaries on the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* and 7. Vema Bhūpāla and his *Bhāvadīpikā*. He then adds select Bibliography which is very useful for intensive study of the text.

Saptaśatīsāratīkā, which is named *Bhāvadīpikā*, is a commentary in Sanskrit on a select Century of Prakrit *Gāthās* from the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Just as Hāla selected, in the past, seven hundred out of one crore of *gāthās* so Vema Bhūpāla selected one hundred even out of that seven hundred. He first gives the *gāthā*; then adds his *chāyā*; thereafter he supplies the context and explains the text often commenting on unusual Prakrit words; he then elucidates the *alamkāra* and *dhvani* aspects of this *gāthā*. It is this *dhvani* aspect which is of supreme importance and is responsible for the title of the commentary as *Bhāvadīpikā*. At the end of the text are added four useful Indices : 1. Index of *Gāthā*, 2. *Bhāvadīpikā*'s quotations from the *sūtras* of Trivikrama, 3. quotations in the *Bhāvadīpikā* from other standard works and finally, 4. *Gāthās* from *Saptaśatīsāra*, quoted in other works (on Poetics).

The learned editor has spared no efforts to restore the version which must have been in front of Vema Bhūpāla. Occasionally however, we come across readings which do not agree with the Sanskrit Commentary. For instance, the *Gāthā* (No. 88) reads ऋ तीर्णै but the Sanskrit commentary on it gives its *chāyā* as

★ *Saptaśatīsāra with Bhāvadīpikā of Vema Bhūpāla Along with Chappanṇaya-Gāhāo* (Text and Chāyā) By Dr. A. N. Upadhye (Shivaji University Sanskrit and Prakrit Series Vol III), Shivaji University, Kolhapur, 1970, Rs. 7/-

तावता. The word अविस्त्राओ (Gāthā No 94) seems to be a misprint for अणिरिस्त्राओ. Again, one does not feel very sure whether the reading बोलसुणओ (Gāthā No. 92) is correct or a scribal error for बोडसुणओ. The Index "listing 18 verses from the text that are quoted in other works" mentions only one work, viz. *Kāvyañuśāsanam* which is later compared to earlier standard works such as *Dhvanyāloka.*, *Sarasvatīkañthābharana*, *Śrīgāraprakāśa*, and *Kāvya prakāśa* that quote about fifty verses occurring in *Saptaśatīśāra*. It is very likely that in selecting his century of *Gāthās* Vema Bhūpāla was influenced by his study of these standard works on Poetics.

At the end of this text and commentary the editor presents by way of *Parīśīṣṭam* his excellent paper on *Chappaññayagāhāo* which was first published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. IX, IV. June 1962. The value of this paper is greatly enhanced by the addition of Sanskrit *Chāyā* by the Editor himself to the Prakrit text.

We congratulate Dr. Upadhye on presenting this volume to the scholarly readers of Prakrit language and literature and of Sanskrit Poetics.



WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIAN TALES★

This book presents fifteen Indian tales, drawn mostly from Jain Prakrit literature and a few from Sanskrit literature. They are drawn from (1) *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (3rd Century A. D.); *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* (4th century A. D. ?), (2) *Dharmopadesamālāvivarāṇa*; (3) *Bhavabhāvanā* (11th Century A. D.); (4) *Kahāṇayakosa* (11th century A. D.); (5) *Kathāsaritsāgara* (11th century A. D. in Sanskrit); (6) *Yaśastilakacampu* (12th century A. D.) in Sanskrit; (7) *Kumāravālapaḍiboha* (12th century A. D.); (8) *Pāiyakahāsamgaha* (12-13th century A. D.); (9) *Rayāṇaseharakahā* (15th century A. D.); (10) *Nammayā-sundarīkahā* (12th century A. D.)

All the fifteen tales are very fascinating and interesting. Dr. Jain rightly observes : “Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature, having the elements of folklore is extremely rich in popular tales pertaining to real life. Unfortunately, it has not been fully explored or properly rendered into English or modern Indian languages. It contains valuable narrative literature describing the social and cultural life of ancient men and women in different ages and social spheres” (Introduction, p. xvii)

Dr. Jain himself first translated these tales from Prakrit and Sanskrit into Hindi. Mrs. Margaret Walter has rendered a majority of these tales from Hindi into English; and quite a few tales have been translated from Hindi into English by Mrs. Manju Jain, Dr. Jain’s daughter-in-law.

These tales vividly portray the life and manners of contemporary men and women. Women maintaining their chastity at whatever cost, wealthy merchants, princes, courtesans (*gaṇikās*), women messengers (*dūtīs*) prominently figure in these tales. They delight and at the same time teach. Dr. Jain’s Introduction briefly deals with the position of women from the times of *R̥gveda* down to the 15th Century A. D. The collection particularly brings out the richness of Prakrit

★ By : Jagadishchandra Jain and Margaret Walter, Published by K. M. Mittal, Mittal Publications. B-2/19-B, Lawrence Road, Dehli-110035, 1987, pp.xix, 110; Price Rs. 65/-

narrative literature vis-a-vis Sanskrit narrative literature.

It is regrettable that the translators have not made use of diacritical marks and that the book is disfigured by a large number of queer expressions, funny English structures and even spelling mistakes as noted below :

- p. ix lost dependence (for independence), heroin (for heroine).
- p. xiv employes (for employs), loveable (for lovable), in [the] habit of
- p.xvi lightening (for lightning), oppointed (for appointed).
- P.xvii greatful (for grateful)
- p. 11, p. 12 marchant (for merchant)
- p. 27 para 5 weiled (for wailed)
- p. 38 p. 19 did not head (for heed)
- p. 39 She is willful (? a wilful) child....“bucky thing I am saving (? protecting) my son from her presence !”
- p. 41 paras 2 and 4 massengers (for messengers)
- p. 53 (last but one line) does. not leaves (for leave)
- p. 62 para 2 Seeing his wife’s sad state, they both decided....the deity was very happy as their wish was granted.
- p. 63 para 3 II. 7-8 or drink (? swallow) your humiliation.

In spite of these deficiencies, Dr. Jain and Margaret Walter deserve warm congratulations on making accessible these charming tales to readers, who are not acquainted with Prakrit or Sanskrit language. Their work will delight students of comparative literature and comparative myths.



VIDYĀṢṬAKAM★

Vidyāṣṭakam belongs to the type of *kāvya* called *Citra-Kāvya* (Pictorial Poetry, Poetry with the pictorial figures). In this kind of poetry the letters are arranged in particular ways in the form of a sword (*khadga*) or a drum (*muraja*) or a lotus (*padma*) and so forth. This type of poetry is extremely difficult. It is therefore called *kaṣṭakāvya*, a sort of acrobatics in poetry. Generally speaking, it exhibits the poet's *śakti*—*pratibhā* or rather the flexibility of his *pratibhā* only; and is of no use for instruction in the means to the achievement of the four ends of human life (*puruṣārthas*).

Ancient Sanskrit poets like Bhāravi, Māgha, etc., took delight in composing such *citrabandhas*. There is a sort of *vaicitrya* (*strikingness*) in them but they are, with rare exceptions, devoid of *rasa*. The pundits of those days used to appreciate this kind of *kāvya*. And to win their applause and admiration the poets used to write such laboured poetry.

Niyam Sagarji has composed this work with the avowed purpose of expressing his deep devotion to his own revered *guru*. He deserves praise for successfully carrying out his strenuous undertaking.

Being fully aware how difficult laboured *kāvyas* are, the poet has himself added a Sanskrit commentary as well as a Hindi commentary to his *kāvya*. For the benefit and easy understanding of his readers he has also added pictures of the different *bandhas*.

At the end he has added two useful appendices : 1. dealing with the technical terms and 2. another describing the way of life (*ācāra*) of a Digambara *muni* (monk). The work is prefaced with an Introduction (named

★ VIDYĀṢṬAKAM : Shri Pradeep Jain, Pradeep Cutpiece, Ashok Nagar (PH. 22462, 22746)
MP. 1994, pp, XXXVII + 200. Rs. 100.

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Sam̐pādakīya) by the renowned Sanskrit scholar, Dr. P. N. Kavthekar. It mainly deals with the two topics of *gurubhakti* and *citrakāvya*.

This work is unique in the sense that it represents an attempt to revive the old tradition of *citrakāvya*s.

It would not be out of place if we express here our wish that the poet undertakes a Sanskrit *mahākāvya* mainly portraying *śāntarasa*.

□ □ □

APPENDIX
HARIVIJAYA OF SARVASENA
(TENTATIVE and FREE) TRANSLATION
(Part I)

1. Quite at the outset of the season Madana (the God of Love) caught hold of the face of the Goddess of Spring whose ears were decked with mango-blossom which particularly pleases him; it marks the beginning of the festival and its heady fragrances.
2. (Hari, i. e., Kṛṣṇa says :) It fascinates me the colouring which Satyabhāmā's lovely face gets from her anger over my offence of love—beautiful as the moon looks beautiful with muskdeer.
3. You prize friendship with Kṛṣṇa, O, Indra, and yet you are reluctant to part with Pārijāta, the jewel (i. e. best) among trees.
4. Although Satyabhāmā and the other wives of Kṛṣṇa were equally hurt, Satyabhāmā alone was angry and felt jealous : both the feelings, were proportionately related to her love and regard (for Hari). They (anger and jealousy) essentially are reflections of her love.
5. Kṛṣṇa gave to Rukmiṇī the garland of celestial (Pārijāta) flowers spreading fragrant smell and perfume, although not solicited (or requested for) by her; thereby causing pain to Satyabhāmā's heart.
6. You are hurt because I gave the celestial flowers to Rukmiṇī, but if I were to bring back the very flowers to gratify you it wouldn't be in keeping with my love for you, my delicate one, nor with my offence.
7. I will soon get you the celestial (Pārijāta) tree with its leaves moist (or wet) with spray of the rut of Airāvata, the elephant of Indra, and with its flowers mounted upon by bees greedy of nectar-like honey.

8. Rukmiṇī felt highly flattered by her dear husband's visit to her which quite thrilled her and gave immense pleasure though she had reason to feel displeased with him who still showed on him signs of dalliance with her rival (Satyabhāmā).
9. Out of profound love for Hari Śrī (i. e. Lakṣmī) treated herself trivially, when from her own place on Hari's chest she saw him courting angry Satyabhāmā or when she found herself smothered by the hugs of thousands (of dairy-maidens).
10. Her (Satyabhāmā's) heart was overpowered by joy and owing to the excitement thus caused, tears gathered in her eyes and in spite of her attempts to suppress them, they still rolled down and fell on the back of Hari (i. e. Kṛṣṇa) who was lying prostrate at her feet.
11. You (O, Hari) have favoured her (Rukmiṇī) with a bunch of celestial flowers and me (Satyabhāmā) with your visit. You have done favour to both of your women. It looks correct, doesn't it ?
12. As the night advanced Hari (i. e. Kṛṣṇa) who has been separated from his beloved, saw the moon rising high in the sky as an impending calamity and as the God of Love threatening with his bow.
13. The rays of the moon, blended with the lustre of the sparkling Kaustubha gem, which should (normally) have increased her joy actually aggravated her agony and made it just unbearable (because Hari did not offer the celestial Pārijāta flowers to her but simply called on her empty-handed.)
14. Hari then appeased whatever little anger still was there in her heart by his conciliatory gesture viz., falling prostrate at her feet—the feet of his beloved (Satyabhāmā) whose heart was still half-closed against him : he had preferred to give to Rukmiṇī the celestial Pārijāta flowers.
15. Her face promises to beam out any time now—the shades of displeasure are receding, a glow of joy is gradually spreading and the mixture of the two contrasting moods is increasing the beauty of her face.
16. "Here he comes"—this announcement of her maids Satyabhāmā only heard, but even though he was very close to her, she didn't see him as her eyes were dimmed by tears.
17. She was much ahead of her rival in the charms that make men desire women and in her love she caused as much torment to her rival—his other wife—as her husband admired her.

18. That very residence of hers (i.e. of Satyabhāmā) with the celestial *Pārijāta* planted at its entrance and full of the decorative arrangement of its flowers and with attendants plunged in joy, now looked quite different from what it was.
19. Now, when Hari (Kṛṣṇa) marched against Indra in order to secure the celestial tree (*Pārijāta*), Satyabhāmā, although she had seen (known) his valour, distressed at the great calamity she feared out of great love (for him), (began to reflect or ponder over)—felt anxious.
20. With a view to giving his beloved, Satyabhāmā, the rapture of sexual union far exceeding her wildest of desire, Hari, with a smile on his face, and with both of his hands holding his *mukuta* (crown) in its place fell at her feet.
21. While Satyabhāmā was increasingly full of regrets for causing separation from Hari by her own self, he, on the other hand achieved her desired object and came back (safe and sound) home (in Dvārakā).
22. At the sight of Hari, Satyabhāmā's heart leaped with joy and her eyes, filled to the brim with happiness wandered all over with pleasure; both of them spread on her face an expression of unique grace.
23. Satyabhāmā's eye, tremulous like a swarm of black bees although her heart was enchanted by the fragrance of flowers, first rested on her beloved (Hari) and then only on the celestial (*Pārijāta*) tree (that spread the fragrance).
24. Then her eye, lovely like lotus, overflowing with the feeling of love, tremulous through (or under the influence of) love, first rested on her beloved (Hari) and then only on the excellent tree, namely *Pārijāta*.
25. "Look here at this your own excellent tree (*Pārijāta*)" when her dear husband uttered these words, indicative of his profound love (for her), her immense satisfaction found free scope to spread (over her whole body).

Part II

As noted above Bhoja speaks of three Prakrit *Mahākāvya*s current in his time : *Rāvaṇavijaya*, *Harivijaya* and *Setubandha* composed in *āśvāsakas* in the *skandhaka* metre. Of these the first two are irretrievably lost. Very little is known about the *Rāvaṇavijaya*. The *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena is noted by way of appreciation (and criticism) by Sanskrit writers on Poetics : (Daṇḍin), Ānandavardhana (—his commentator Abhinavagupta—), Kuntaka, Bhoja and Hemacandra. *Setubandha* is the only extant Prakrit *Mahākāvya*. The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the *Sarasvatīkaṅṭhābharāṇa* have cited a very large number of *skandhakas* as illustrations while explaining various points of Poetics. Some of these clearly belong to *Setubandha*. Some others belong to, as shown above (in part I) to *Harivijaya*. Over and above these *skandhakas* (and one *skandhaka* from *Rāvaṇavijaya*) there are nearly one hundred others which are anonymous. It is not possible to say *definitely* that they are quoted either from *Harivijaya* and / or *Rāvaṇavijaya*. Bhoja quotes only one *skandhaka* from *Rāvaṇavijaya* as an illustration of *Kavi-prasāmsā*, whereas he quotes, as shown above in Part I, not less than twenty five *skandhakas* which definitely belong to *Harivijaya*. Again, it deserves our notice that these twenty five verses which belong to *Harivijaya* and many of the anonymous *skandhakas* bear close similarity of ideas, phrases, turns of expression, diction and style. Further, Pravarasena's *Setubandha* which is modelled on Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* treats in Canto X of the sunset, the nightfall, moonrise, the gaieties and amorous activities of the young women, aided by their errand-girls, their maiden friends, their pride and jealous anger—*māna* in its various aspects, Many of the anonymous *skandhakas* deal with these and kindred topics from the Science of Erotics. In view of these considerations we would venture a guess that these anonymous *skandhakas*, if not all of them, at least a large number of them, are cited from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*. With this brief introduction we now set down these anonymous *skandhakas* :

(TENTATIVE and FREE) TRANSLATION

(Part II)

1. Why should the night not pine away when she sees in the evening her lover, the Moon embracing the East after kissing the face of (the beginning) of the Night-fall and then going in the company of Jyotsnā (Moonlight) to meet the West, his other sweetheart ?
2. As the eyes reddened by the early morning bath fail to show the colour of passion, soft like that of young foliage, even so the eyes dimmed by doting passion fail to show signs of anger in them.
3. There rose the columns of smoke, the shock of hair of the rows of trees, fluttering banners of Madana spreading fragrance, the sailing clouds screening the moon's rays, deputies of darkness.
4. The long day bright with the jewel of the sun in its hood slithered away to the West sloughing off the oppressive heat of the noon.
5. The day falls like a trunk; the sun looks bloody like the throat slit with a knife; the twilight drips blood; and the darkness rolls away like a severed head, a black hairy ball.
6. If outward show of courtesy pleases, and if it is mistaken for true affection then indeed there is no difference between genuine affection and pretended affection.
7. Her friends are pretty helpless; they cannot speak for me. She has clearly seen with her own eyes the love's offence I was committing. Naturally it has caused her terrible pain. Now Madana (the God of love) and the Moon (light) alone can come to my help and appease her anger in their silent persuasive way.
8. The beloveds were deprived of the pleasure of being appeased by their man; they couldn't even pain their feet by kicking their lovers. All their anger was dissolved by the moonlight as errand-girls normally do.
9. In the meantime, the night that had patched up her quarrel with her husband, given free scope to her repressed desires and like a friend greatly encouraged her to enjoy the pleasure of sex, passed.
10. When the beloved damsels looked at the wine, the god of Love lifted up his bow, when in excitement they took it up he bent and slipped the loop of the bow-string into the notch ready for use and when they had a sip he fitted

the arrow to the bow aiming at their lovers.

11. The God of Love takes for his abode the faces of young women with eyes, touched with a pencil of collyrium, the naturally red lips slightly painted red and are eager for the pleasures of love.
12. She did not give up her (deep) attachment (for her dear husband); even though she was subjected to humiliation, she shed no tears. With her eyes not satisfied (?) she heaved a (long) sigh when she found that her husband had gone.

(With the reading *dhario amarisa-pasaro* (in place of *na kaovi rāa-mokkha* in the earlier part of the first half, the meaning would be : 'Her rising anger she controlled.')

13. The lady can't make up her mind. Does she tilt the balance in favour of her pride or prefer to lose her face ?
14. After going half way the young women turned round to have a look at their lovers who were now clearly visible in the first rays of the moon—they couldn't launch on their adventures of love in the later part of the evening but the light of the moon induced them (or was the inspiration).
15. In a slightly intoxicated state the young woman forgot the offence her lover had given her and started talking to him, but suddenly felt ashamed of herself remembering the offence and stopped talking, but he (the lover) smiled and comforted her.
16. However repentant I was and firmly set against any more such lapses on my part, she was not convinced and in spite of my long pleadings in our privacy she still presented her face that was distorted by her anger. How much it torments me !
17. Lovers generally long to hear from their charming women words that move their hearts but the way she turned her face in anger and spoke, quite broke his heart to pieces.
18. Wealth and position command admiration. They are no way bothered by infamy, they look down upon good things as undesirable and refuse to appreciate good services because they come from the lowly ones.
19. Her resentful face is flushed red, her speech falters through (infatuation or) intoxication as well as jealous anger.
20. Her heart which had tried to conceal her tormenting pain felt helpless as she

came home, tears gathered in her eyes and her lower lip would not stop quivering.

21. O charming one, please tell me whether this is the characteristic of your celebrated courtesy that you go back to your wives soon after your fresh act of faithlessness.
22. But, my dear girl, you don't let me say anything—I would explain—nor do you give up your anger. I wonder how you could have become so hard-hearted—so pitiless and so distant. At one time you doted on me so much.
23. Her heart was gratified for a moment (by the entreating of her lover, but it became heavy with intense anger at the remembered offence and although turned back (from jealous anger for a moment) sinks down again in jealous anger.
24. You wicked man (rascal, rogue), you don't hesitate to misbehave and cause pain to a fruitless (ineffective) and gentle person like me. Well, go ahead and enjoy yourself. Of the duo (two) let only one suffer.
25. Her lover who was himself sad, mortified and downcast saw her unhappy face completely clouded by sorrow with its eyes lurid with terrible anger.
26. The young man splashed water in the face of his wife who had quarrelled with him, but she didn't respond in a similar way but disregarded him and engaged herself with her maiden friends—this way she caused pain to her rivals in love.
27. How much of beauty can jewellery lend to young women when they are insulted or humiliated in their bedroom ? Contentment or inner satisfaction is the only real ornamentation compared to which all the elaborate jewellery is just nothing !
28. We know how much agony she suffered on account of separation : Once she was trying to say something but the words were completely lost, she tried to smatter a few but ended in only deep sighs.
29. Any talk about the good qualities of others, though not a full list of all of them does come to an end—even if it is an abrupt end. But his talk about his beloved though it makes no mention of the delights of their love making together, never comes to an end.
30. The nearer he (Kṛṣṇa) approached her (Satyabhāma's) mansion, the deeper his heart sank in nervousness and the guiltier he felt over the offence he had given her (lit. his heart sank in serious apprehension and uncertainty).

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31. My dear, why should these oblong eyes of yours be pouring forth tears tinged with the pigment of your thin collyrium in such a profuse flow ?
32. O, slender-waisted girl, why do you sit and mope like this, the floral decorations of your ears are crushed, your lustrous lower lip is all blanched by the breath of your mouth and the paintings on your cheek done with fragrant and colourful material are transferred on the palms of your hands ?
33. Why is it that what you want to say remains unsaid ? It only moves around inside your mouth, doesn't even get an indistinct utterance though it comes again and again upto your lips and sets them quivering.
34. O, my dear, although my love for you is unbroken (or uninterrupted, the same all along) although I haven't given you any cause for anger, although I have done nothing unworthy or bad, still there has been a scandal which caused your displeasure with me (or your anger for me.)
35. You have not examined the position carefully nor have you shown any consideration for mutual trust which has grown over the years. You have been causing me pain.
36. You may take your own time over it, you may not give up your angry feelings against me, but please tell me in clear terms whether you think I would be guilty of any such lapse, disregarding this (our deep love) ?
37. The course of love is indeed uncertain : if it moves ahead boldly, it is restrained and pushed back and *vice versa*. Is there any point in being resentful ? One doesn't really know what to do with such a mood (or feeling). Such thoughts quite perplex the minds of women.
38. The eyes of the disillusioned young wife looked for a while painfully at her rival in love with whom her husband had seriously misbehaved, and finally settled on her friend.
39. I have put up with all the humiliation, I know of my rival's interest in the offences done to me and I patiently bore the pangs of separation from you. Now why should you feel bad about it ? Really speaking it should be me—to feel so.
40. The dear one as well as his love who (which) has committed an unbearable offence (against the other party), who (which) in spite of the serious offence is inclined to appease (the other party) and who (which, proceeded in a self-willed manner (while committing the offence) are both of them [i.

he dear one ii. love] looked down upon (by people).

41. Young women whose dejected looks are just brightening on their lover's appearing around, feel suddenly overpowered by disillusionment and turn their looks away when they hear themselves addressed with other women's names.
42. Her husband's misbehaviour was so unbearable to her that she broke down for a while but the next moment she regained firmness and the only tear that gathered in her eye did not rolldown—it died right there.
43. She felt weak and her sighs were checked (? sighs proceeded) on account of the loss of her firmness but soon her anger against her husband rose sharply and the sighs which became heavy with (drops of) perspiration became rapid.
44. The extraordinary humiliation to which she was subjected in the presence of her worthy rival in love hurt her so much and so much anger rose in her heart that it could not quite hold it although she had divided it among her friends (although it was shared by her friends) who had always shared her joys and sorrows.
45. When the lover addressed (or called) his beloved by the name of some other woman, she looked towards her friend, with tears welling up in her eyes and heaved (hot) sighs darkening her lower lip.
46. Under the influence of wine women, on their own, welcome their offending lovers in their embrace. In the light of this how could it be said that wine leads only to harmful ends and not pleasing ones ?
47. The very lady who, when hurt wouldn't take any notice of the entreaties of her husband in spite of her (maiden) friends' advice to do so, would fall at his feet again and again to prevent his going away on long journeys.
48. Meaning to show nothing more than the formal courtesy, still nursing her pride, she felt overwhelmed by joy when she actually saw her husband and had nothing but sheer devotion for him.
49. As she rose to receive him with usual courtesy, she heaved a deep sigh which couldn't conceal her nervous feeling nor the tears gathering in her eyes. She was fighting against the memory of an earlier offence he had given her.
50. Her eyes roving around to catch the glimpse of her beloved husband couldn't take him in owing to the continuous flow of tears and like a closed lotus they remained shut and were deprived of the pleasure (of his *darśana*-

sight).

51. As soon as she saw her dear (husband), there spread extreme joy on her face, marked with coquetry, that was fascinating charming, and Madana, the God of Love, fixed beautiful Mohana (Infatuating)—one of his five arrows— on his flowery bow with its graceful (flowery) string strung.
52. The young women who didn't first respond to the conciliatory gestures of their men, later were overcome with repentance, felt humbled by their genuine love and themselves, started appeasing them, pretending intoxication as an excuse.
53. Two moods commingled and enhanced her joy which made her body its abode : her longing for the celestial *Pārijāta* tree was satisfied and her dear husband came back resplendent with victory over Indra, the lord of the gods.
54. Let him (my dear husband, by his faithlessness fulfil even the unfulfilled desires of my rivals in love. (But) let him—my dear husband—return quite safe, even without securing the desired object (the *Pārijāta* tree ?), on the strength of merit acquired by his numerous beloveds.
55. One can easily see that the winter is on its way out and the lotus plant has mated with the Spring from the way its face is beaming and emanating fragrance.
56. When the Sun, who was excessively red in colour (also, who was greatly in love with) embraced the Western Direction, the Day—Beauty becomes sad (or melancholy or dejected) unable to bear, as it were, the offence given by her beloved husband in her very presence.
57. As the *Cakravāka* embraces the love lorn Lotus-creeper that has stretched out on the watery bed along the bank of the lake and has the face of a fully blown red lotus, he seeks his mate with doleful cries.
58. In the early hours of the evening, when the moon is rising, the East is seen to be trying to help herself up towards the centre of the sky holding the hands (*kara* also rays) of the moon that is still on the other side of the *Suvela* range.
59. The crescent of the moon looks charming like Madana's (Madana, the God of Love) slender bow of *Aśoka* or is it a cute little tusk made of a coral or of a frosty patch or of a diamond ?
60. The disc of the moon appeared like face of the night whitened by its rays

and decorated by streaks outlining the musk deer after dispelling the surrounding darkness.

61. The moon as it rises first looks like a coral, then like a mirror in which the ruddy face of an excited young girl is reflected and finally completely white.
62. "When the light of the moon descends (on the earth) the shadows cast by the trees, the interstices of whose branches are gently shaken by the (evening) breeze, put on (assume) the dark-white appearance of ponds (वापी) full of blue and white (night blooming) lotuses (lilies उत्पल, कुमुद).
63. Ah ! the pleasing touch of the white rays of the rising moon, radiant like the laughter of a young, charming woman, which looked brownish when on coming in through the round windows, they mingled with the light of the lamps and also dusky on account of the sandal wood that was burning there.
64. All the things necessary to welcome him are already at hand, the bed has been made still she tries to make it again; the message is carefully couched in correct words and the girl who had started to go to convey it, is stopped again.
65. She would still have one more sip of wine and another look at herself in the mirror and ask the messenger girl to repeat over again the talk with the lover, thus repeated it excited her feeling.
66. The merry young women apply collyrium to their eyes; fasten girdles on their waists, and paint a mark with sandal paste on their forehead; and although they are solely absorbed in thoughts of the raptures of their prospective sexual union with their lovers, they nevertheless feel disturbed by their anxious fears.
67. As the Night-bride withdrew and the starlets fell from her hair under his feet, the Daybreak arrived to the announcements of the fragrance of the flowers in tripping steps (? or driving away darkness ?).
68. As a young woman is leaving the bed with one foot planted on the ground (at the early hour of the day) and the lotusface turned towards the lover at whom she casts a side glance—still heavy with desire through the corner of the eye—My, my, what a glance !
69. The carefully decked up ladies for the Festival of Love do not look really beautiful till the mango blossom with its spray overhanging the cheeks is not worn in the ears.

70. The lower lip looks beautiful with kissing, the sparkling eyes look beautiful with heart felt joy; it is the lover alone who really decorates a young woman. In vain do young women decorate themselves with other aids of beauty.
71. A few decorations painted on the face, followed by the lover's passionate embrace should be enough for young women whose minds are set on their lovers.
72. The young women with their due attention to their costume, without their maiden companions and keen on receiving their lovers, stand inside unperceived and gaze at the pathway by which their lovers are expected to come.
73. My beloved has drawn in a picture young women whose hearts are affected by the passion of love and faced with immediate separation ; they seem to have turned away from their assumed jealous anger as their goose-flesh (=horripilation) indicates.
74. The young women, with their eyes full of passion look at their lovers without any constraint and their tormented lovers feel tremendously satisfied by these looks which they prize very much in their hearts.
75. The young women set out to meet their lovers but grew tired by the long walk; they would have liked to rest for a while but their amorous hearts were so set on meeting their lovers who had already gone ahead to their meeting place that they would not allow themselves any rest.
76. When the lovers for some reason turn away from their women, these despondent women who could not take their eyes off their doors, send first their messenger girls to their residence but in their impatience themselves follow them.
77. After going halfway the young women turned round to have a look at their lovers who were now clearly visible in the first rays of the moon—they couldn't launch on their adventures of love in the later part of the evening but the light of the moon induced them or was the inspiration.
78. Although the idea of rising from their seats to do honour to their lovers crossed the mind of the young lovely women who were delighted by their (unexpected) visit, at the very moment (of their visit), their bodies (the bodies of the young lovely women) which were languid on account of intoxication were not able to put it in practice.
79. At the unexpected arrival of their lovers, the young women, who were

waiting with words of welcome rolling throughout the day in their mouths, felt so overwhelmed by their joy that they couldn't keep to the usual formalities of reception.

80. The God of Love supports the drooping arms of the young women which are tender like stalks of red lotuses and are adorned with garlands as personal decoration (?), as they are raised to embrace their lovers.
81. The dense or thick horripilation (or goose-flesh) produced by the happiness (or rapture) caused by love on her person thoroughly or completely banished the highest joy from the heart of her rival who was greatly humbled.
82. The indistinct (or halting) speech of the gay (merry) woman in an inebriated state, which is given up half way as forgotten, or may be, on account of the sudden remembrance of her young man's grave lapse causing shame to her, impresses as charming.
83. The proud lady fixed her eyes on her beloved, and kept on heaving sighs for long, short gasping sighs, carrying the fragrance of a freshly made wine, weakly heaved—that indicated that the onslaught of Madana, the God of Love, had now weakened.
84. Immediately afterwards [Satyabhāmā] with perspiration and horripilation appearing (on her body) due to the pleasure of [Hari's] holding her by the hand, without waiting for Hari's adopting the remaining modes of reconciliation or appeasement clung to him.
85. Her (Satyabhāma's ?) face which was blooming with joy, with cheeks showing excitement all over, looked more lovely (even though undecorated) than it would have been with decorations.
86. When her beloved violently seized her by her hair, the resentful lady couldn't speak out what she all the while wanted to say. It transformed itself into an expression of annoyance.
87. The young women angrily wiped their lips (as they were forcibly kissed by their men), but gave free scope to their passion of love when forcibly embraced, and became fit, for enjoying the joys of love.
88. The kissing of the eyes of amorous women, embraced by their lovers, looks charming—the kissing in which they obliquely turn their faces aside though their hearts drop the will to resist and feel well disposed.
89. The charming looking mistress (Satyabhāmā) happy in her own contentment

- saw in a mirror in her chamber how her maiden friends and her maids reflected happiness on their faces that were entirely untouched by grief.
90. The joy she (Satyabhāmā) felt at the sight of her beloved, who returned home (safe and sound) after securing the desired object, was so much that her large heart, quite emptied of sorrow, could not quite contain it and it spread all over around her.
91. Her eyes looked more charming than the petals of a red lotus, reddish on account of the wine she was drinking as they were reflected in her glass full of fragrant wine.
92. Despondency deprives one of courage, intoxication of youth (deprives one) of modesty, and love (deprives one) of shame. What then is left for old age which robs one of every precious thing to steady ?
93. As the Mandara mountain had churned the vast ocean, the Sun churned up the vast sky in the course of his day's journey when ruddy Sandhyā like *madirā* (wine) bubbled out, followed by (the moon like a goblet or pitcher) of nectar.
94. The young damsels deck themselves up with lotus fibres and their round breasts with lotus leaves to tease and excite their lovers.
95. When he noticed some resentment in his wife his mind felt confused on account of his attachment to her and he vacillated between the gloomy mood of the evening twilight and the cheerful mood of the moonlit night (Note this translation is rather doubtful).



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- (v) Some Aspects of the Rasa Theory
- (vi) Jayadeva's Gītagovinda with King Mānaṅka's Commentary
- (vii) Kāvyaṅuśāsana of Ācārya Hemacandra (in collaboration)
- (viii) Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni with the Commentary Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. II, Second Revised edition (in collaboration)
- (ix) The Story of Rāma in Jain Literature
- (x) Bhoja and the Harivijaya of Sarvasena
- (xi) Outline of Abhinavagupta's Aesthetics.

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